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Cl. No. 954.6 [DO].1 Acc. No.

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KALHAṆA'S RĀJATARAṄGIṆĪ

PUBLISHED UNDER THE PATRONAGE OF THE UTTAR PRADESH GOVERNMENT

KALHAṆA'S RĀJATARAṄGIṆĪ

A CHRONICLE OF THE KINGS OF KAŚMĪR

TRANSLATED, WITH AN INTRODUCTION, COMMENTARY, & APPENDICES,

BY

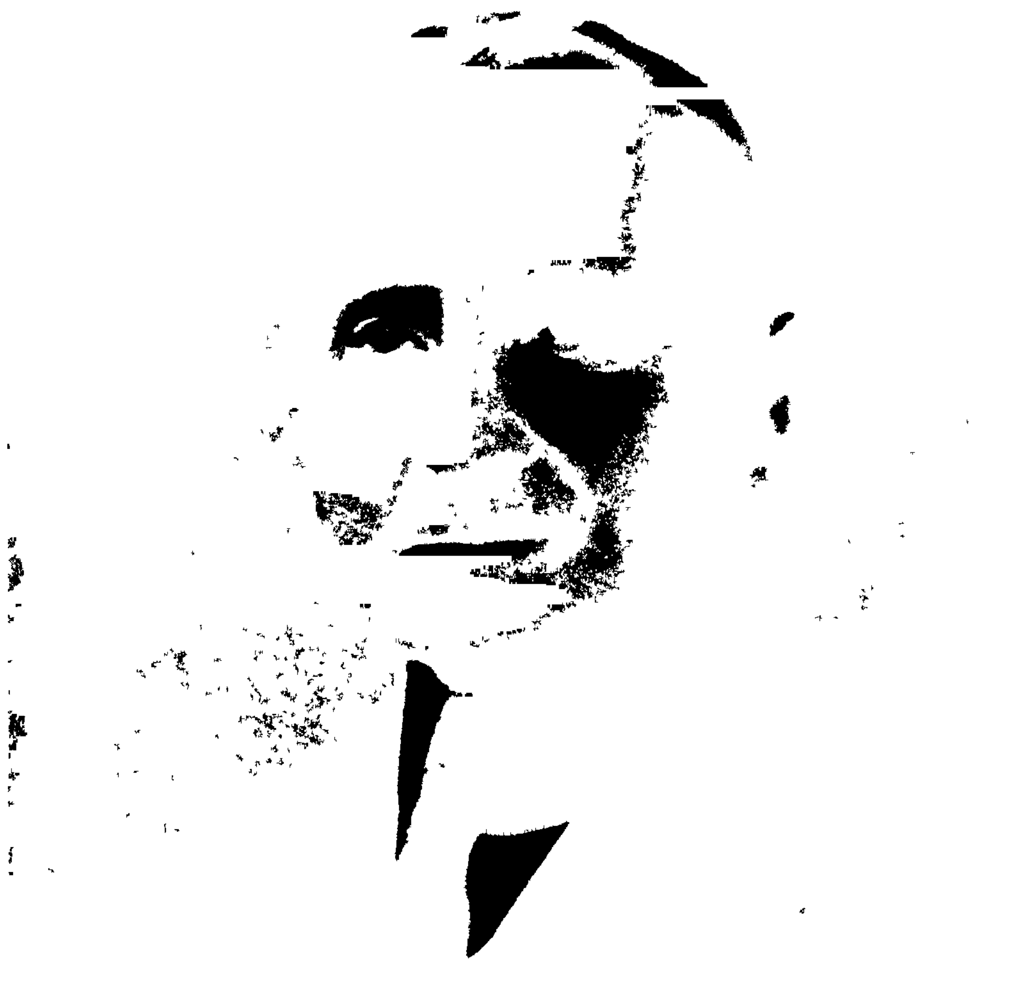
M. A. STEIN.

VOL. I.

INTRODUCTION. BOOKS I.–VII.

MOTILAL BANARSIDASS

DELHI PATNA VARANASI



M A STEIN
(1862-1943)

Publisher :
SUNDAR LAL JAIN
MOTILAL BANARSIDASS,
Bungalow Road,
Jawahar Nagar, Delhi-6

Printer :
SHANTI LAL JAIN
SHRI JAINENDRA PRESS,
Bungalow Road, Jawahar Nagar
Delhi-6.

By arrangement with
M/s. A. Constable & Co., Ltd., London
1961

Books available at

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2. **MOTILAL BANARSIDASS, Nepali Khapra, Post Box 75, Varanasi**
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TO THE MEMORY

OF

GEORGE BÜHLER

PREFACE.

It was in the summer of 1888, on my first visit to Kaśmīr, that I was attracted to the task which the present work is intended to complete.

Amidst the ancient remains and traditions which the Valley has preserved in such abundance, I could not fail to become impressed with the importance of Kalhaṇa's Chronicle, our oldest and fullest record of Kaśmīr history. I realized that in order to render its contents fully accessible for research it was necessary, on the one hand, to obtain a critically correct text, and on the other, to collect for its elucidation whatever data a close study of the country and its old remains could furnish.

My subsequent visits to Kasmīr offered valuable opportunities in both directions. In 1889 I succeeded in securing the codex archetypus of all extant manuscripts of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, and with its help I was able to publish in 1892 my critical edition of the text of the Chronicle. In its preface I expressed my intention of embodying the materials I had collected for the interpretation of the work in the form of a commentary to be published as a second volume.

Heavy official labours and another literary duty did not allow me to approach this portion of my task until the summer of 1895, when an arrangement between the Kashmir Darbar and the Punjab University, adopted on the recommendation of the Tenth International Congress of Orientalists, secured to me the necessary facilities. Availing myself of the two months' periods of 'special duty' granted to me in extension of the summer vacations of 1895, 1896, and 1898, I was able to expand the plan of my labours and ultimately to complete the present annotated translation of the Chronicle which, together with its Introduction and various Appendices, is now offered in place of the commentary originally contemplated.

The detailed analysis of the Rājataraṅgiṇī contained in the initial chapters of my Introduction will explain the reasons which make the Rājataraṅgiṇī so important for the study of ancient Kaśmīr and for Indian historical research generally. This importance and the exceptional interest which attaches to Kalhaṇa's "River of Kings" as practically the sole extant product of Sanskrit

literature possessing the character of a true Chronicle, account for the efforts which have been directed towards the elucidation of the work ever since European scholarship became aware of its existence. A brief review of these earlier efforts will help to indicate more clearly the object of the present publication and the nature of the labours it has involved.

As early as the seventeenth century Dr. BERNIER, to whose visit to Kaśmīr in the summer of 1664 we owe the first European account of the Valley, and one as accurate as it is attractive, had turned his attention to the 'histories of the ancient Kings of Kachemire.' The Chronicle, of which he possessed a copy, and of which, as he tells us, he was preparing a French translation, was, however, not Kalhaṇa's work, but a Persian compilation, by Ḥaidar Malik, Cādura, prepared in Jahāngīr's time avowedly with the help of the Rājataraṅgiṇī.[1] Also the summary of Kaśmīr rulers which Father TIEFFENTHALER a century later reproduced in his "Description de l'Inde," was still derived from that abridged rendering.[2]

Even before, however, the work of the Tyrolese missionary appeared in print, Mr Gladwin had published his translation of the *Āīn-i Akbarī* of Abū-l-Faẓl, and as the latter distinctly quotes Kalhaṇa's Chronicle as the authority for his own abstract of early Kaśmīr history, the Sanskrit original could no longer escape attention. We accordingly find the "history of India from the Sanscrit Cashmir authorities" prominently included among the tasks which SIR WILLIAM JONES had contemplated.[3] The life of the pioneer of European Sanskrit studies was cut short before he could obtain access to these authorities. It was not until the year 1805 that Mr. COLEBROOKE secured in Calcutta an incomplete copy of Kalhaṇa's work, and even then twenty more years passed before his intention of giving an account of its contents was realized.

To Dr. HORACE HAYMAN WILSON's justly famous "Essay on the Hindu History of Cashmir" belongs the merit of having first acquainted European students with the general character of Kalhaṇa's work and of having furnished them with a critical abstract of the contents of its first six cantos.[4] The sound judgment and thoroughness displayed in this publication of the distinguished Sanskrit scholar deserve all the more credit, as the three incomplete Devanāgarī manuscripts at his disposal were so defective "that a close translation of them, if desirable, would have been impracticable." This serious difficulty accounts for

[1] See BERNIER, *Travels*, ed. A. Constable, p. 394. The translation on which Bernier seems to have been actually engaged for a time has never been published. Is it possible that it still lies with other papers of that learned and most observant traveller in one of the archives of his native country, where he spent so many years after his return from the Great Moghul's Court?

[2] See *Description de l'Inde*, i. p. 89.

[3] *Asiatic Researches*, i. p. 431.

[4] Published in 1825, in Vol xv. of the *Asiatic Researches*, Calcutta.

most of the mistakes which Professor Wilson's article undoubtedly contains, and which in some instances have been reproduced also in subsequent accounts of Kaśmīrian history.[5]

Even before Professor Wilson's Essay was published Mr. MOORCROFT, the traveller, had made a successful endeavour in Kaśmīr itself to obtain better textual materials. During his sojourn in S'rīnagar, in 1823, he had a Devanāgarī transcript prepared from an old S'ārådā manuscript which, as I have shown elsewhere, was no other than the codex archetypus of all extant Kaśmīrian manuscripts. Nevertheless, the *editio princeps* of the Rājataraṅgiṇī, which appeared in 1835 under the auspices of the Asiatic Society, Bengal, and which was mainly based on Mr. Moorcroft's transcript, failed to furnish a critically reliable text of the Chronicle. The corruptions of all kinds which appear through the whole of the Calcutta edition, and which render its text wholly unintelligible in many passages, can easily be traced to two main causes. The numerous mistakes plainly due to faulty transcription from S'āradā into Devanāgarī characters show that Mr. Moorcroft's copy shared the usual defects of all Devanāgarī manuscripts prepared in Kaśmīr. But it is equally evident also that the Calcutta Paṇḍits, unable to follow in many places the details of Kalhaṇa's narrative owing to want of familiarity with the topography, traditions, and other local lore of Kaśmīr, had frequently altered the text in an unscrupulous manner.

In 1840 Mr. A. TROYER, who, while Principal of the Calcutta Sanskrit College had occasion to become acquainted with the labours preceding the issue of the editio princeps, began the publication of a new edition of the text and of a French translation under the auspices of the Société Asiatique at Paris. This edition was prepared practically from the same materials as those used at Calcutta, and was not carried beyond the first six Books. His translation, however, accompanied by elaborate historical and geographical dissertations, was completed in 1852.

It is unnecessary to discuss at length the grave defects which characterize this, the main portion, of Mr. Troyer's work; for they have long ago been recognized by all qualified Sanskritists. Though the patient industry and perseverance of the aged scholar may justly claim our admiration, we must acknowledge with Professor Buhler, the most competent and fairest of judges, that Mr. Troyer who "has seldom been able to make out the meaning of the text except where Kalhaṇa uses the simplest, plainest language," had undertaken a task very much beyond his strength.[6] The most striking of the translator's shortcomings directly result from a want of proper preparation, easily intelligible in view of the peculiar

[5] See BUHLER, *Report*, p 55

[6] See BUHLER, *Report*, p 55.

circumstances connected with Mr. Troyer's personal career and his literary labours.[7] But his failure is largely due also to the insufficiency of the materials then available to European scholars. This observation applies with particular force to the materials required for the proper comprehension of all those points in Kalhaṇa's narrative which are connected with the history, topography, economic conditions and other local features of Kaśmīr.

The difficulty in dealing with these points without the materials which only local research could furnish, is illustrated by the results of the labours which two Indologists of the first rank bestowed upon the Kaśmīr Chronicle soon after the Valley became fully accessible to Europeans. General (then Captain) A CUNNINGHAM, whom political duty had brought to Kaśmīr after the first Sikh war and the establishment of Dogrā rule in the Valley, was able to elucidate with remarkable success a series of important questions bearing on the chronological system of the Rājataraṅgiṇī and on the numismatic history of the country With the help of the information obtained through local inquiries he correctly ascertained the era

[7] Mr TROYER appears to have been born in the Tyrol about the year 1769, and to have been educated at an Austrian military academy The wars of the French Revolution found him as a young artillery officer in Flanders, where the accidental discovery of a polyglot Bible in an abandoned convent which his battery occupied, first directed his attention to the study of Arabic. Transferred to the army operating in Italy, and employed during the siege of Genoa as Austrian commissioner at the British headquarters, he made the acquaintance of Lord William Bentinck, who formed a firm friendship for him

When Lord W. Bentinck proceeded in 1803 to Madras as Governor of the Presidency, he offered to his friend an appointment on his personal staff, which Troyer readily accepted A commission as captain in some native regiment provided Troyer at the same time with the requisite military rank He remained in Madras after the recall of his patron, ultimately occupying the post of Principal of the local Muhammadan College He seems subsequently to have retired to Paris, from where he once more followed Lord W Bentinck's fortunes to India when the latter became Governor-General in 1827. Made Principal of the Calcutta Sanskrit College, he remained in India until 1835, when he finally returned to Paris

It is only during his residence at Calcutta that he seems to have seriously taken up Sanskrit studies, a fact which in view of his advanced age indicates no small amount of vigour and scholarly zeal The thirty years which Troyer spent in complete retirement after his return to Europe, were devoted to the same interests which had originally attracted him to India He died in 1866, nearly a centenarian, after having preserved to the last a remarkable freshness of mind Among the many literary labours which he planned or began during the later portion of his life, only two had been brought to completion, his Rājataraṅgiṇī work and the annotated translation of that curious Persian text, the Dabistan

I take the above from an interesting obituary notice which is contained in M MOHL's *Rapport Annuel* to the Société Asiatique for the year 1866 (*Journal asiat*, 1866, Extrait No 9, pp 13-18) I owe the reference to this publication as well as a manuscript copy of it to the kindness of my lamented teacher, Professor R VON ROTH, who had known Mr Troyer during his own student's days at Paris (1845-46), and who in 1894 still vividly remembered some quaint features of his character and habits.

According to Prof von Roth's recollection the old gentleman put his birth at an even earlier date than that indicated in M Mohl's notice It seems probable that a search in the archives of the Vienna war office would lead to more accurate information about Troyer's early life and his career in the Austrian army I regret not to have found an opportunity to make the necessary inquiries

employed in Kalhaṇa's chronological reckoning, and thus succeeded in fixing with fair accuracy the dates for almost all the kings from the advent of the Kārkoṭa dynasty onwards. In the same paper, published in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1846, he communicated the results of his search for ancient Kaśmīrian coins, and proved by their analysis the great value of numismatic evidence for the critical control of Kalhaṇa's records.[8] Equally useful for the study of Kaśmīrian antiquities was his rapid survey of the most conspicuous architectural remains of the Hindu period still extant in the Valley.[9] It threw light on the history of interesting temple-buildings mentioned in the Chronicle, and also enabled General Cunningham to identify a number of localities which are important for the ancient topography of the country.

Professor LASSEN, who in his great encyclopædia, the *Indische Alterthumskunde*, gave an exhaustive analysis of Kalhaṇa's Chronicle,[10] had no original materials of any kind at his disposal. We can, therefore, scarcely feel surprised if even his learning and acumen failed to extend materially the store of trustworthy historical data already gathered by Professor Wilson and General Cunningham. The conjectural attempts to establish synchronisms between the semi-legendary portion of Kalhaṇa's record and the earlier epochs of general Indian history could not be expected to furnish useful results at a time when the reliable data regarding the latter were yet so scanty. Similarly I have been obliged to point out elsewhere that the tendency towards purely conjectural identifications of local names displayed in this analysis has often caused the narrow territorial limits to be ignored to which the events recorded in the later and historically most valuable portion of Kalhaṇa's narrative are in reality restricted.[11]

All these labours had clearly proved that trustworthy materials were required before the contents of the Chronicle could be made fully available for historical and antiquarian study. Yet no attempt was made to secure them until Professor G. BÜHLER, then of the Bombay Education Department, during the summer of 1875, visited Kaśmīr in search of Sanskrit manuscripts. Many important results rewarded his brilliant researches and render this tour a memorable one in the annals of Sanskrit philology. But none among them, perhaps, show more clearly the keen historical sense and the sure perception of the departed great scholar than

[8] *The ancient coinage of Kashmir, with chronological and historical notes*, in "The Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Numismatic Society," 1846, No xx pp 1 sqq.

[9] *An Essay on the Arian Order of Architecture as exhibited in the Temples of Kashmir*, in *J.A S B.*, 1848.

[10] See in particular *Indische Alterthumskunde*, ii pp. 18 sqq , 753-781, 885-914 ; iii. pp 984-1128

[11] See below, Vol II., p. 350.

the lucidity with which he indicated the task concerning the Rājataraṅgiṇī and the materials that were at hand for it.[12]

By the examination of good though modern S'āradā copies of the Chronicle, Professor BÜHLER was able to prove the absolute superiority of the Kaśmīr manuscripts over the Devanāgarī transcripts. He also ascertained that the former were all derived from a single old S'āradā manuscript. Though unable himself to obtain more than a glimpse of this jealously-guarded *codex archetypus*, he thus showed the way for the critical reconstitution of the genuine text. He recognized clearly the importance of a minute study of the ancient geography of Kaśmīr for the correct comprehension of Kalhaṇa's narrative, and pointed out the most valuable help which could be obtained for such researches from the Nīlamatapurāṇa, the legendaries (Māhātmyas) of Kaśmīr Tīrthas, and other Kaśmīrian texts he had discovered. As regards the difficulties arising from the peculiarities of the Chronicler's diction and style, he showed how they might be overcome by close attention to the form of composition adopted by Kaśmīrian poets who immediately preceded and followed Kalhaṇa. The long discussion on the Rājataraṅgiṇī embodied in his famous *Report* finally gave Professor Bühler also an opportunity to trace some of the critical principles which must guide us in regard to the use of Kalhaṇa's work for the history of Kaśmīr and of India.

He thus expressed his conclusion as to the task that remained to be done. "A new attempt to translate and to explain the Rajataraṅgiṇī, and to use its contents for the history of India, ought to be made. But it is a work of very considerable difficulty, and will require much time and patience." The manner in which he contemplated this new translation was illustrated by a specimen given in the Appendix of his *Report* and containing a masterly exposition of verses 1-107 of Kalhaṇa's First Book.[13] Professor Bühler had himself at one time planned to undertake the work which had attracted so much of his interest. But other tasks and probably also the conviction that further local researches were indispensable for its satisfactory execution, prevented him from following up this plan after his return to Europe, in 1881.

Subsequently Dr. E. HULTZSCH utilized the manuscript materials which Professor Bühler had collected, and others obtained during his own visit to Kaśmīr in 1885, for a series of articles which appeared in Volumes XVIII and XIX of the *Indian Antiquary*. They were intended to supply an abstract translation and historical summary of the Chronicle. Though these articles were not continued

[12] *Detailed Report of a tour in search of Sanskrit MSS in Kaśmīr* (*J. B. Br. R. A. S.*, Extra No., 1877), pp. 52 sqq.

[13] See *Report*, pp. lxvi.-lxxxii.

beyond the commencement of Book iii., they have yet furnished a considerable number of useful critical observations, particularly in regard to Kalhaṇa's system of chronology.

Before concluding this review of previous labours, reference must be made to Mr. Yogesh Chunder DUTT's English version which appeared at Calcutta, 1879-87, under the title: *Kings of Káshmíra : being a translation of the Sanskrita work Rájataranggini of Kahlana* (sic) *Pandita.* This translation though published some time after Professor Buhler's researches, is based exclusively on the corrupt text of the Calcutta edition of 1835, and was manifestly prepared without reference to any of the Kaśmīrian sources of information which are indispensable for the correct comprehension of Kalhaṇa's narrative. Exegetical puzzles are passed over without any notice, and practically no attempt is made to grapple with the difficulties arising from Kalhaṇa's constant references to local topography, institutions, and other *realia* of ancient Kaśmīr.[14] Though the rendering of those portions of the text which are not altogether obscured in sense by the defects of the Calcutta edition, is distinctly superior to Mr. Troyer's version, and though the patient labour of the Bengali translator deserves commendation, it is yet evident that a publication of this kind could scarcely help towards the solution of the real difficulties in Kalhaṇa's work and towards the elucidation of those points which mainly interest the critical student.

It would be impossible to enumerate here all the works in which European and Indian Sanskrit scholars have incidentally discussed particular portions or passages of the Rājataraṅgiṇī, and have thus in varying degrees contributed towards the interpretation of the Chronicle. Referring for the most prominent among them to the note below,[15] I may now turn to the labours which have led to the production of the present work

I have already in my opening remarks indicated the reasons which induced me

[14] Regarding the confusion resulting from the disregard of topographical matters, see below Vol II, p. 349

[15] Geheimrath O. VON BOHTLINGK, in his great florilegium of Indian proverbial wisdom, the *Indische Spruche*, has translated many of those didactic and descriptive verses of the Rājataraṅgiṇī which form so characteristic a feature in Kalhaṇa's poetic style, see below *Introd.*, § 38. The same venerable scholar together with Prof KERN, of Leyden, has also, in vol vii. of the *Mélanges asiatiques* of the St. Petersburg Academy, proposed a considerable number of textual emendations for the Chronicle. Many of them have subsequently been confirmed by the readings of the codex archetypus as recorded in my edition

General CUNNINGHAM, nearly half a century after his first important contribution, resumed the discussion of interesting numismatic points connected with Kalhaṇa's narrative in his posthumous book, "The Coins of Medieval India," 1894 Prof J JOLLY in his paper "Rechts-historisches aus der Rājataraṅgiṇī" (*Weber-Festgabe*, 1895) has given a very instructive synopsis of the data furnished by the Chronicle for the study of legal and social lore in Kaśmīr, etc.

during my first visit to Kaśmīr to form the plan of a critical edition of the Rājataraṅgiṇī My first endeavour was to secure the use of the *codex archetypus* of all extant manuscripts of the Chronicle, of which Professor Buhler had not been allowed more than a glimpse and which subsequently to his visit had been divided between the three heirs of the former owner. In this I succeeded during my second visit in 1889, notwithstanding the additional obstacles created by the above division I was then able to ascertain that the codex had been written by a well-known Kaśmīrian scholar, Paṇḍit *Rājānaka Ratnakaṇṭha*, probably about the third quarter of the seventeenth century, and that it contains besides a wealth of various readings and corrections from several old hands, a great number of important glosses. The features which make that codex so valuable for critical and exegetical purposes, have been fully set forth both in the preface of my edition and in the *résumé* contained in Chapter III. of the Introduction to the present work [16]

A series of antiquarian tours in Kaśmīr for which I utilized my summer vacations during the years following my first visit, allowed me to acquaint myself on the spot with the topography, archaeological remains, local customs, and other *realia* of the country. They also furnished opportunities for the acquisition of manuscripts of those products of Kaśmīrian Sanskrit literature, which like the Nīlamata, the Māhātmyas of the numerous sacred sites, the poetical compositions of Kalhaṇa's period, have carefully to be consulted by the interpreter of the Chronicle With the assistance of the materials thus collected and on the basis of the codex archetypus I was able to prepare my edition of the Sanskrit text of the Rājataraṅgiṇī, which together with the complete *apparatus criticus* was published in 1892 under the patronage of the Kashmir Darbar [17]

In the preface of this Edition I had promised,—as soon as the scanty leisure I could spare from teaching and office duties would permit,– to give in a second volume exegetical notes on the text together with a running commentary on those points of Kalhana's narrative which are of interest for the history, archaeology and topography of Kaśmīr. It was impossible for me to take up this task in earnest until the arrangement already above alluded to had secured to me the leisure of two summer seasons in Kaśmīr.

Already previously I had convinced myself that the only way of testing my comprehension of Kalhana's text was for me to write down a close translation of it. I soon found that such a continuous rendering provided far simpler means of explaining and justifying my interpretation of the text than elaborate exegetical

[16] See *Introd.*, §§ 44-48

[17] *Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī, or Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir* Edited by M A. Stein Vol I Sanskrit Text with Critical Notes Bombay Education Society's Press 1892, pp. xx, 1-296, folio.

notes on all difficult or doubtful passages. There seemed also good reason to assume that a complete English version would not only bring the contents of the Chronicle within easier reach of all students interested in Kaśmīr and in Indian history generally, but would render reference to them also far more convenient to fellow-Sanskritists. I accordingly decided to offer in place of the promised commentary the present annotated translation which in view of its bulk and for other practical reasons had to take the form of a distinct publication.

The object which, as just indicated, led me to the preparation of a full translation, accounts also for the form given to the latter. It appeared to me that a close and as far as possible literal version was required in order to convey accurately the interpretation adopted for a text which combines with the intricacies of the florid rhetoric of the Sanskrit Kāvya so many obscurities due to the subject-matter, the local allusions, and other peculiarities of Kalhaṇa's form of narration. In that section of my Introduction which deals with Kalhaṇa's style, I have discussed at length the various causes which have made it often so difficult to ascertain exactly the meaning of particular expressions and also of whole passages.[18] Without referring to these here in detail, it will be evident that in the case of such a text where the interpreter can proceed only cautiously, and has often, as it were, to clear his way step by step, a freer form of rendering would be useful only for the purpose of giving an adequate conception of the work as a literary product to readers unable to study the original. Notwithstanding the poetical merit which we may allow to various features of Kalhaṇa's work, if judged as a Kāvya,[19] it appears to me doubtful whether the interest of that class of readers would ever justify more than comparatively small selections from the Chronicle being treated in the manner indicated.

These considerations have induced me to follow the example set by Professor Buhler in his above mentioned specimen-translation, and to adopt a form of rendering that allows the interpreter not only to reproduce plainly the meaning of the text, but also indirectly to indicate often the construction or other exegetical reason underlying his version. Thin square brackets have been employed throughout to distinguish words which are not actually found in the original, but require to be added in order to make the context intelligible in English, while round brackets denote additions having more the nature of glosses. Pedantic as this device may appear, it has often saved lengthy explanatory notes, and its advantages will be readily appreciated wherever reference to the exact words of the Chronicler is essential.[20]

[18] See *Introd.*, §§ 38-40.

[19] Compare *ib.*, § 37.

[20] From the method of translation here indicated I have departed only in regard to a small number of passages, amounting, in the aggregate, to not more than a hundred

The addition of Marginalia to indicate the reigns and more important events dealt with in particular portions of the text will, I trust, make reference easier, and to some extent remedy the defect arising from the want of proper division in Kalhaṇa's narrative.

I am fully aware that notwithstanding the standard of close verbal accuracy aimed at it would have been possible to give to this translation a form more attractive to the general reader. But even if I could have claimed the literary skill and command of language required for such a task, I doubt whether I could have attempted it without the risk of seeing my labours protracted far beyond the limits of the leisure assured for them. Any shortcomings in this direction will, I hope, be the more readily pardoned as the time thus saved has permitted me to follow up all the more carefully the many philological and antiquarian questions connected with the interpretation of the Chronicle.

In the course of these inquiries I have endeavoured to utilize to the best of my ability the special advantages I have enjoyed for the study of ancient Kaśmīr. The antiquarian tours to which I have already referred, and which I was able to supplement by others in 1894-96, have enabled me not only to examine most of the ancient ruins and sites of Kaśmīr, but also to gain a thorough personal acquaintance with the topography of the country and its economic and ethnic conditions. The great geographical barriers which separate Kaśmīr from the rest of India, coupled with the marked difference of climatic conditions, have from early times assured to the alpine land a distinct character of its own which manifests itself strongly in all matters of culture, customs, and social organization. It scarcely needs a detailed explanation to prove that closest attention to all these peculiarities of modern Kaśmīr is required if we desire to arrive at a correct comprehension of Kalhaṇa's narrative, and of the historical events of which it treats.

But it is not alone in the unaltered features of topography and climate, in ruined structures and other antiquarian remains, that so much of ancient Kaśmīr has survived to this day. The historical isolation of the country, directly due to its alpine position, and fully noticed in my Introduction,[21] has saved Kaśmīr from many changes which have elsewhere in India effaced the conditions of earlier periods. To this seclusion we owe in Kaśmīr that remarkable tenacity of tradition, which, whether in matters of local lore, in religious practice, or in social custom,

Ślokas, which contain rhetoric descriptions or didactic matter of a wholly conventional type, practically unconnected with the narrative proper. As those passages do not offer any points which are of interest, or in need of comment, I have contented myself with reproducing their purport by means of brief summaries.

[21] Compare below, pp. 30, 131 sq.

has often proved a most welcome help for the interpretation of the Chronicle. In evidence of the value of this source of information it will suffice to refer here only to my inquiry into the ancient monetary system of Kaśmīr, and to the numerous instances where local tradition has assisted me materially in tracing interesting ancient sites.[23] I need scarcely add that in collecting traditions of this kind I have always endeavoured to exercise due critical caution.

It was fortunate that I was able to conduct many of these inquiries, and in particular those connected with Paṇḍit traditions and the customs and manners of the Brahman population, with the help of my lamented friend, Paṇḍit GOVIND KAUL, of S'rīnagar. Thoroughly imbued himself with the traditional spirit of his class and country, and at the same time, like some other distinguished Kaśmīrian scholars of earlier days, possessed of a keen eye for the realities of life, Paṇḍit Govind Kaul held his store-house of old-world lore and learning ever open to me. The advantages I derived from it were not restricted to the ample information on traditions and customs I gathered through him. They were equally great in another direction All those who have had opportunities to study more closely Hindu thought in its products, as well as in its living inheritors, know how deep the differences reach that separate it from Western thought, whether classic or modern. It is a direct result of these differences that the Western interpreter of a text like the Rājataraṅgiṇī, which treats of so many aspects and relations of life, is only too frequently liable to misapprehend the drift of the author's thought, even where his words are plain, and the subject-matter sufficiently elucidated. In the absence of an indigenous commentary on the work it was no small assurance to me that I was able to test my interpretation wherever such doubts could arise, by consulting a scholar so thoroughly versed in the traditional notions of Kalhaṇa's country.

If a Sanskrit commentary on the Chronicle had ever been written by a countryman of Kalhaṇa, not too far removed from his own time, it would in all probability have made the task of proving the exact significance of many local terms and references far more simple. In the absence of such a convenient guide their meaning had only too frequently to be established in my notes by an exhaustive comparison of parallel passages, references to other Kaśmīrian texts, and other independent evidence. A very great portion of the materials used was obtained from texts hitherto unpublished, and scarcely any of the questions raised had previously formed the subject of systematic inquiry. These considerations have rendered it necessary to make in each case the exposition of the available evidence detailed and exhaustive; they must mainly be held to account if

[23] See Note *H*, §§ 8, 9, 35, sqq.; *Memoir on the Ancient Geography of Kaśmīr*, § 35.

some of these notes, e.g. on the terms *Ḍāmara* (Note *G*), *dvāra* (v. 214), on the Dinnāra reckoning, and the monetary system of old Kaśmīr (Note *H*), have grown into little monographs. Wherever the comments on a particular subject were too long to be conveniently printed as footnotes they have been placed in the APPENDIX found after Book viii.

The detailed study of the historical geography of Kaśmīr and the neighbouring hill-regions was from the first recognized by me as a condition of primary importance for my task, and as these researches had also otherwise a special attraction for me I have spared no effort to make my survey of the sites and tracts which form the scene of Kalhaṇa's narrative, as thorough and accurate as possible. The Memoir to be mentioned below has given me an opportunity to explain in detail the methods and means which have enabled me to identify with certainty the vast majority of the old localities, in and about Kaśmīr, referred to by the Chronicler, and very often to trace also the remains of particular structures, etc.[23] A reference to notes like those on the Castle of *Lohara* (Note *E*) on the re-discovery of the long-forgotten Tīrtha of *Bhedā* (Note *A*), on the old confluence of the Vitastā and Sindhu (Note *I*), etc., will help to realize the interest attaching to this search as well as the time and trouble it has frequently cost me.

It has been a source of special satisfaction to me that I was able to illustrate the results of my researches into the ancient topography of Kaśmīr by the MAPS attached to this work. I am indebted for the publication of the two larger ones, of ancient Kaśmīr and its capital Śrīnagar, to the help of the Asiatic Society, Bengal, which, through the kind offices of Drs. GRIERSON and HOERNLE, very liberally agreed to bear the cost of their preparation on the understanding that they would be published also separately in its *Journal*. The plan which I followed in preparing these maps and the system by which they were reproduced at the Offices of the Survey of India will be found fully explained elsewhere.[24] The successful technical execution of the maps was mainly due to the ready co-operation of Major-General J. WATERHOUSE, late Assistant Surveyor-General, in charge of the Lithographic and Photographic Office of the Survey of India. The third map showing the site of Parihāsapura and the ancient confluence of the Vitastā and Sindhu was subsequently reproduced at the well-known establishment of Mr. W. Griggs, of Peckham.

I am too well aware of the value of graphic reproduction as an important aid of the commentator not to have wished that it might have been practicable for me to provide, apart from these maps, other illustrations that would help to bring

[23] See below, *Memoir*, §§ 16-35.

[24] See below, *Memoir*, § 2.

the scenes of Kalhaṇa's story closer before the eye of the reader. The materials are ample in Kaśmīr, where the sites to which the Chronicler's narrative takes us, can mostly be traced with such accuracy, and where so many objects of antiquarian interest have survived from the periods he deals with. But Kalhaṇa is neither a Pausanias nor a Marco Polo, and hence the wish of an illustrated translation such as the efforts of two distinguished scholars have provided for the antiquarian of classical Greece and for the great traveller of the Middle Ages, must remain a *pium desiderium* which even the most enterprising publisher might well hesitate to realize.

My translation and the notes which accompany it were finished in manuscript in October, 1896. With the scanty leisure available to me at Lahore it would have been impossible to attempt to complete my task by a historical introduction such as I had originally promised. Yet my recent labours had convinced me more than ever how necessary it was from the point of view of the critical student that the many important questions relating to the personality of the author, the character and scope of his Chronicle, and its value as a source of historical information, should be examined systematically and in a connected form. A recommendation of the Eleventh International Congress of Orientalists, 1897, induced the Kashmir Darbar and the Punjab University jointly to grant me once more a two months' period of special duty for the purpose of completing my work in the manner indicated. I was thus able to prepare during the summer, 1898, the critical Introduction which precedes my translation of Kalhaṇa's text, and in addition also the "Memoir on the Ancient Geography of Kaśmīr" which follows it.

In the INTRODUCTION I have endeavoured to elucidate in the first place the data which can be gathered as regards the person of Kalhana, his family, and the *milieu* in that he lived. The discovery of a curious and hitherto unnoticed reference to Kalhaṇa by his countryman and contemporary, the poet Maṅkha, may perhaps claim special interest, as confirming in a striking manner the conclusions derived from the Chronicler's own work as regards his literary training and interests.[25] In the second Chapter I have examined as closely as our available materials would permit, the objects and methods which guided Kalhaṇa in the composition of his work, the sources he used for it, and the form which he gave to his narrative. The condition in which the text of the Chronicle has been handed down to us, and the materials I have used for its reconstitution, are discussed in the third Chapter, while the next contains an exposition of Kalhaṇa's system of Chronology.

[25] See *Introd.*, §§ 9, 10.

In the concluding and longest Chapter of the Introduction it has been my object to present a critical summary of Kalhaṇa's narrative and of the historical data contained in it. For the purposes of this analysis it was necessary to scrutinise with special care all independent evidence on Kaśmīrian history that we can at present gather from the coins, foreign notices and similar records.

It is only by the discovery of fresh materials of this kind that we can hope to obtain true light regarding the earlier periods for which the first three Books of Kalhaṇa's work do not furnish us with a critically reliable account. Conjectural "adjustments" of Kalhaṇa's statements, as proposed by some of my predecessors, cannot take the place of such materials, and I hope, therefore, I shall not be blamed for having strictly avoided them. On the other hand, I trust, the analysis of the subsequent portions of the Chronicle will show that from the advent of the Kārkoṭa dynasty onwards we possess in it a truly historical record which grows more and more accurate as we approach the time of the author, and which by its wealth of information on all aspects of old Kaśmīr amply repays the attention of the student of Indian history and culture.

The Chronological and Genealogical Tables attached to the Introduction are intended to present in a condensed form the information furnished by the Rājataraṅgiṇī regarding the date and descent of successive rulers of Kaśmīr.

The MEMOIR which follows the translation and Notes, presents a connected and detailed account of the Ancient Geography of Kaśmīr. The importance of the latter for the comprehension of the Chronicle and for the critical study of Kaśmīr history generally needs, in view of my previous remarks, scarcely to be emphasized here. The preparation of this Memoir, which, with certain modifications, was intended also to accompany the separate issue of the maps of Ancient Kaśmīr and S'rīnagar, has enabled me to treat the subject as a whole and in a systematic manner It gave me an opportunity to utilize fully the valuable topographical information available from other sources apart from the Rājataraṅgiṇī, and at the same time to bring out the true bearing and interest of Kalhaṇa's data far more clearly than it was possible in the scattered notes of the translation.

I have spared no labour to make the INDEX which concludes the work full and accurate. It will, I trust, be found helpful not only for purposes of ready reference, but also for supplying the reader with the abstract biographies he needs in order to follow intelligently the fortunes of all the personages which flit through the later portion of Kalhaṇa's narrative in such a bewildering fashion [26]

The Index is also intended to rectify a certain want of uniformity which, I regret, will be noticeable in the spelling of some Kaśmīrī words, particularly local

[26] Compare regarding this serious difficulty of the interpreter, *Introd*, § 40.

names. The correct reproduction of Kaśmīrī words presents often unusual difficulties. This is due to the variety and peculiarity of the sounds of the language, particularly its vowels, as well as to the want of a system of spelling recognized in the country itself and to other causes which need not be detailed here. The lines adopted by Dr. GRIERSON for the phonetic rendering of Kaśmīrī in his admirable analysis of Paṇḍit Īśvara Kaula's Grammar undoubtedly represent the nearest approach to an exact transcription, and I have endeavoured to follow them closely.[27] A great portion of my commentary was, however, written before I received, through Dr. Grierson's kindness, the proofs of his publication and before I myself had begun to make a closer study of Kaśmīrī phonetics. Many of the local names had been recorded by me long before in notes collected during earlier antiquarian tours, and though I took care to test afresh their pronunciation wherever possible before embodying them in my commentary, complete uniformity in their spelling could for the reasons above indicated not be secured from the beginning. In the cases of names where slight variations of this kind have occurred a reference to the Index will show the form definitely adopted by me.[28]

Such a reference will be useful also in those instances where the accidental breaking of diacritical types in the course of printing has produced apparent variations of spelling in Sanskrit and other Oriental words. In the transcription of these the system approved by the Tenth International Congress of Orientalists, 1894, has been uniformly followed.

From the time when I first began my study of the Kaśmīr Chronicle the advice and ready help of Professor BÜHLER had accompanied my labours. His own researches in Kaśmīr were my best guide to the materials that were needed for the task, and nothing encouraged me more in its execution than the unflagging interest with which he followed it. Realizing from his own Indian

[27] See Dr. GRIERSON'S several papers on Kaśmīrī phonetics and inflection in the *J.A.S.B.*, 1897-98.

It may be useful to mention here that the vowel-signs raised above the line (^{a}, ^{e}, ^{i}, ^{u}) which I have adopted in accordance with Dr Grierson's system, represent the exceptionally short, so-called "broken" vowel-sounds peculiar to Kaśmīrī.

[28] The variations referred to concern mostly certain vowel-sounds, the modifications of which through epenthesis have in my earlier notes not always received sufficient attention, hence *Buḍ^{e}brār* for *Buḍ^{u}brār*, *Sun^{a}man^{i} Kul* for *Sun^{e}maṇ^{i} Kul*, *Ār^{i}yom* for *Ā̤r^{i}yōm*, etc.

A change due to purely typographical reasons is the substitution of *â* for *å*, to represent the Kaśmīrī sound approaching in pronunciation the vowel of the English word *aunt*.

It may be mentioned here that the distinction of the letters *ś*, *sh*, *ṣ* as renderings of the Kaśmīrī sound corresponding to English *sh*, is made on purely etymological grounds. I have used *ś* where the modern consonant is undoubtedly the derivative of Sanskrit *ś*; *sh* in words of Persian and Arabic origin, and *ṣ* in all other cases,—the last character being employed as the representative of the lingual sibilant in conformity with the general system of transcription followed.

experience the practical difficulties with which I had to contend, he readily helped to secure to me the leisure indispensable for the work. When the facilities obtained largely through the weight of his recommendation had enabled me to complete my translation and commentary for the press he generously offered his assistance in revising the proofs. This most valuable help to which I owe besides improvements in the form of my translation a number of interesting suggestions separately acknowledged in my notes, extended over the greater portion of the text contained in the first Volume and only ceased with Professor Buhler's lamented death, in the spring of 1898.

The irreparable loss which the study of ancient India has suffered in so many directions by the untimely end of the departed great scholar, has been felt too widely to need my comments here. The results which he achieved in his unceasing endeavours to lay open the true sources of early Indian history, would alone suffice to make his name for ever memorable in the records of Indologist research In Kaśmīr it was he who first showed the right way to a critical study of the history of the country, and the very task which I have here endeavoured to solve, had long before been planned by himself. Fate has denied me the hoped-for satisfaction of placing the completed work in the hands of the master who would have been its most competent judge. But assured of his opinion regarding the parts that I was able to submit, I may at least without hesitation dedicate these volumes to his memory as a token of the gratitude and admiration I shall ever cherish for him

I have already above had occasion to refer to the advantage I enjoyed by being able to gather valuable information on many points of the traditional and local lore of Kaśmīr through Pandit Govind Kaul, of S'rīnagar This accomplished Kaśmīrian scholar who had already assisted me in collecting some of the critical materials embodied in my edition of the Sanskrit text of the Rājataraṅgiṇī, continued to act as my amanuensis during the years which I spent over the preparation of my translation and commentary By arranging under my directions provisional Sanskrit indices for the Rājataraṅgiṇī, the later Chronicles and other Kaśmīrian texts requiring constant reference, and by similar labours he lightened for me the great burden of mechanical work which is inseparable from such a task The identification of Kalhaṇa's numerous allusions to stories contained in the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas is mainly his work I am also indebted to his aid for a preliminary collation of the Lahore manuscript of the Chronicle which has enabled me to improve the critical constitution of the text underlying my translation.

It is a source of true sorrow to me that this faithful assistant of my labours is no longer among the living. Pandit Govind Kaul died at S'rīnagar in the summer of 1899, separated from me at the time by the whole breadth of India. But

I hope this public acknowledgment of his services will help to preserve the memory of a scholar who was worthy to maintain the learned traditions of the land of S'ăradā.

It would have been impossible for me to prepare the work now completed without the leisure granted to me in addition to my vacation, in the years 1895, 1896, and 1898. I owe this important concession to the liberality of the Kashmir Darbar and the Punjab University which jointly bore the cost involved by my 'deputation.' For the material assistance thus rendered to me I wish to record here the expression of my sincere gratitude.

His Highness the Maharaja and the State Council of Jammu and Kashmir had already given a proof of their generous interest in my labours by sanctioning in 1891 a grant towards the publication of the Chronicle which had materially facilitated the issue of my edition of the text, and the collection of the materials required for the commentary. In connection with the help I have received on the part of the Darbar, I must record my sincere thanks to Colonel D. W. K. BARR, C.S.I., Mr. H. S. BARNES, C.S.I., and Colonel Sir A. TALBOT, K.C.I.E., successive Residents in Kashmir, who were all equally ready to grant me the benefit of their support. To Mr. W. R. LAWRENCE, C.I.E., late Settlement-Commissioner of Kashmir and the author of the best account of the modern conditions of the Valley, I offer my grateful acknowledgments for his kind help and advice in regard to the steps which first led to my deputation.

I owe a similar debt of gratitude to the late Vice-Chancellors of the Punjab University, Sir W. H. RATTIGAN, KT., Q.C., and Sir CHARLES A. ROE, KT., LL.D., who by their recommendations materially aided me in obtaining the concession already referred to.

Owing to my distance from the printers and for other reasons the passing of the work through the press has involved a heavy amount of labour. I, therefore, feel particularly grateful for the good offices of those who at various stages of the work have lent me a helping hand in the revision of proofs. Apart from Professor Buhler's help already mentioned I received for portions of the first volume the assistance of Miss TOULMIN-SMITH, Librarian of Manchester College, Oxford, and Dr. J. MORISON. For the whole of the second volume and the Introduction I benefited by the help and advice of my friend, Professor T. W. ARNOLD, of the Government College, Lahore, who has generously sacrificed to the task much hard-earned leisure. As it was impossible to arrange that more than single proofs should reach me in India, my friend Dr. M. WINTERNITZ, with the publishers' assent, kindly undertook the reading of all final revisions. I owe it largely to his care if the number of misprints proves smaller than might be anticipated from the difficulties with which I had often to contend in reading proofs while on tour or in the midst of official business.

Last, but not least, I feel obliged to express my thanks to my publishers and printers. To the former they are due for the spirit of enterprise they have shown in undertaking, unaided, a publication of this kind, and for the free scope they have allowed me as regards its extent.

From Messrs. Gilbert and Rivington I have received every assistance in carrying out the typographical arrangements which seemed to me to be best adapted to the purposes of the work, notwithstanding the extra difficulties which the use of a large variety of special types has necessarily involved.

* * *

The alpine surroundings amidst which I write these lines, and with which I shall always associate the recollection of the greatest part of my labours, help forcibly to draw my thought to the local bearing of the work now concluded

From the high mountain plateau which my camp once more occupies, almost the whole of Kaśmīr lies before me, from the ice-capped peaks of the northern range to the long snowy line of the Pīr Pantsāl,—a little world of its own, enclosed by mighty mountain ramparts. Small indeed the country may seem, by the side of the great plains that extend in the south, and confined the history of which it was the scene. And yet, just as the natural attractions of the Valley have won it fame far beyond the frontiers of India, thus too the interest attaching to its history far exceeds the narrow geographical limits

The favours with which Nature has so lavishly endowed "the land in the womb of Himālaya," are not likely to fade or vanish But those manifold remains of antiquity which the isolation of the country has preserved, and which help us to resuscitate the life and conditions of earlier times, are bound to disappear more and more with the rapid advance of Western influences

Great are the changes which the last few decennia have brought over Kaśmīr, greater, perhaps, than any which the country has experienced since the close of the Hindu period. It is easy to foresee that much of what is of value to the historical student will before long be destroyed or obliterated. It is time to collect as carefully as possible the materials still left for the study of old Kaśmīr and its earliest records. I have spared no efforts to serve this end, and in the result of my labours, I hope, there will be found some return for the boons which I owe to Kaśmīr

M. A. STEIN.

Mohand Marg:
18th May, 1900

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Māh.	Māhātmya [compare regarding Māhātmyas of Kaśmir Tirthas, below, ii pp 378 sqq, 491 sq]
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Tieffenthaler, *Description de l'Inde.*	Description historique et géographique de l'Inde Tome I La Géographie de l'Indoustan, écrite en latin, dans le pays même, par le Père Joseph Tieffenthaler, Jesuite and Missionaire apostolique dans l'Inde. Le tout, augmenté de remarques et d'autres additions, redigé et publié en

français, par M Jean Bernoulli. Berlin, de l'imprimerie de Chrétien Sigismond Spener. 1786.

Tîrthas. The Tîrthasamgraha of Paṇḍit Sâhibrâm. [Compare below, ii pp. 383 sq Quoted from MSS. in my collection.]

TROYER, *Râdjat.* Râdjataranginî, Histoire des Rois du Kachmir, traduite et commentée par M A. Troyer et publiée aux frais de la Société Asiatique, Paris. Imprimé à l'Imprimerie Royale (Nationale). Vols. I.—III 1840-52.

Vie de Hiouen-Thsang Histoire de la Vie de Hiouen-Thsang et de ses voyages dans l'Inde, depuis l'an 629 jusqu'en 645, par Hoei-li et Yen-Thsong; suivie de documents et d'éclaircissements géographiques tirés de la relation originale de Hiouen-Thsang; traduite du chinois par Stanislas Julien. Paris: Imprimerie Impériale. 1853.

VIGNE, *Travels.* Travels in Kashmir, Ladak, Iskardo, the countries adjoining the mountain-course of the Indus, and the Himalaya, north of the Panjab. With map By G. T. Vigne, Esq. London: Henry Colburn. Vols. I.—II 1842.

Vikram. The Vikramâṅkadevacharita Life of King Vikramâditya of Kalyâṇa, composed by his Vidyâpâti Bilhaṇa Edited, with an introduction, by Dr. G. Buhler. Bombay. Government Central Book Depôt. 1875

Weber-Festgabe. Gurupûjâkaumudi. Festgabe zum funfzigjährigen Doctorjubilaeum Albrecht Weber dargebracht von seinen Freunden and Schulern. Leipzig. O Harrassowitz 1896.

WILSON, *Essay* An Essay on the Hindu History of Cashmir. Transactions of the Asiatic Society. Asiatic Researches, Vol. XV. Calcutta Asiatic Society, 1825

YULE, *Cathay.* Cathay and the way thither; being a collection of medieval notices of China, translated and edited by Colonel Henry Yule, C B. With a preliminary essay on the intercourse between China and the Western nations previous to the discovery of the Cape route. London: Hakluyt Society. Vols. I —II. 1866

N.B.—In addition to the above the usual abbreviations have been used in references to Orientalist periodicals; thus *J.R A S.* (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society), *Ind Ant* (Indian Antiquary), *Z.D.M.G* (Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft), &c.

Quotations by book and verse, *without* a preceding title or abbreviation, refer to passages of the Râjataraṅgiṇî in the present translation.

INTRODUCTION

TO

KALHAṆA'S RĀJATARAṄGIṆĪ.

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PRELIMINARY.

Historical literature in India

IT has often been said of the India of the Hindus that it possessed no history. The remark is true if we apply it to history as a science and art, such as classical culture in its noblest prose-works has bequeathed it to us. But it is manifestly wrong if by history is meant either historical development or the materials for studying it. India has never known among its S'āstras the study of history such as Greece and Rome cultivated or as modern Europe understands it. Yet the materials for such a study are equally at our disposal in India. They are contained not only in such original sources of information as inscriptions, coins and antiquarian remains generally; advancing research has also proved that written records of events or of traditions concerning them have by no means been wanting in ancient India.

This is not the place to examine the causes which in India have prevented the growth of a historical literature in the Western sense of the word. They are most closely connected with deep-rooted peculiarities of Indian thought and culture which have rendered the mind of the Indian scholar indifferent to the search for the bare truths of historical facts and have effectively prevented it from arriving at the perception of historical development and change

It is a direct result of these causes that we find the great mass of what we must call records of Indian history, in departments of literature which to the student of European history would appear distant from the field of his research. Much of what popular tradition had retained of the events of an early past, has found its way, overgrown and interwoven with myths and legends, into the Indian epics, the Purānas, and the fable literature. The object to which we owe such records of traditional lore, was didactic and religious, but not historical.

Historical Kāvyas

On the other hand we find that artificial Sanskrit poetry has availed itself, probably from an early date, of historical themes. They serve in this case mainly as a framework for the display of all the subtle poetic art and rhetorical embellishment which constitute the characteristic object and *raison d'être* of the Kāvya. It is no mere chance that almost all 'historical Kāvyas' (*Caritas*) which have yet come to light, deal with the exploits of the poets' princely patrons or the latters' immediate predecessors. Sanskrit poetry of the Kāvya type has always been an artificial product,

dependent more than any other branch of Indian scholarship—for as such we must class it—on courtly patronage. If then the Kavi had enough originality to choose his theme outside the hackneyed spheres of mythology and romance, what subject more suitable could he find than the life of the ruler who was likely to reward his labours?

This restriction of the subject of the historical Kāvya has effected in two directions its value as a source of historical information. The fact that it treats of contemporary events represents an undoubted advantage. But this is impaired to no small extent by the obvious limitations implied by the panegyrical character of these poems. As the events described are supposed to be well known to the reader, the author's skill is not directed towards a lucid exposition of the facts and their causes, but rather towards their poetic embellishment. Hence results a striking want of accurate details without which the narrative cannot attain true historic reality, and an equally striking abundance of obscure allusions, the point of which must necessarily often escape us.

This character of the *Caritas* directly accounts for their rare preservation. Written for the delectation of a particular court and period, they were bound soon to lose popularity if they ever attained it. When no longer read by the Paṇḍits, these works ceased to be copied, and the few extant manuscripts were exposed to all the risks attending Indian libraries. We can hence scarcely feel surprised that so few only of these texts should have come down to us.[1]

Character and scope of Kalhaṇa's Chronicle.

The interest of Kalhaṇa's RĀJATARAṄGIṆĪ for Indian history generally lies in the fact that it represents a class of Sanskrit composition which comes nearest in character to the Chronicles of Mediæval Europe and of the Muhammadan East. Together with the later Kaśmīr Chronicles which continue Kalhaṇa's narrative, it is practically the sole extant specimen of this class.

A Kāvya in form and conception the Rājataraṅgiṇī has yet a scope and aim widely different from that of the Caritas we have previously noticed. Its author's object is to offer a connected narrative of the various dynasties which ruled Kaśmīr from the earliest period down to his own time. He begins with the legends which represent the popular traditions of the country regarding its earliest history. These he follows up by a narrative of subsequent reigns taken from older written records and arranged in a strictly chronological order. The final portion of the work, considerable both in extent and historical interest, is devoted to an account of the events which the author knew by personal experience or from the relation of living witnesses. These events are narrated from the point of view of a more or less independent Chronicler and by no means with the purely panegyrical object of the court-poet, which reigns supreme in the Caritas.

Kalhaṇa nowhere claims the merit of originality for the plan and form of his work. On the contrary, he refers to various earlier compositions on the history of Kaśmīr kings which he had used. But none of these older works has come down to us. Nor has Sanskrit literature in any other part of India preserved for us remains of Chronicles similar to the Rājataraṅgiṇī, though indications of their former existence have come to light in various quarters. The complete loss of such texts makes it impossible for us to ascertain what Kalhaṇa's work owed to an

[1] To Professor BÜHLER belongs the merit of having first recognised the historical value of the *Caritas*. He has explained their character and the cause of their disappearance with admirable lucidity in the introduction to his edition of the *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, pp 1 sqq

earlier development, or to judge of its character and its value for historical research by a comparative standard.

If we wish to throw light on these points, we can only turn to the Chronicle itself. From the indications scattered through the narrative we can gather some instructive facts regarding the author's personality and the time and surroundings in which he lived. A brief analysis of his sources, methods, and style will show us in outline the aims and principles which guided him in his labours. Finally we may endeavour, by a critical examination of Kalhana's narrative and chronology, to ascertain the value of the several portions of his work as sources of historical information.

CHAPTER I.

THE AUTHOR OF THE CHRONICLE

SECTION I.—KALHAṆA'S PERSON AND DESCENT.

Scantiness of biographical data

1. KALHAṆA has shared the fate of so many Indian authors of note whose memory lives solely in their works There is no record to tell us of the life of the scholar-poet to whom we owe our knowledge of the history of old Kaśmīr. Nor do we even meet with the name of Kalhaṇa except in the colophons of his work and in the introductory notice which his successor and continuator Jonarāja has prefixed to his own Chronicle, three centuries later. It is from Kalhaṇa's work alone that we can gather some facts regarding his origin and person

The colophons which are attached to the end of each Book of the Rājataraṅgiṇī, ascribe its composition to "*Kalhaṇa*, the son of the great Kaśmīrian minister, the illustrious Lord *Caṇpaka*" There is no reason to doubt the authenticity of the information conveyed to us in these colophons. They are found already in the codex which is the archetype of our extant Manuscripts. In view of their form which gives honorific titles merely to the father of the author, these colophons may be assumed with great probability to go back to Kalhaṇa himself

Date of Kalhaṇa's work, A.D. 1148-49

Kalhaṇa wrote the introduction of his Chronicle in the year 4224 of the Laukika era or A D. 1148-49, and completed his work in the year following[2] Considering this date and the significance of the above titles, the identity of Kalhaṇa's father with the CAṆPAKA who is repeatedly mentioned in the Chronicle as one of the chief officials of King Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101), becomes highly probable Collateral evidence supporting this opinion is supplied by the Chronicle itself.

***Caṇpaka*, Kalhaṇa's father.**

2. In the several passages which mention Caṇpaka, we find the latter invariably spoken of with evident respect for his character and activity We first meet him as lord of the Gate (*dvārapati*) or commandant of the frontier defences in the latter part of Harṣa's reign On the occasion of the king's expedition against the castle of Dugdhaghāta on the Darad frontier, shortly before A D 1099, Caṇpaka's success in effecting the investment of that mountain stronghold notwithstanding the intrigues of official rivals is specially eulogized.[3] When relating Harṣa's desperate struggle for his crown and life, Kalhaṇa mentions Caṇpaka amongst the last few officials who loyally held out by the king's side He is careful to explain Caṇpaka's absence at the final catastrophe by a detailed account of the special mission which the doomed king entrusted to him.[4] The dialogue which Kalhaṇa puts into the mouth of king and minister, bears every appearance of historic truth. Reference is made in it to a particular incident which, from the nature of the case, could not have well been remembered by any one except Caṇpaka himself[5] Its special record and that of the whole dialogue becomes intelligible in the light of the fact that Kalhaṇa was the minister's son.

[2] See *Rājat.* i 52, viii. 3401.
[3] vii 1177 sqq
[4] vii 1586 sqq
[5] vii. 1591

Information derived from Caṇpaka.

This connection, too, explains the exact and graphic account which Kalhaṇa is able to give us of the flight of the unfortunate king from the capital and of his tragic death.[6] The only companions of Harṣa on his flight and during the few days of his hiding were his faithful chamberlain Prayāga, and Mukta, a menial servant of Caṇpaka's household. The former was killed fighting together with his royal master. Mukta alone escaped death under circumstances which Kalhaṇa takes special care to explain and justify.[7] It is evident that he had received his account of Harṣa's last days from this sole surviving witness who belonged to his father's household.

Kalhaṇa describes Caṇpaka as a fervent worshipper at the Tīrthas of Nandikṣetra, the present Buth'sēr.[8] This accounts for the intimate acquaintance he himself displays with that sacred site.[9] As Caṇpaka's son he was likely to have accompanied his father on his regular annual visits to the Tīrthas. From a reference to the latter it appears that Caṇpaka was yet living about the year A.D. 1136.[10]

Kanaka, probably an uncle of Kalhaṇa.

Incidental notices of the Rājataraṅgiṇī enable us to trace yet another close relative of Kalhaṇa. The Chronicle relates among many extravagant acts of Harṣa that the music-loving king presented one lakh of gold coins to KANAKA, a younger brother of Caṇpaka, who had gained his favour by taking lessons in singing from him.[11] The same Kanaka is subsequently praised for having proved himself grateful to the memory of his royal patron. He retired, after the latter's death, to Benares and ended there his days in pious resignation.[12]

If this younger brother of Caṇpaka was in reality Kalhaṇa's uncle, as there seems every reason to assume, we can account for Harṣa's extravagant present by the family's high position. Kalhaṇa also mentions as another meritorious act of Kanaka that by his timely intercession he saved the colossal Buddha image at Parihāsapura, his birthplace, from destruction by King Harṣa.[13] The saving of the only other Buddha statue, which escaped the king's clutches, is ascribed to the Buddhist S'ramaṇa Kuśalaśrī. In view of this company it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Kanaka, too, was personally connected in some way with Buddhist worship. We shall see below how well this conclusion agrees with certain observations regarding Kalhaṇa's own attitude towards Buddhism.

From the mention of Parihāsapura as Kanaka's birthplace, we may infer that this town was the original home of Kalhaṇa's family. We owe probably to this circumstance the detailed references which Kalhaṇa makes to the sacred buildings of Parihāsapura, and the close acquaintance he shows with the topography of that neighbourhood.[14]

Kalhaṇa's Brahman descent.

3. It can scarcely be doubted that Kalhaṇa's family was Brahman by caste. Sanskrit learning of the type displayed in the Rājataraṅgiṇī has, in Kaśmīr, as

[6] See vii 1624 sqq.

[7] vii. 1701 sq.

[8] Compare vii. 954 and note; also viii. 2365.

The abrupt manner in which Caṇpaka is introduced to us in the first-named passage, appears to me a further indication of his identity with the Chronicler's father. Kalhaṇa when first mentioning new personages in his narrative, ordinarily particularizes their origin and position. The omission of such particulars in the case of Caṇpaka is significant. Kalhaṇa, who seems never to have troubled himself about making his narrative intelligible to other than contemporary readers (see below, § 40), naïvely considers further particulars about his own father unnecessary.

[9] See note i. 36, i 107 and the passages quoted in the note, also i. 121.

[10] See viii. 2365.

[11] vii 1117

[12] See viii. 12 sq.

[13] vii. 1097 sq.

[14] Compare iv 194-204 (Note *F*), 323 sq.; vi. 1326 sqq.; 1344 sqq.; v. 97-100 (Note *I*).

elsewhere in India, been always cultivated chiefly if not exclusively, by Paṇḍits of Brahman descent. Kalhaṇa betrays in more than one passage the conscious pride of 'the gods on earth' and his full sympathy with Brahminical self-assertion.[15] We have besides the direct testimony of Jonarāja who refers to Kalhaṇa with the epithet *dvija*.[16]

Kalhaṇa's S'aiva cult.

The introductory verses prefixed to each Book of the Chronicle all contain prayers addressed to S'iva in his form of *Ardhanārīśvara*, representing the god in his union with Pārvatī. It is hence clear that Kalhaṇa was attached to S'aiva worship which, as far as we can go back, has always occupied the first place among the Hindu cults of the Valley. This is in full accord with what we know of his father Caṇpaka's pious visits and gifts to the Tīrthas of Nandikṣetra, all of which are sacred to S'iva. From the respectful way in which Kalhaṇa refers to Bhaṭṭa Kalata, one of the chief expositors of the Kaśmīrian S'aivaśāstra,[17] it appears probable that the transcendental doctrines based on the S'aiva creed, were not foreign to him. Tantric cult which in Kaśmīr is still closely connected with S'aiva worship, seems also to have been well known to Kalhaṇa. Various ironical allusions, however, show that he entertained but scant regard for the individuals who posed as its privileged hierophants.[18]

Kalhaṇa's interest in Buddhism.

The above facts indicate a close attachment to S'aivism on the part of both Kalhaṇa and his father. It is curious to note side by side with it the manifestly friendly attitude which Kalhaṇa displays towards Buddhism throughout the whole of his Chronicle. A long series of kings, from Aśoka down to his own time, receives his unstinted praise for the Vihāras and Stūpas they founded for the benefit of the Buddhist creed.[19] Similar foundations by private individuals are recorded with the same attention. Others, like Meghavāhana, are praised for having in accordance with the 'Jina's' teaching prohibited the slaughter of animals.[20] Kalhaṇa does not hesitate to refer repeatedly to the Bodhisattvas or to Buddha himself as the comforters of all beings, the embodiments of perfect charity and nobility of feeling. They are to him beings of absolute goodness "who do not feel anger even against the sinner, but in patience render him kindness"[21] It is impossible to read Kalhaṇa's detailed account of the legend of the Kṛtyāśrama Vihāra (i. 131-147), with its plainly marked Buddhist tendency and phraseology, without realizing the author's sympathy with Buddhist traditions.

We note the same feeling in the numerous references which Kalhaṇa makes to images of Buddha claiming special interest.[22] When describing the sacrilegious confiscations of Harṣa, he is as particular to name the Buddha-statues which were preserved, as the images of Hindu gods which shared that distinction.[23] In addition it deserves to be noted that Kalhaṇa takes care to show us on more than one occasion his thorough familiarity with special points of Buddhist tradition and terminology.[24]

[15] See, e.g., the characteristic account of King Jayāpīḍa's end, iv. 631 sqq., 640 sqq.; v 16 sq., 46 sqq; the description of Yaśaskara's reign, vi. 2 sqq., the story of the Brahman's revenge, viii. 2227 sqq., etc.

[16] See *Jonar* 5

[17] v. 66; compare regarding the S'aiva philosophy of Kaśmīr and its several schools, Prof. BÜHLER's *Report*, pp. 77 sqq.

[18] See vi. 11 sq. and the humorous hits at Tantric *Gurus*, vii 278 sqq., 295 sqq., 523, 712

[19] For a complete list of such Buddhist foundations compare the Index, s.vv. *vihāra*, *caitya*, and *stūpa*.

[20] iii 4-7, 27 sqq., 255 sq.; v 64, 119.

[21] i 134 sqq., iii 28; viii 2234, 2574

[22] iii 355, 464, iv 200, 259-263, 507; vi 172 sq; vii 696, viii 1184

[23] vii. 1097 sq.

[24] Compare i. 135 sqq, 172 sq, viii. 240, 2234.

Contemporary Buddhism in Kaśmir.

4. The contrast which this partiality for Buddhist cult and traditions presents to the avowed S'aivism of Kalhaṇa, is more apparent than real. For centuries before Kalhaṇa's time Buddhism and the orthodox creeds had existed peacefully side by side in Kaśmīr. As far as the laity was concerned, they had to a great extent amalgamated. His own narrative from the point where it reaches historical ground, gives ample proof of this. Of almost all royal and private individuals, who are credited with the foundation of Buddhist Stūpas and Vihāras, it is recorded that they, or at least members of their family, with equal zeal endowed also shrines of S'iva or Viṣṇu.[25] In Kalhaṇa's own time we note that every contemporary royal personage or minister who is praised for his Buddhist endowments, showed the same pious liberality also in regard to Brahminical temples and establishments[26]

The condition of religious feeling indicated by these facts is amply illustrated by what we know of the position of heterodox creeds in other parts of India, both ancient or modern. Of early historical instances when they shared the royal patronage equally with Brahminical cults, it will suffice to cite the well-known example of King Harṣavardhana of Kanauj. Hiuen Tsiang relates as an eye-witness how Buddhists and Jainas, as well as the Brahmans, received equal honours and support at his court. Exactly at the time of Kalhana Gujrāt furnishes us with a striking illustration of the same fact. Professor Buhler in his admirable biography of Hemacandra, has fully proved that the Caulukya King Kumārapāla whom the great Jaina doctor could claim as his most famous convert, never ceased to maintain his hereditary attachment to the cult of S'iva.[27]

Yet undoubtedly the Jainism of the twelfth century in Gujrāt was both in doctrine and practice far less accommodating to orthodox notions than the Kaśmīr Buddhism of the same period. From various indications it appears that the condition of the latter must have closely approached the state of modern Buddhism in Nepāl.[28] Kaśmīr had its married Bhikṣus long before Kalhaṇa's time.[29] Buddha had centuries earlier been received into the orthodox pantheon as one of Viṣṇu's Avatāras,[30] and Buddhist worship had not failed to reap the practical benefits of such recognition. Hence we find that the Nīlamatapurāṇa, the canonical authority for Brahminical cult in Kaśmīr, directly prescribes the celebration of Buddha's birthday as a great festival. His statue is then to be worshipped according to the rites of the S'ākyas or Buddhist ascetics; the latter themselves are to be honoured with presents and the Caityas to be decorated.[31]

[25] Compare regarding Lalitāditya, iv. 188, 200, 203 with iv 180 sq, 192, 195 sqq, etc, regarding Jayāpiḍa, iv 507 with iv 508, for Queen Diddā, vi. 303 with vi 299 sq, 304, etc. It is characteristic that Kaśmir tradition knows the great Aśoka both as a founder of Vihāras and Stūpas and as a fervent worshipper at the ancient S'aiva shrines; see i 102 sq and i 105 sqq

[26] Compare for King Sussala viii. 580 and 579; Jayasiṃha, viii. 3318; Queen Ratnādevi, viii 2402 and 2433-41; the minister Rilhaṇa, a patron of Kalhaṇa, viii. 2410 sq. and 2409, 3364, sqq, his wife Sussalā, viii 2415, 2417 and 2418, Bhuṭṭa, viii 2431 and 2430, 2432, Dhanya, viii 3343 and 2410; Udaya, viii. 3352 sq and 2420

[27] See *Uber das Lebrn des Jaina Monches Hemachandra*, pp 203, 209 sq

[28] Compare HODGSON, *Essays*, p. 52

[29] See note iii. 12

[30] See BÜHLER, *Report*, pp 41, 47 Kṣemendra, a century before Kalhaṇa, duly devotes one canto (ix) of his *Daśāvatāracarita* to an accurate enough life of S'ākyamuni.

[31] *Nilamata*, 697-703; also BÜHLER, *Report*, p. 41

It is a curious fact that Buddha's birthday still retains a place in the Calendars of modern Kasmir Brahmans.

SECTION II.—KALHAṆA'S LITERARY TRAINING.

5. The author of the Chronicle tells us nowhere of the education and early studies which had fitted him for his task. But the manner in which he has solved it and occasional indications may help us to trace the outlines of his life as a student.

Kalhaṇa as a Kavi

"Worthy of praise is that power of true poets, whatever it may be, which surpasses even the stream of nectar, inasmuch as by it their own bodies of glory as well as those of others obtain immortality. Who else but poets . . . . able to bring forth lovely productions, can place the past times before the eyes of men!" These words with which Kalhaṇa opens the introduction to his work, suffice to show us what qualification he considered the chief one for the task he had undertaken.

Even if Kalhaṇa had been less outspoken on the point, no reader of the original work could doubt for a moment that its author looked upon himself mainly in the light of a *Kavi*. Sanskrit classical poetry of the Kāvya type, such as Kalhaṇa knew and cultivated, presupposes a thorough training in the science of Indian rhetoric, the Alaṃkāraśāstra, and an equal mastery of Sanskrit grammatical lore. Kalhaṇa's composition proves amply that his studies in these departments of traditional learning had been both thorough and extensive.

The form and style which, as we shall see, Kalhaṇa chose for his poem, do not allow of that lavish display of intricate rhetorical art which delights the heart of the Paṇḍit. But the occasions are not unfrequent where the Chronicler has succumbed to the charm of that poetic 'amplification' which, as he tells us, he had purposed to avoid (i. 6). The verses to which we are then treated, leave no doubt that their author had learned to apply with great skill and dexterity the more subtle arts of the Alaṃkāraśāstra.[1]

Kalhaṇa's literary studies

6. The conventionality pervading so much of Kāvya literature, and the substantive identity of the rhetorical precepts followed by its authors, make it difficult to ascertain the particular works which Kalhaṇa knew and studied. His acquaintance with the older standard Kāvyas, such as the Raghuvaṃśa and Meghadūta, may be assumed *à priori*, and is proved in fact by several evident reminiscences.[2] A closer search in this direction than I was able to make, would probably show the same for a number of other texts of that description.

Study of the Vikramāṅkadevacarita

That Kalhaṇa had carefully studied the *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, the historical poem of his fellow-countryman Bilhaṇa, written about the eighth decade of the eleventh century, may be considered as certain.[3] Kalhaṇa shows himself thoroughly acquainted with the personal history of his fellow poet, as detailed in the latter's work. He also refers in at least two passages to historical incidents which are mentioned by Bilhaṇa. He does this in terms which clearly indicate an acquaintance with the older poem.[4] In view of this evidence the strongly marked general resemblance in phraseology and style which can be traced between the two works, assumes full significance.

[1] Compare for such passages, e.g., i. 208 sq., iii. 414 sqq., v. 343 sqq., 361 sqq., vii. 928 sqq., 1557 sqq., viii. 842 sqq., 947 sqq., 1334 sqq., etc.

[2] See note vii. 312.

[3] Compare for this text and its author Prof. BÜHLER's Introduction to his edition of the poem, Bombay, 1875.

[4] See notes vii. 935-937, 259 and iii. 378.

Study of *Harṣacarita*.

Another and earlier work which Kalhaṇa appears to have closely studied, is Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita*, the well-known historical romance describing the exploits of King Harṣavardhana of Kanauj and Thāneśar. The number of rare words and phrases which this text and the Rājataraṅgiṇī have in common, and which otherwise cannot be traced, makes the above conclusion practically certain.[5] In style and composition the difference between Bāṇa's work, with its highly poetical but equally florid prose, and the Chronicle of Kalhaṇa is so great that no slavish imitation could be imputed to the latter. On the other hand, we can easily understand why the Kaśmīrian author should have devoted close attention to the novel of Harṣavardhana's court poet. It was one of the few older Sanskrit compositions dealing with historical events which are likely to have enjoyed popularity in his own time.[6]

Kalhaṇa's knowledge of the Epics.

7. Leaving the field of Kāvya literature we must ascribe to Kalhaṇa a very intimate knowledge of the *Mahābhārata*. Whenever he desires to illustrate his narrative by a reference to similar events or to emphasize a point of moral judgment, he turns to this vast store-house of traditional lore.[7] His allusions are often made to little-known episodes and obscure incidents. The trouble which their identification has frequently cost, enables us to judge of the labours Kalhaṇa must have devoted to the thorough mastery of the gigantic Epic. He seems to have been equally well acquainted with the Rāmāyaṇa though his quotations from it are less numerous.[8]

We can easily trace the connection between this close study of Sanskrit epic literature and Kalhaṇa's work as a Chronicler. To Kalhaṇa as to the Paṇḍit of the present day, the legends clustering round the war of the Kurus and Pāṇḍavas and the life of Rāma, with the mythology attaching to them, all appeared in the light of real history. What distinguishes these epic stories to the Indian mind from events of historical times, is only their superior interest due to the glamour of a heroic age, and their record by sacred authority. We may safely surmise that the study of the sacred epics had directly influenced Kalhaṇa in the choice of his task.

Knowledge of literary history.

We have probably indications of Kalhaṇa's literary training also in the frequent incidental references which he makes to particular poets and scholars in the reigns of various kings.[9] These notices are of considerable interest for the history of Sanskrit literature. It is not easy to say which of these literary data were derived from Kalhaṇa's own reading, and which simply reproduced from the earlier sources to be noticed thereafter. Some, like the mention of the poets who flourished at Yaśovarman's court,[10] are more likely to have been supplied by current literary tradition than by older Kaśmīrian Chronicles. To the former we may attribute also Kalhaṇa's acquaintance with several poetical dicta, chiefly satirical, which he quotes on occasion.[11] In addition it may be noted that he had

[5] Compare for detailed evidence, Note I.

[6] Old MSS. of the Harṣacarita are by no means rare in Kaśmīr, and a passage from it is quoted in the old Kaśmīrian handbook of rhetoric, the *Kāvyaprakāśa*

[7] For Kalhaṇa's references to the *Mahābhārata*, compare i 119 sq · ii 94 sqq.; iii 276; iv. 76, 103, 521, 600, 626, 641, vii. 510, 585, 804, 1168, 1365, 1476, 1718; viii 335, 460, 670, 992. 1093, 1199, 1289, 1355, 2025, 2122, 2170, 2256, 2280, 2305 sq. 2336, 2789, 2811, 2848, 2911 sq., 2948, 2977, 3449. Several of these passages contain allusions to more than one story of the Mahābhārata.

[8] See iii 86, iv. 67, 107; vi. 226, vii 1202, viii 335, 1355, 1591, 1808 sqq, 2382, 2976, 3159, 3449

[9] See i 178, ii. 16; iv 144, 488 sq., 495 sqq, 705; v. 28, 32 sqq., 204.

[10] iv 144 (Bhavabhūti, Vākpatirāja).

[11] iii 181, 252, iv. 635-637, vii. 1123 sqq

evidently also devoted some attention to the Jyotiḥśāstra, as shown by the references made to passages of Varāhamihira's Bṛhatsaṃhitā.[12]

Kalhaṇa in Maṅkha's S'rīkaṇṭhacarita.

8. The literary affinities of Kalhaṇa which we have just noticed, enable us to trace also a curious contemporary reference to our author which has hitherto escaped attention. It is contained in a passage of the *S'rīkaṇṭhacarita*, a Kāvya composed by the poet Maṅkha, a fellow-countryman and contemporary of Kalhaṇa. This work, first brought to light by Professor Buhler, possesses interest for us chiefly on account of its xxv Canto which has rightly been called altogether unique in Sanskrit literature.[13] Maṅkha gives us there a detailed description of the Sabhā or literary assembly held at the house of his brother, the minister Alaṁkāra, at which he submitted his poem to a gathering of Kaśmīrian scholars and officials. He introduces to us the guests present at the occasion by their names, in each case adding some appropriate details as to their respective S'āstras and personal attainments.

Professor Buhler has already shown that Maṅkha wrote his poem only a few years before the composition of Kalhaṇa's Chronicle. Its date must fall between the years A.D. 1128 and 1144.[14] Considering this close approach in time, we might reasonably expect to meet also with Kalhaṇa in Alaṁkāra's Sabhā, the representative character of which is proved by the mention of no less than thirty individual scholars. Yet at first we look in vain for Kalhaṇa's name in this long list. Its absence seemed all the more curious in view of the fact that Kalhaṇa himself mentions both Maṅkha and Alaṁkāra among his contemporaries and in a manner implying some acquaintance with the family.[15] In reality, however, Maṅkha on his own part has not failed to mention his distinguished fellow-poet, the author of our Chronicle. But the name by which he refers to him, is, on the first look, so different from our familiar "Kalhaṇa," that we can scarcely feel surprised at the Chronicler having so far not been recognized in this incognito.

Maṅkha's notice of the poet *Kalyāṇa*.

Maṅkha in his account of the 'Sabhā,' devotes three verses to a complimentary notice of the Kavi Kalyāṇa.[16] He describes him as holding a distinguished position among the expert masters of the Kāvya, as a person whom "the illustrious *Alakadatta* thought capable of accomplishing fully his chosen task [as a composer of poetry]." Of Kalyāṇa's poetic skill he says that it had become so polished as to be capable of reflecting like a mirror the whole perfection of *Bilhaṇa's* muse.

[12] i 55 sq., vii 1720, viii 715

[13] See *Report*, p 50

[14] The limit of the second date is fixed by two indications. *Govindacandra*, ruler of Kanauj, whose ambassador *Suhala* is mentioned among Alaṁkāra's guests, reigned according to the inscriptions, between A.D. 1120 and 1144, see *Report*, p 51. It is further to be observed that Kalhaṇa when speaking of Alaṁkāra, Maṅkha's brother, in connection with events which took place A.D. 1144, mentions him as holding the high office of Rājasthānīya; compare viii 2557, 2618, etc., and note viii 2423. Maṅkha, on the other hand, speaks of his brother as *Sāṁdhivigraha*, or minister of foreign affairs (see *S'rīkaṇṭhac.* iii 62, xxv 61). This must have been undoubtedly Alaṁkāra's earlier office, as Maṅkha distinctly says that it was bestowed upon him already by King Sussala. Maṅkha himself had succeeded to it when Kalhaṇa wrote (see viii. 3354).

As regards the limit of the first date the mention made by Maṅkha of Jayasiṁha (A.D. 1128-1149) as his ruling sovereign (iii 66) is conclusive evidence. Prof Buhler took A.D. 1135 as the earlier limit of date, but I am unable to find his exact evidence for this. On general grounds I am inclined to believe that the time of the composition of the S'rīkaṇṭhacarita lies nearer to A.D. 1144 than to the earlier date. Comp the reference made to Aparāditya, king of the Koṅkaṇa, who still ruled, A.D. 1186.

[15] Compare notes viii 2423, 3354, and for *S'ṛṅgāra*, another brother of Maṅkha, note viii 2422

[16] *S'rīkaṇṭhacar.* xxv. 78-80

Finally it is noted of him that he knew no limit in his enthusiastic devotion to the study of stories and legends of many kinds.

From Jonarāja, the commentator of the S'rīkanthacarita, we learn that the otherwise unknown Alakadatta whom Mankha evidently wishes to mention as Kalyāna's patron, held the position of Sāṁdhivigrahaka or minister of foreign affairs. He further correctly indicates that by the *kathās*, in the study of which Kalyāṇa is said to have been so deeply interested, the stories of the Mahābhārata and other epic texts are meant. But of Kalyāṇa's person himself the learned commentator has nothing to tell us.

Name *Kalhaṇa* an Ap. derivative from *Kalyāṇa*.

9. I think, we can easily and conclusively show that this poet Kalyāṇa, Maṅkha's distinguished contemporary, who emulated Bilhana and who was deeply read in epic lore, is no one else but our Kalhaṇa. The name *Kalhana* is undoubtedly an Apabhraṁśa form derived through Prakrit *Kallāna* from Skr. *Kalyāna*, which being a word of auspicious meaning ('happy,' 'blessed'), is often found as a proper name The consonantal group *ly* becomes by a regular phonetic law *ll* in Prakrit, and this again is liable to appear as *lh* in Apabhraṁśa and the modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars. Thus Skr. *kalyaṁ*, 'to-morrow,' which is found as *kallu* in Prakrit, reappears in forms like *kalh, kālh, kalha, kālha* in the several modern Vernaculars[17] The shortening of *ā* into *a* in the second syllable is similarly accounted for by well-known facts of phonetic conversion.[18]

In proof of this derivation of *Kalhana* < *Kalyāna* we may point to the intermediary Prakrit form *Kallana* which actually occurs as the name of a person in the Rājataraṅgiṇī.[19] By its side we meet in the Chronicle once with the name in its Apabhramśa form *Kalhana*, and more frequently with the Skr form of the name, *Kalyāṇa*.[20] We can trace the same name as a feminine appellation in an exactly corresponding triplet of forms. To the Skr *Kalyāṇadevī*, 'Queen Kalyāṇa,' the name borne by one of Jayāpīḍa's queens, correspond the names *Kallanā* and *Kalhaṇikā* (from Skr. *Kalyāṇikā), borne by royal ladies at the court of Kalaśa and Jayasiṁha, respectively.[21]

We shall have occasion to note below how often Kalhana himself in his Chronicle introduces to us the identical persons under names which show similar phonetic modifications[22] We can hence feel in no way surprised on observing that Maṅkha has recorded his fellow-poet's name in its correct Sanskrit form while the colophons of Kalhana's own work present it in the corresponding Apabhraṁśa

[17] Compare Dr GRIERSON'S *Phonology*, *Z.D.M.G*, l p. 32, § 97.

Dr. Grierson, to whose kindness I owe this and the other references on the phonetic question involved, mentions as further examples of the change, Skr *ly* > Pr *ll* > Apabh *lh*, Skr *paryasyati* > Pr. *pallaṭṭai* or *palhatthai*; comp. Hemacandra, iv. 200; Skr *cilla*, 'kite' > Pr *cillu* > Bihāri *cil* or *cilh* The frequent change of Pr. *ṇṇ* into *ṇh* (*ēnhim* for *ēṇṇim*, etc), Vararuci, iv. 33, offers an exact parallel

[18] "When a word begins with two long syllables, the second of which has the stress-accent, the secondary accent on the first syllable often attracts the first accent to itself, and the syllable which would ordinarily bear the stress-accent, is shortened." GRIERSON, *Phonology*, § 11 Thus Skr *Kàlyā́ṇa*, Pr *Kàllā́ṇu* becomes Ap. *Kálhaṇa*. Compare Skr *pā̀nīya* > Ap *pā́ṇiya*; Skr *kā̀yástha* > Pr *kā̀yátthu* > Hindi *kā́yath*, etc See also Hemacandra, iv 329.

[19] vii 182

[20] For *Kalhana*, a Rājaputra, son of Sahadeva, see viii 926, for persons called *Kalyāṇa*, iv 679; viii 609 (abbreviated from *Kalyāṇacandra*), 2605

[21] Compare iv. 461, 467, etc ; vii 293; viii. 1648, 3069

The name *Kalha*, borne by the lord of Kālañjara who is often mentioned in Books vii and viii, is evidently the Apabhraṁśa representative of Skr *Kalya* ('vigorous')

[22] See below, § 40, for doublets like *Gargacandra* > *Gaggacandra*; *Loṣṭhaka* > *Loṭhaka*, etc.

form. It is likely that the latter was the one used ordinarily by the Chronicler himself. He at least shows no objection to the use of Apabhraṁśa names when speaking of his contemporaries, while Maṅkha, on the other hand, seems anxious to preserve a quasi-classical colouring and hence employs almost exclusively Sanskrit names for the persons figuring in his xxv. Canto.

Identity of Kalyāṇa with Kalhaṇa.

The substantial identity of the names as here demonstrated, and the coincidence in date would alone, I believe, be sufficient to make it highly probable that the Kavi *Kalyāṇa* of the S'rīkaṇṭhacarita is the same person as Kalhaṇa, the author of our Chronicle. Any possible doubt on the point must, however, give way before the evidence which is afforded by the close agreement we note between Maṅkha's words regarding Kalyāṇa and our previous observations regarding Kalhaṇa's literary leanings. A careful perusal of the Rājataraṅgiṇī fully illustrates both the influence of Bilhaṇa's poetry on Kalhaṇa and the latter's exhaustive study of epic literature.

It is certainly curious that Jonarāja had evidently not realized the identity of Kalyāṇa with the author whose Chronicle he himself continued. In explanation it is enough to point out that Jonarāja wrote fully three hundred years after the date of Kalhaṇa, and that his comments on the S'rīkaṇṭhacarita in more than one instance betray a deficient knowledge of the *realia* of that earlier period.

It would be more difficult at present to give an explanation for Kalhaṇa's complete silence as regards Alakadatta whom Maṅkha's words seem to indicate as his patron. Various reasons might be thought of, but for none can we find at present any evidence. It has, however, to be kept in view that years had passed between the time when Maṅkha's poem was composed and the date of Kalhaṇa's Chronicle. Such an interval might well have brought about a change in the personal relations of the Chronicler and his former patron.

SECTION III.—KALHAṆA AND HIS TIME

10. If Kalhaṇa had, like the vast majority of his fellow Kavis, chosen a legendary tale or a romance from the land of fancy as the subject-matter of his poem, we should have to rest content regarding his personality with the meagre details just discussed. Kalhaṇa's work, however, deals with the history of his own country, and a very large portion of it is devoted to an account of events which Kaśmīr had witnessed within his own lifetime or at least within living memory.

Milieu of Kalhaṇa's life.

These facts place us in a far more advantageous position. We are able to realize the political and social conditions in which Kalhaṇa lived, with a degree of accuracy rarely attainable in the case of any old Indian author. His work gives us a detailed knowledge of the old topography of Kaśmīr. This again, combined with the narrow limits and distinct geographical character of the country, enables us to restore with precision the local *milieu* in which Kalhaṇa moved. Finally it must be remembered that Kalhaṇa's narrative, particularly where it deals with contemporary events, freely acquaints us with the author's opinions on many points relating to his country and its representative men and classes. We shall see that it is possible to draw from such statements some safe conclusions regarding Kalhaṇa's character and personal relations.

The local surroundings in which Kalhaṇa's life was passed, and the historical

development which accounts for the political conditions of his own time, will have to be considered elsewhere. Here we may confine ourselves to a brief sketch of the main events of Kaśmīr history which fell within Kalhaṇa's lifetime, and their influence on contemporary society.

Probable birth-date of Kalhaṇa.

We have already seen that Kalhana, according to his own statement, wrote his work during the years 1148-49. Various indications in the style and spirit of the Chronicle suggest that its author was then no longer a young man. Fortunately, however, we have more distinct evidence on this point in Kalhana's own words. When describing the events which occurred in S'rīnagar in the spring of A.D. 1121 immediately before King Sussala's restoration, he speaks as an eye-witness of the treacherous conduct of the troops of the usurper Bhikṣācara.[1]

There is much in Kalhana's account of this troubled time and of the first period of Sussala's reign (A.D. 1112-20) that implies personal observation made with a mature mind. It is hence not likely that Kalhana should have been a mere boy at the time. In view of these considerations we can scarcely go far wrong if we place Kalhana's date of birth about the beginning of the century. This approximate date agrees fully with what we know of Kalhana's father Canpaka whom we find as an energetic officer holding a high military post about A.D. 1098.[2]

Kaśmīr politics in Kalhaṇa's life-time.

11. The commencement of the twelfth century is marked in the history of Kaśmīr by an important dynastic revolution which brought about material changes in the political state of the country. King HARSA whose rule (A.D. 1089-1101) seems at first to have secured to Kaśmīr a period of consolidation and of prosperous peace, had subsequently fallen a victim to his own Nero-like propensities. Heavy fiscal exactions necessitated by a luxurious court, and a cruel persecution of the Dāmaras who formed the landed aristocracy, had led to a rebellion under the leadership of the brothers Uccala and Sussala, two relatives of Harsa from a side branch of the Lohara dynasty. Harṣa had succumbed in the struggle and had found a tragic death by murder.

The rebel princes who in their success had threatened to become rivals, avoided a conflict for the crown by a partition of Harṣa's territories. Kaśmīr was to be ruled by UCCALA, the elder brother, while the adjoining hill-state of Lohara, the original home of the family, fell to Sussala. The downfall of Harsa had been due solely to the rising of the powerful Dāmaras of Kaśmīr, and consequently the latter retained a predominance dangerous alike for the king and the peace of the country Uccala seems to have held his throne merely by the unscrupulous diplomacy with which he played off one great feudal landholder against the other, and his alliance with the strongest of them, Gargacandra, the lord of Lahara. His reign (A.D. 1101-11) was threatened frequently by the rise of pretenders, and invasions on the part of his own brother Sussala. Ultimately he was murdered by a conspiracy among his trusted officials.

RADDA, one of their number, whom they proclaimed king, occupied the throne only for one brief day, December 8th-9th, A.D. 1111. Gargacandra defeated the conspirators after a short but bloody struggle and thereupon became the true king-maker.[3] He first put up SALHANA, a half-brother of the murdered Uccala, who being a mere puppet in the hands of the powerful Ḍāmara allowed the kingdom to

[1] viii 941
[2] See above, § 2
[3] Compare Kalhana's words, viii 425

become the scene of violent disorders. Internecine struggles of rival Ḍāmaras and an irruption of Sussala followed by bloody persecutions rendered Salhana's reign of four months like "a long evil dream."[4]

Sussala's reign (A.D. 1112-28).

Ultimately Sussala allied himself with Gargacandra and secured through his help the long-coveted throne. In contrast to his elder brother he seems to have been personally brave, but rash, cruel, and inconsiderate. His rule, A.D. 1112-28, was practically one long and disastrous struggle with the irrepressible Ḍāmaras and with dangerous pretenders. When Sussala after much fighting and treachery had at last succeeded in destroying Gargacandra, the discontent of the Ḍāmaras broke out in a great general rebellion. In Bhikṣācara, a grandson of Harṣa, who had been brought up abroad, they found the desired pretender. Sussala's oppression and senseless cruelties increased their ranks, until they were strong enough to besiege the king in his capital. After a protracted defence during which the capital suffered severely, Sussala was obliged to flee to Lohara

Bhikṣācara's usurpation (A.D. 1120-21)

Bhikṣācara was crowned in the capital and held nominal rule over Kaśmīr for a little over six months (A.D. 1120-21). He was a mere tool in the hands of rival Ḍāmara factions, and the royal authority was so much reduced that Bhikṣācara was at last in difficulty even about procuring food.[5] Solemn fasts (*prāyopaveśa*) held by the Brahmans in the capital and elsewhere showed the extremity to which the people were driven by the rapacity and violence of the Dāmaras and their allies in the official classes The eyes of the populace turned once more towards Sussala After successfully repulsing a Kaśmīrian force which had been sent against Lohara, Sussala came back to Kasmīr, and owing to the Dāmaras' disunion, recovered the throne (A D. 1121)

Civil wars of Sussala's second reign

12. During the following seven years civil war continued almost without interruption. The king was unable to cope with the powerful supporters of his rival, and various disasters which befell his troops, reduced him again and again to great straits. Three times S'rīnagar went through severe sieges, and famine and fire added their horrors to the sufferings of the capital During these struggles Sussala maintained himself only owing to the valour of his condottieri from the lower hills and the Panjāb, who served him faithfully in the midst of so much treachery The contest was also prolonged by the Dāmaras finding their interests directly served by the disturbed state of the country and showing no desire to end it by a decisive victory of Bhiksācara[6]

Early struggles of Jayasiṁha

Finally, in 1128, Sussala fell a victim to a murderous plot which he had himself started for the destruction of his rival. His son Jayasiṁha who succeeded him, found the Ḍāmaras as strong as ever and Bhikṣācara ready to march into S'rīnagar. The means by which he gradually secured a footing and restored at least a semblance of royal authority, were not the reckless valour of his father, but compromise with the feudal grandees and Macchiavellian cunning. For two years after his accession the danger from Bhiksācara continued until the brave pretender was treacherously entrapped and killed in a frontier castle. Scarcely had this enemy been put out of the way, when a successful conspiracy placed the ancestral castle and territory of Lohara in the hands of a new pretender, Loṭhana, a brother of Salhana. Jayasiṁha's attempt to recover this serious loss ended in ignominious disaster. Though Lohara was ultimately retaken through treachery, Lothana and

[4] viii 449
[5] See viii 892
[6] See viii 1028 sqq

Mallārjuna, another pretender, continued to harass Kaśmīr for years. They found ever ready support among the great Ḍāmaras whose power had remained uncurbed.

Later events of Jayasiṁha's reign.

When at last Mallārjuna had been captured (A.D. 1135), the exhausted country seems to have obtained a respite from its troubles and sufferings. This was not to last long. In the year 1143 we find Jayasiṁha confronted again by dangerous rivals. BHOJA, the new pretender, a son of Salhaṇa, obtained powerful allies in the Darads, the northern neighbours of Kaśmīr, while all through the land the great Ḍāmara houses were rising in arms. Dissensions among Bhoja's supporters saved the king from a disaster, but the struggle with the feudal landholders was severe and indecisive. Ultimately Jayasiṁha's diplomacy scored a success by a peaceful pact with Bhoja (A.D. 1145). But Kalhaṇa's narrative shows plainly that the forces of internal strife and disruption which had crippled the unfortunate country ever since the time of Harṣa, were by no means spent when he wrote his Chronicle.

13. From the brief summary of events we have given here, it will be seen that the greatest portion of Kalhaṇa's life passed in what was for Kaśmīr one long period of civil war and political dissolution. The influence of this fact on the plan and spirit of his work will be examined below. At present we shall only endeavour to trace the influence which the political condition of his country is likely to have exercised on Kalhaṇa's life and his personal relations with his contemporaries.

Kalhaṇa's family and the fall of *Harṣa*.

We may consider it as certain that the dynastic revolution which had cost King Harṣa his throne and life, had a lasting effect on the fortunes of Kalhaṇa's family. However detailed the accounts are which we receive in Book viii. of the officials, great and small, who served the succeeding rulers, Caṇpaka's name is never found among them. Yet a reference made to him in connection with the Bhūteśvara Tīrtha makes it highly probable that he was still living after the year 1135.[7] It is hence evident that Kalhaṇa's father, who in Harṣa's reign had occupied one of the highest posts of old Kaśmīr administration, played no longer any part in public life after that monarch's death. Whether this retirement was entirely voluntary or otherwise, we can no longer ascertain. That it was, however, connected in some way with the loyal attachment which Caṇpaka, according to the Chronicle, had proved to the last for the ill-fated king, seems likely enough.

Kalhaṇa not under Jayasiṁha's patronage.

Kalhaṇa's work makes it quite clear that he himself had never held office under any of the rulers of the new dynasty or otherwise enjoyed their special favour. Considering the very redundant praise and flattery which by custom and literary tradition Indian authors feel obliged to bestow on their patrons, the negative evidence of the Chronicle may be considered decisive on this point. There is nothing whatever to show that Kalhaṇa wrote his poem by order of Jayasiṁha. The outspoken manner in which he judges of the king's character, and the undisguised allusions to the reprehensible nature of many of his actions make it very improbable that he ever expected royal recognition.[8]

To those who are acquainted with the style of fulsome flattery which Indian usage demands in the relations of a Kavi towards his patron, the comparatively few passages in which Kalhaṇa praises Jayasiṁha or acknowledges his achievements, must appear very tame and guarded. They seem to have been inserted merely on

[7] viii. 2364 sq.

[8] Compare particularly the references to Jayasiṁha's character, viii. 1553 sqq., 1566, 2105 sqq., 3405 sq., his treacherous conduct, viii. 2083 sqq., 2186 sqq., 2381, 2978 sqq.; his bad policy, viii 2969 sq.; the distress under his rule, viii 2809.

the ground of the conventional respect due to the actual ruler and possibly with a view to avoiding denunciation and its probable consequences.

Kalhaṇa's severe judgment of Sussala.

The same conclusion is indicated by the harsh if just remarks which Kalhaṇa makes regarding the reign of Sussala, Jayasiṁha's father. He openly denounces the grave defects of his character, his wanton cruelties, avarice, etc.; he does not even hesitate to record the popular opinion that he was possessed by a demon.[9] On the other hand it is significant that Kalhaṇa freely bestows the highest praise on the valour and heroism of the pretender Bhikṣācara from whom Sussala and his son had suffered so much injury.[10] Yet from the manner in which Bhikṣācara's reign is described, it is clearly seen that this short-lived restoration of Harṣa's dynasty had brought no benefit to Caṇpaka or his family.

Among the other pretenders who rose during Jayasiṁha's rule, only the brave and considerate Bhoja seems to have attracted Kalhaṇa's sympathy.[11] It seems that the latter appears to have drawn much of his information concerning recent events directly or indirectly from the prince himself. For Loṭhana, the old pretender, and Mallārjuna, his worthless nephew, the Chronicler has nothing but bitter satire and undisguised contempt, though they, too, like Bhoja were living at the time at Jayasiṁha's court.

Kalhaṇa's estimate of his countrymen.

14. The eventful period into which Kalhaṇa's life was cast, with its rapid changes of royal and private fortune, had given him ample opportunities to study the character of his countrymen. We cannot feel surprised, therefore, at the truthfulness with which certain of its features, and by no means the most pleasing, are portrayed in his narrative

Kalhaṇa had evidently not failed to realize that conspicuous want of physical and moral courage which is so characteristic of the great mass of the Kaśmīrian population, and in particular of the lower classes. He avails himself often of the opportunity furnished by historical incidents to expose with humorous sarcasm the inveterate cowardice and empty bragging of the Kaśmīrian soldiery.[12] We read of Kaśmīr armies which disperse at the sight or even the rumour of a resolute foe, of rival forces which both tremble in fear of each other, etc. Murder by a few resolute ruffians in the royal palace is usually followed by a general stampede of guards, courtiers, ministers, and troops The uncompromising realism with which Kalhaṇa paints such scenes leaves no doubt as to the estimate which experience had led him to form of his countrymen's military valour.

Contrast with foreign mercenaries.

To emphasize his opinion still further Kalhaṇa more than once shows us in contrast the bravery of the Rājaputras and other mercenaries from abroad who in his own time were evidently the mainstay of Kaśmīrian rulers.[13] But we can see from some sarcastic allusions that the air of superiority naturally assumed by these foreign adventurers was not to the liking of the Chronicler.[14] The events of Kalhaṇa's lifetime had shown him much treachery in every form among his countrymen. We can well appreciate the bitterness with which he refers to those in positions of influence and trust who were always ready to desert or sell their master.[15] The rare examples of faithfulness on the other hand find

[9] Compare e g viii 654, 675 sqq., 1141 sqq, 1460 sqq.

[10] See viii. 1017 sqq, 1740 sqq., 1768, 1776

[11] See particularly viii 3088 sqq, 3261 sqq

[12] Compare e g vii 57, 85 sqq. 118, 1158, 1191; viii. 324, 463, 800, 1322 sqq, 1340 sqq, 1706, 1866, 1880 sqq, 2251, 3157, etc.

[13] viii. 1082 sqq., 1047, 1148 sqq.

[14] vii 1617; viii. 266.

[15] See e g vii. 1609 sqq, viii 782 sqq., 803 sqq, 824, 923, 941, 927, 1522, 1537, 1735 sqq., etc.

in him a warm eulogist even when it was displayed for his country's or king's enemies.[16]

By the side of the treason ever rife in the royal court and camp Kalhaṇa does not fail to notice the callous indifference with which the Kaśmīrian populace was prepared to welcome any change. His graphic descriptions of the idle and disaffected city crowds and the feelings that swayed them, show how thoroughly he understood the nature of his compatriots.[17] In these and many other passages of the Chronicle a certain aristocratic hauteur of the author seems to display itself. Other weaknesses of Kaśmīrian character are recognized by him with equal frankness.[18]

Animosity against the Ḍāmaras.

15. Looking at Kalhaṇa's attitude towards the various classes of contemporary society, we note in the first place the open aversion and contempt he shows for the Ḍāmaras The overweening power and turbulence of these feudal landholders had been the direct cause of King Harṣa's fall and all the troubles which preyed upon the country during Kalhaṇa's lifetime. The term *dasyu*, 'robber,' which he regularly uses for their designation, is characteristic enough.[19] Having risen from the agriculturist population of the Valley, the Ḍāmaras even in powerful families seem to have retained much coarseness and boorishness in their ways and habits.[20] Kalhaṇa loses no opportunity to expose these defects. The bitterness with which he speaks of the Ḍāmaras' cruelty and wantonness, suggests that he or his family had personal reason to regret their predominance. The presence in the land of so many petty tyrants must have weighed heavily indeed not only on the cultivators but also on the official class and the Brahman population of the capital. The lands from which the latter drew their maintenance were in times of internal trouble ever at the mercy of the Ḍāmaras.[21]

Attitude towards official class.

That Kalhaṇa though probably drawn by descent and position towards the official class was by no means partial to the latter, is shown by many a hard hit he makes at the vices of the 'Kāyasthas.'[22] The great mass of them was undoubtedly Brahman by caste, corresponding to the present Kārkun of Kaśmīr[23] The numerous satirical allusions to the petty officials' oppression and greed and the evident relish with which Kalhaṇa details their discomfiture by more energetic rulers, suggest that he had ample occasion to study their character by personal experience.

Contempt of Purohitas.

The narrative of the Chronicle allows us also to judge of Kalhaṇa's views regarding another influential class of old Kaśmīr, the Brahman priests or Purohitas. Organized into corporations (*parṣad*) at all the more important shrines and pilgrimage places and often possessed of great endowments, they played more than once an important part in the internal politics of the country. The solemn fasts or Prāyopaveśas to which they were apt to resort in critical circumstances, were evidently powerful means of coercion which weak rulers had reason to dread.

Kalhaṇa does not hide his contempt for this priestly class whose ignorance was equal to its arrogance, and bitterly condemns their baneful interference in affairs of

[16] Compare e.g. vii. 1323 sqq , 1376, 1411 sqq , 1533 sq : viii. 634, 2157, ?330.

[17] vii 1466 sqq., viii. 702-711, 428 sq ; vii. 1551, 1683.

[18] See e g viii 73 ; vii 418.

[19] Compare note viii. 7

[20] Regarding the origin of the Ḍāmaras and the character given to them in the Chronicle, see Note G, iv 348

[21] See viii 768 sqq , 1207 sq.

[22] iv. 620 sqq. ; v 180, 439 ; vii. 149, 1226 ; viii 53, 85 sqq., 560 sqq.

[23] Compare e g. vii. 1105, 1319 ; viii. 2383.

state. In the humorous descriptions he gives of several great Purohita assemblies he freely ridicules their combined self-assertion and cowardice and shows scant respect for their sacred character.[24] To those who know the modern Pūjārī of Indian Tīrthas and the low estimation in which he as well as the ordinary Purohita is deservedly held by Brahmans of position and learning, Kalhaṇa's feelings will be easily intelligible. Various references show that whatever respect traditional notions demanded for the 'gods of the earth' *in abstracto*, Kalhaṇa was not prepared to extend it to their claims as a political factor.[25]

It may be mentioned in conclusion that the humorous and detailed picture which Kalhaṇa draws of the cheating merchant and his ways in the anecdote related of Uccala, bears also a distinct personal tinge.[26] It is evidently taken from life and suggests unpleasant experiences

Kalhaṇa's personal relations with contemporaries.

16. There is much in Kalhaṇa's detailed account of contemporary Kaśmīr history that makes it probable that he was personally acquainted with various of its most prominent actors. The high position of the family to which he belonged would fully explain this. But in view of the impartiality with which Kalhaṇa metes out both blame and praise to contemporary personages, it is not easy to ascertain those with whom he was specially connected.

Friendly relations seem most probable in the case of the minister Rilhaṇa, who was one of Sussala's faithful companions in arms and employed in an influential position through the whole reign of Jayasiṁha. He is the only one among the high officials of the latter whom Kalhaṇa lauds for patronage of learning.[27] The Chronicler gives an exceptionally detailed record of Rilhaṇa's, his wife's and brother's pious foundations, and misses no opportunity to extol the bravery and military skill of the former.[28] Most characteristic, however, is the panegyrical passage which Kalhaṇa devotes to the description of some costly adornments given by Rilhaṇa to a temple at Sureśvarī.[29] These verses differ markedly in style from Kalhaṇa's usual references to such subjects. They look very much like a small Praśasti or laudatory poem composed specially by the Kavi in honour of the newly-consecrated gift of his friend or patron. Only a personal connection of this kind could justify and explain the digression.

Alaṁkāra, too, who held high posts in the later reign of Jayasiṁha, is mentioned with distinction. We know from the Kāvya of his brother Maṅkha that Alaṁkāra was himself a man of learning and a patron of scholars.[30] Maṅkha himself is only once named by Kalhaṇa as minister of foreign affairs, while no reference is made to his capacity as a fellow-poet.[31] Also for Udaya, lord of the 'Gate,' Kalhaṇa seems to have cherished feelings of special regard.[32]

It is of interest to note the evident respect with which Kalhaṇa speaks throughout of Rājavadana, who had only a few years before headed a dangerous rebellion against Jayasiṁha.[33] As the narrative itself does not show special reason for this exceptional treatment, personal relations with the Chronicler naturally suggest themselves.

[24] Compare regarding Purohitas and their 'Prāyas,' v. 465 sqq.; vii. 13 sqq., viii. 901 sqq., 939 sqq.

[25] See v. 461 sqq.; vi. 2 sq.; viii. 768-777, 2737 sqq.

[26] See viii. 128 sqq.

[27] viii. 2404.

[28] viii. 2405-2418, 2813-38, 2909 sqq., 3355 sqq.

[29] viii. 3364-70.

[30] Compare for Alaṁkāra, note viii. 2423.

[31] viii. 3354.

[32] viii. 2501 sqq.

[33] viii. 2695 sqq., 2723 sqq., 2993.

Kalhaṇa's knowledge of the world

17. Scanty indeed are the data which we have gleaned from the Chronicle regarding its author's personality. They cannot compensate for the loss which his reticence regarding himself has caused us. Yet there is one important point concerning Kalhaṇa, on which full light is thrown by the work itself. It is impossible to peruse the Chronicle, and in particular its later portions, without realizing that the poet who wrote it, had an observant eye and an open mind for the affairs of the world around him. He displays no little knowledge of human nature, intimate acquaintance with his country's material conditions, interest in antiquarian details even of the humblest kind, and in the facts of every-day life. All these are features which show us Kalhaṇa in a light very different from that of the ordinary Indian Kavi.

His literary training, indeed, had been of the strictly traditional type, and the manner in which he employed it shows no conscious departure from the conventional norm. Yet it is clear that Kalhaṇa was not a man of the schools, absorbed in his S'āstras and content to make his living by them.

There is another interesting observation to be gathered from the Chronicle. We know that also in ancient India, as elsewhere, the question of demand and supply has exercised its potent influence on literary production. But it would be difficult to account from this point of view for the composition of the Rājataraṅgiṇī. The Kaśmīr court of Kalhaṇa's time was not the place where scholarly or poetic merit—so closely connected in the Indian mind—could lead to honours and preferment. We may take it for certain that the Chronicle was not written under the patronage of the ruling prince nor with a special view to securing his favour.

Kalhaṇa's motive in writing his Chronicle.

Considering these facts and those features in the Chronicle which are characteristic for the author's personality, we finally may perhaps hazard an opinion regarding the motives which had induced Kalhaṇa to undertake this task. Born from a family of rank and note he could have expected to take an active share in the affairs of his country like his father had before him. Adverse political circumstances, however, and perhaps family policy, had closed to him the career of a soldier or administrator. What use more congenial to his hereditary tastes could he then make of his literary training than by recording the traditions regarding the history of his country and his views on the times he had lived through?

Seen in this light, much of what strikes us as individual and peculiar in Kalhaṇa's narrative assumes its proper and significant aspect. We can thus understand his strongly-marked political opinions and his thorough grasp of the internal history of contemporary events. The notable accuracy and interest with which the details of military operations are often set forth, and which seem to betoken at least a theoretical acquaintance with the art of war, become intelligible. The extensive knowledge of the topography of Kaśmīr which we must ascribe to the author of the Chronicle, finds its explanation in the opportunities which his means and position afforded for travel. Finally we can thus account for that independence of judgment which Kalhaṇa displays throughout in regard to contemporary events and persons.

But these and other important facts touching upon Kalhaṇa's character as a historian will become clearer when we have made ourselves acquainted with the scope and nature of his Chronicle.

CHAPTER II.

THE RĀJATARAṄGIṆĪ: ITS SCOPE AND CHARACTER.

SECTION I.—KALHAṆA'S CONCEPTION OF HIS TASK.

The Chronicle composed as a Kāvya

18. The interest and importance which Kalhaṇa's work possesses for us, lies in its character as a historical record and in the mass of detailed information it furnishes regarding the conditions of ancient Kaśmīr This fact, however, must not make us forget that to its author it was in the first place a Kāvya. By considering this aspect of the work first we shall be better able to do justice to its object and character.

We have already above glanced at the conditions which oblige us to look for historical records in the products of rhetorical Sanskrit poetry. The growth of history has had its close connection with poetry in classical literature too; the 'father of History' has not without good reason been called another Homer.[1] But it would be manifestly wrong were we to see in the Kāvyas with historical subjects a parallel to the development which led in Greece from epic poetry to the earliest historical prose.

With more justice we may recall to our mind that history was yet even to Cicero *opus hoc unum maxime oratorium.* Rome, long after Thucydides and Polybios, saw in history only a matter for the display of rhetorical skill and a collection of facts useful for the inculcation of moral principles.[2] We have only to substitute the Alaṁkāraśāstra for the art of the rhetor in order to realize the resemblance between this attitude and Kalhaṇa's conception of his task. Of the latter the introductory verses with which his work opens, furnish characteristic evidence.

"Worthy of praise is that power of true poets, whatever it may be, which surpasses even the stream of nectar, inasmuch as by it their own bodies of glory as well as those of others obtain immortality. Who else but poets resembling Prajāpatis and able to bring forth lovely productions, can place the past times before the eyes of men?"

This praise of the poet's art finds its significant place at the very beginning of the Chronicle. It alone would suffice to characterize the relation which the author sees between his art and the subject-matter of his narrative. It is his skill as a Kavi, the merit of his poetic composition, which is to save from oblivion the history of his country.

Kalhaṇa and the Alaṁkāraśāstra

19. In view of this fact it is only natural that we should find Kalhaṇa first judging his subject not as to its intrinsic interest but with regard to the opportunities it offers for conventional treatment as a Kāvya. "Though in view of the length of the narrative diversity could not be secured by means of amplification, still there may be found in it something that will please the right-minded." Diversity (*vaicitrya*) is a quality which the canons of the Alaṁkāraśāstra distinctly

[1] Taine, *Essai sur Tite Live*, p. 334. [2] *Ibid.* p. 15.

prescribe for poetical compositions. Much of the endless similes, the hackneyed descriptions of seasons, scenery, etc., which help to swell the bulk of the ordinary Mahākāvya, is directly due to this requirement.

The Rājataraṅgiṇī is comparatively free from these, to our taste burdensome, embellishments. Its narrative shows for the greatest part a relative directness and simplicity of diction for which we must feel grateful. But Kalhaṇa is anxious to make it clear that this is by no means due to conscious neglect of literary precept and tradition. Still less could we ascribe it to the author's want of skill in this kind of poetic 'amplification.' Through the whole of the Chronicle we meet with verses showing all the elaborate rhetorical ornaments which appertain to the style of a Mahākāvya. More than one digression is made for the sake of highly florid descriptions of a conventional type.[3] Making full allowance for these features in Kalhaṇa's work, it is yet easy to realize that they play in it a far less prominent part than in compositions like the Harṣacarita and Vikramāṅkadevacarita. Kalhaṇa's direct reference to the "length of the narrative" clearly indicates the reason for this marked difference.

Kalhaṇa tells us also elsewhere how the subject-matter he had chosen has influenced his work as a poet. The rules of the Alaṁkāraśāstra make it necessary for a Kāvya or its main component parts to exhibit a characteristic 'Rasa' or sentiment. Kalhana informs us that it is the sentiment of resignation (*śāntarasa*) which is to reign supreme in his work.[4] He justifies its choice by a reference to the instability of everything human which is so amply illustrated by his narrative. It is no doubt the desire of emphasizing this main Rasa which makes Kalhaṇa treat at exceptional length the stories of those kings who ended their reigns by acts of pious renunciation or otherwise in a pathetic manner.[5] Nor can it be considered accidental that four out of the eight Books into which his work is divided, close with descriptions of this character.[6]

20. It is in the direction indicated by the choice of this 'sentiment' that we can most clearly trace the didactic features of Kalhaṇa's work. The transitory nature of all mundane glory, the uncertainty of royal possessions, and the retribution which inevitably follows offences against the moral laws, these are lessons which Kalhaṇa never tires of impressing upon his readers. The chapters of Kaśmīr history which lay nearest to his own time, and which he knew best, furnish Kalhaṇa with ample illustrations for these texts In the same way, acts of policy, statecraft, and individual conduct are again and again made the object of general reflections and analyzed in the light of the Dharma or Nītiśāstra

Didactic features of Kalhaṇa's work.

It is Kalhaṇa's custom to emphasize striking examples by references to similar incidents narrated in the Mahābhārata or Rāmāyaṇa. We know how closely quotations of this kind correspond to the largely didactic character of the great Indian Epics. Their remarkable frequency in Kalhaṇa's Chronicle has hence its particular significance. The same purpose accounts for the great number of verses setting forth maxims of proverbial wisdom and their illustrations, which we find inserted through the whole of Kalhaṇa's narrative.[7]

[3] Compare e.g. i. 208 sq.; iii. 414 sqq.; v. 343 sqq.; vii. 928 sqq., 1559 sqq ; viii. 842 sqq, 948 sqq., 979 sqq., 1744 sqq., 2148 sqq. 3366 sqq., etc.

[4] i. 23.

[5] Compare i. 367 sqq.; ii. 153 sqq.; iii. 512 sqq.; iv. 380 sqq.; vii. 1646 sqq. (Harṣa's tragic end)

[6] See the concluding parts of Taraṅgas, i.-iii., vii.

[7] See e.g. vi 273, 364; vii. 36, 136, 483, 504 sqq., 616, 824, etc.

It would be of great interest if we could trace the origin of this didactic character which is so strongly accentuated in the Rājataraṅgiṇī and yet foreign to the great mass of extant Kāvya literature. Have we to see in it a result of the close study which Kalhaṇa, as we have seen, had personally devoted to the Epics? Or was it present already in the earlier Chronicles which Kalhaṇa had known and probably followed as models? If the latter assumption were right we could scarcely avoid the conclusion that Epic literature has had its share in the development of Sanskrit historical poetry. Unfortunately the works which preceded Kalhaṇa's Chronicle, are lost, and in their absence this question, with many others, must remain unanswered.

SECTION II.—KALHAṆA'S SOURCES.

21. The interest which attracts us to Kalhaṇa's work, is mainly due to its character as a historical record. Whatever can assist us in estimating correctly its value from this point of view, may claim our special and close attention. Here, too, we are able to turn to the author himself for guidance.

Recognition of historical impartiality

In the first place it is reassuring to find Kalhaṇa fully alive to the value of historical impartiality. Immediately after the panegyric on poetic intuition with which his introduction opens, he declares that poet alone "worthy of praise whose word, like that of a judge, keeps free from love or hatred in relating the facts of the past."[1] In this emphatic declaration and the prominence given to it we feel something of the historian's spirit. Still more we must hold it to Kalhaṇa's credit that he has taken care to indicate, at least generally, the materials which he had used for his narrative.

Kalhaṇa's review of earlier chronicles

He frankly acknowledges in his introduction that the subject-matter of his work had been treated by others before him.[2] In order to justify his own enterprise he subjects these earlier compositions to a brief review which is of considerable historical interest. We learn from it that there had been extensive works of ancient date containing the royal chronicles of Kaśmīr. In Kalhaṇa's time these works no longer existed in a complete state. Kalhaṇa attributes their partial loss to the composition of SUVRATA, who had condensed their contents in a kind of handbook. We know how often in India the appearance of a convenient abstract has led to the neglect and subsequent loss of all earlier works on the subject. Kalhaṇa refers to the popularity of Suvrata's poem, but calls it troublesome reading owing to the author's misplaced learning. The Kāvya character of this composition can hence safely be concluded.

22. Kalhaṇa distinctly tells us that he had inspected "eleven works of former scholars containing the chronicles of the kings," besides the *Nīlamatapurāṇa*. The latter we still possess. We shall have occasion below to refer to it in connection with some royal names which Kalhaṇa avowedly took from this source. Of the other texts we know nothing but the names of three of the authors.

Kṣemendra's 'List of Kings.'

KṢEMENDRA'S 'List of Kings' (*nṛpāvali*) was evidently a work of some popularity and pretension; for Kalhaṇa singles it out for special mention imme-

[1] i. 7

[2] i. 8.

diately after Suvrata's handbook. He acknowledges it to be "the work of a poet," but charges it with showing mistakes in every single part, "due to a certain want of care." Kṣemendra, the Kaśmīrian poet and polyhistor, lived about a century before Kalhaṇa's own time. The numerous compositions we still possess from his hand, show him rather as a prolific compiler than as a writer of originality and skill.[3] Kalhaṇa's judgment on his Chronicle of Kaśmīr kings was therefore in all probability well merited. All the same we must greatly regret its loss. For judging from the mechanical way in which Kṣemendra in other extant works has reproduced his materials, we might have expected to derive from his Chronicle much useful information regarding his own and Kalhaṇa's original sources.

Chronicles o PADMAMIHIRA CHAVILLĀKAR

The other two earlier Chroniclers whom Kalhaṇa refers to by name, are quoted as authorities for certain entries in the early part of his dynastic list. From PADMAMIHIRA Kalhaṇa took the eight royal names beginning with Lava. The former himself had obtained this, as we shall see, very doubtful, information from the work of the Pāśupata ascetic HELĀRĀJA who had composed a 'List of Kings' (*Pārthivāvali*).[4] Kalhaṇa ascribes to the latter the considerable extent of twelve thousand S'lokas. But the terms in which he mentions Helārāja's Chronicle, seem to indicate that he had no direct access to it. CHAVILLĀKARA'S work, however, which furnished Kalhaṇa with the names of Aśoka and some other kings, was certainly in his hands, as he gives us a direct quotation from it.

Scope of ear Chronicles

From the titles of these earlier compositions and the matter for which they are quoted as authorities, it can safely be concluded that they began their accounts of Kaśmīr history with the earliest period. There is reason to believe that this was not the case with all of the eleven works which Kalhaṇa inspected. When indicating the scope of his work he distinctly speaks of authors who had composed "each the history of those kings whose contemporaries they were."[5] The task of supplementing their narrative by an account of more recent events is described by Kalhaṇa as one which would not satisfy his own ambition. It is evident that Kalhaṇa alludes here to compositions which did not embrace the whole of Kaśmīr history, but were content to take up the thread of the narrative where earlier Chroniclers had dropped it. Works of this type we actually possess in the Chronicles of Jonarāja, S'rīvara and Prājyabhaṭṭa, which form successive continuations of the Rājataraṅgiṇī. Kalhaṇa speaks somewhat contemptuously of such works. But it is evident that the authentic record of contemporary events which they are likely to have contained, might in our eyes have amply compensated for their limited scope and any possible want of poetic merit.

Use of inscrip and other ori records.

23. In contradistinction to compositions of the kind last named Kalhaṇa describes his own work as an endeavour "to give a connected account where the narrative of past events has become fragmentary in many respects." For this purpose he used not only the earlier Chronicles already referred to, but also records of another and more original description. Kalhaṇa tells us that he has overcome

[3] See BUHLER, *Report*, pp. 46 sqq

I have spared no efforts in the endeavour to bring to light a copy of Kṣemendra's *Nṛpāvali* from Kaśmīrian libraries Like Prof. Buhler I had long hoped that the work might yet be recovered from some *guru*' Repeated offers of substantial rewards have, however, failed to draw it forth. I fear therefore that the statement made to Prof. Buhler as to the existence of the work in Kaśmīr was only an *ignis fatuus*

[4] i. 17, 18.

[5] Compare notes i. 9, 10.

"the trouble arising from many errors, by looking at the inscriptions recording the consecration of temples and grants by former kings, at the laudatory inscriptions and at written texts (*śāstra*)."[6] The character of the various documents named has been fully explained in the note on the passage. Here we may only call attention to the general importance of this statement. It shows that Kalhaṇa, besides being a Kavi, was also an antiquarian, interested in, and acquainted with, such original historical documents as his country could furnish. To find an author of Sanskrit poetry ready to take up the part of an antiquarian student, is a fact as rare as it is gratifying.

Kalhaṇa's interest in antiquarian objects.

Kalhaṇa's Chronicle contains unmistakable evidence of the actual use of such materials as his words indicate. It cannot be doubted that a large portion of the detailed and exact data he gives regarding the foundation of temples and other religious buildings, the origin of particular sacred images, etc., was obtained from dedicatory inscriptions. In the same way probably much of the detailed information which Kalhaṇa displays as to 'Agrahāras' and similar endowments was obtained direct from the original grants on copper-plates and similar records.[7] To laudatory inscriptions (*praśasti*) which for the modern student of Indian history are often so valuable sources of information, we must ascribe at least one distinct notice of the Rājataraṅgiṇī.[8] In the numerous references to authors and literary events we can clearly trace the use of those data which manuscripts of Sanskrit works often furnish regarding their authors' personality and time.[9]

Inscriptions and written works were, however, not the only antiquarian materials which Kalhaṇa had made use of. Various allusions show that the historical information conveyed by the old coinage of the country had not escaped his attention.[10] Elsewhere we find Kalhaṇa referring to objects of antiquarian interest which he had himself inspected; and from the curious traditions he records of them, we see that he had evidently taken pains to follow up their origin and history.[11] The same conclusion may be drawn from various references concerning public offices and institutions.[12]

Use of popular traditions.

24. With the antiquarian data thus collected we may fitly class also the information which Kalhaṇa owed to popular tradition. It cannot be doubted that Kalhaṇa had taken many of the legends and anecdotes so frequent in the earlier portion of his narrative, direct from the traditional lore current in his own time and not from earlier writers. This is proved in numerous cases by the exact local character of the accounts reproduced or the manner of their relation.[13] It scarcely requires to be explained that it is not on account of the intrinsic historical value of these stories that we welcome their preservation in Kalhaṇa's Chronicle. But they enable us often to trace the earlier forms of local traditions still extant in Kaśmīr, and always furnish interesting details bearing on the ancient topography or folk-lore of the Valley. In some instances we find Kalhaṇa distinctly specifying popular

[6] i. 15.

[7] Compare for references the Index, s.vv. Agrahāra, Endowments.

[8] i. 344.

[9] See Index, s.v. Authors.

[10] Compare notes iii. 103; vi. 177; vii. 926.

[11] See e.g. i. 194; iii. 78; iv. 262, 335, 418, 471 (viii. 81).

[12] iii. 383; iv. 243; vii. 125 sq.

[13] i. 131 sqq. (story of *Kṛtyāśrama* Vihāra); i. 156-167 (legend of the *Dāmodara* Udar); i. 263 sqq. (destruction of *Narapura*), i. 331 sqq.; ii. 129; iii. 336-349 (foundation of *Pravarapura*); iii. 374 sqq.; iv. 503-511 (foundation of *Jayapura*); v. 68 sqq. (*Suyya's* river-regulation, see particularly v. 101, 107), etc.

traditions which differed from the accounts accepted by himself or the authorities he followed.[14]

The very detailed record Kalhaṇa gives us of the history of Kaśmīr in his own time, was undoubtedly based mainly on personal knowledge and on the relations of contemporary witnesses. It is this fact which makes the lengthy narrative of the Eighth Book so valuable to us. We have already had occasion to refer to the passage where Kalhaṇa distinctly mentions his personal recollection of an incident connected with Sussala's restoration, A.D. 1121.[15] But Kalhaṇa has been able to transmit to us first-hand information also for an earlier period. It has already been shown that Caṇpaka, his father, had taken a prominent part in the political affairs of King Harṣa's time (A.D 1089-1101). It is highly probable that Kalhaṇa's accurate and vivid account of this monarch's reign and tragic end is largely based on the communications of his father.[16] Kalhaṇa, when describing the execution of Tanvaṅga's grandsons which took place about A.D. 1095, directly quotes the testimony of persons still alive at the time he wrote.[17] Elsewhere, too, he refers to living witnesses of the times of Harṣa.[18] Family traditions, often remarkably tenacious even in modern Kaśmīr, are likely to have furnished the Chronicler with otherwise unrecorded details also for a much earlier epoch. In one instance we can trace back to this channel the mention of an incident fully two hundred years before Kalhaṇa's own time.[19]

Knowledge of contemporary history.

SECTION III.—KALHAṆA'S CRITICAL HORIZON.

25. The preceding inquiry has enabled us to form some idea of the materials which furnished Kalhaṇa with the subject-matter of his work. If we wish to learn something of his character as a historian, we must attempt to ascertain the manner and spirit in which he has used them.

At the outset of this task we encounter a serious difficulty. Kalhaṇa's introduction to which we owe our knowledge of his sources, tells us nothing of the relative value he attached to them, of the method or principles that guided him in their selection. He, himself, as we have seen, makes mention of "the trouble arising from many errors" in the earlier records. He acknowledges that "the narrative of past events has become fragmentary in many respects." Elsewhere he claims for his narrative the merit of being "useful where the accounts regarding the place and time of kings are fluctuating."[1] Yet, notwithstanding this plain avowal of the doubts and uncertainties besetting his subject, Kalhaṇa, except in the isolated instances already quoted, nowhere indicates his authorities. None of the earlier Chronicles which he had used, are available to us for comparison. Other historical documents that might allow us to control Kalhaṇa's method of work, such as coins, inscriptions, foreign records, are also unfortunately but rarely at our disposal. Hence our estimate of Kalhaṇa's character as a Chronicler must be based mainly on internal evidence.

Kalhaṇa's silence as to specific authorities.

[14] i. 312 sqq.; iii 456 sqq.; iv 367 sqq., viii. 1460 sqq.
[15] viii. 895.
[16] See above, § 2.
[17] vii 1066.
[18] vii 942.
[19] vi. 135.

[1] i. 21.

Want of critical estimate of sources.

The critical analysis of the contents of the Rājataraṅgiṇī will show us that none of the earlier Chronicles he used could have dated back further than about three hundred years before his own time. Most of his written sources were in all probability even of more recent date. As we go back from the Fifth Book where with the middle of the ninth century we seem to reach contemporary records, the narrative becomes more and more legendary and anecdotal. Yet Kalhaṇa shows nowise that he is conscious of the wide gulf which, in point of historic truth, separates the various portions of his narrative. With the same assurance and good faith he reproduces the bare lists of regal names, interspersed with local and other legends, we find in the first three books, and the detailed and authentic account of comparatively recent reigns. Of the defects of the records and of the conflicting opinions which according to Kalhaṇa's introduction rendered his task so difficult, we nowhere receive a distinct indication Of the means adopted to fill the gaps of the earlier narratives and of the grounds of decision in the case of discrepancies no information is ever vouchsafed to us Various versions are but rarely quoted and then, too, mostly in the form of popular rumours and beliefs, between which the author does not attempt to decide.[2] In two instances only does Kalhaṇa mention a different opinion with a view to refuting it [3]

Kalhaṇa's credulity

Miraculous stories and legends taken from traditional lore are related in a form showing that the Chronicler fully shared the *naive* credulity from which they had sprung Manifest impossibilities, exaggerations and superstitious beliefs such as which we must expect to find mixed up with historical reminiscences in popular tradition, are reproduced without a mark of doubt or critical misgiving Kalhaṇa, indeed, refers once to more sceptical persons of his own time, "whose minds are swayed by doubts in regard to the miraculous deeds of Meghavāhana and other ancient kings."[4] The purpose of this reference, however, makes it clear that he, himself, was not one of them. For speaking of King Harsa's mad proceedings he notes that owing to their extraordinary nature, they are likely to be doubted in the future just as those stories of the early kings. The latter were to Kalhaṇa's mind evidently as real as Harsa's extravagances with which he compares them in point of strangeness.

Want of historical criticism.

26. All the above observations combine to show that Kalhaṇa knew nothing of that critical spirit which to us now appears the indispensable qualification of the historian. Prepared as he himself is to believe, we cannot expect him to have chosen his authorities with special regard to their reliability, or their closeness to the events they profess to relate. Still less can we credit him with a critical examination of the statements he chose to reproduce from them. It would be manifestly unfair were we to lay all the defects of the Chronicle which result from this attitude, solely on Kalhaṇa's shoulders. We know how recent a growth even in the West that system of critical principles is upon which modern historical science rests. There is nothing to justify the belief that they had ever been recognized even in part by any of Kalhaṇa's forerunners and models.

On the contrary, it seems probable that those portions of Kalhaṇa's Chronicle which are most open to critical objection, owe their want of historical value largely to the unsatisfactory character of the earlier records Kalhaṇa's account of the period preceding the sixth century of our era furnishes us on the whole only with

[2] See i 311-317, iii 456 sqq, iv. 367-371 (comp vii 1428 sqq), vii. 1695, viii 229-234 286.

[3] ii 6, vi 108 sqq.

[4] vii. 1137 sq

bare dynastic lists and with traditions often of a very legendary nature concerning certain individual kings. But it is scarcely Kalhaṇa himself whom we have to blame for this absence of more substantial information.

Gradual effacement of historical details

Everything points to the conclusion that these scanty records of doubtful value were all that he found in his sources. The facts of true historical interest had become effaced long before as the record of these reigns passed through a succession of earlier Chronicles. It is only too evident that each narrator omitted more and more of authentic but to him uninteresting data, while legendary incidents and popular anecdotes on the other hand received an increasingly large share of attention.

We are no longer able to trace this process in the works which preceded Kalhaṇa's Chronicle. But we find it typically illustrated in the subsequent accounts of Kaśmīr history which are avowedly based on his work. The Persian Chronicles and Abū-l-Fażl's abstract of the Rājataraṅgiṇī do indeed reproduce Kalhaṇa's dynastic lists more or less correctly But when we turn to the details of the narrative we see that only the stories bearing the stamp of the marvellous and the more curious anecdotes have been deemed worthy of reproduction Abū-l-Fażl has nothing to tell us of the reigns which fill the last three books of the Chronicle—more than two-thirds of its bulk—but the anecdote of Yaśaskara's Solomonic judgment. Haidar Malik who relates at length and even embellishes the marvellous stories about the early Hindu kings, can spare only a few garbled pages for Kalhaṇa's account of the Lohara dynasty, etc.

In proportion as Kalhaṇa's account becomes more and more historical, the excerpts of these later writers grow briefer and more superficial But when they approach the centuries immediately preceding their own time, their interest in historical details is roused. Contemporary Muhammadan records are used, the narrative grows fuller and more authentic. Thus in turn these later Chronicles present themselves in their final portions as useful sources of historical information.

27 The process here briefly indicated may be safely assumed to have repeated itself again and again in the works of the Sanskrit Chroniclers who preceded Kalhaṇa It is certainly illustrated by his own narrative, and accounts largely for the varying character of its portions and their striking disproportion in point of length. But if we want to appreciate rightly our author's mental attitude towards his subject, we must give at least a passing notice to the ideas which influence Hindu thought generally in relation to history

Inability to divide heroic legends from history.

Allusion has been made already to the fact that the Indian mind has never learned to divide mythology and legendary tradition from true history. To the modern Paṇḍit as to his spiritual ancestors the Purāṇic myths and the legends of the heroic age are fully as real as the events of a comparatively recent past. Ordinarily the former are far better known to him, and the interest he takes in them is also far greater The element of the marvellous and supernatural in these stories does not evoke doubt as to their reality. On the contrary, it serves as it were to confirm the belief in them; for it seems in full accord with what all authoritative traditions teach as to the conditions of those happier Yugas.

The products of religious imagination and epic fiction thus retain a matter-of-fact aspect even for the learned. That spirit of doubt does not arise which alone can teach how to separate tradition from historic truth, to distinguish between the facts and the reflection they have left in the popular mind. Still less can we expect that the changes implied by historical development should be noted and

Want of perception of historical changes.

understood. Whatever the canonical tenets of the time recognize in the way of custom and law, is duly projected into the past. The further back a period lies, the closer its conditions are supposed to have approached the ideal standard conceived for the present.

The notions here briefly hinted at are sufficient to explain many a characteristic feature of Kalhaṇa's narrative. Keeping them in view we can easily understand the *naïve* credulity he shows in regard to the marvellous stories recorded of the early rulers; the connection of the first Gonanda kings with the 'Great War' of the epics; the popular legends related of comparatively recent reigns like those of Lalitāditya and Jayāpīḍa, etc. Nor can we feel surprised if Kalhaṇa's narrative, even in its most historical portions, shows but scant perception of the great changes which the course of political events must have gradually produced in the general condition of the country.

Historical isolation of Kaśmīr.

28. The limitations implied by the above notions are such as affect all indigenous records of Indian history. But besides there are others more peculiar to Kalhaṇa's native land. In my account of the ancient topography of Kaśmīr I have endeavoured to show to what extent the great mountain-barriers around the Valley have until quite modern times isolated its population from the rest of India. This isolation has at all times exercised a decisive influence on the history of Kaśmīr. Its effects can also be traced clearly in Kalhaṇa's Chronicle.

The great natural ramparts which enclose Kaśmīr, have assured to the 'land of S'āradā' not only long immunity from foreign invasions, but also a historical existence of marked individuality. On this no lasting impression was left even by those periods when the Valley was under the sovereignty of great foreign dynasties. Kaśmīr history has hence always borne a distinctly local character. It cannot be doubted that this fact has been a decided advantage for the preservation of historical traditions. We probably owe to it most of what is exact and reliable in Kalhaṇa's narrative. The history with which he had to deal, was that of a small mountain territory to which nature has given sharply-defined boundaries and a uniform character of its own. It was thus comparatively easy for Kalhaṇa to acquire a thorough knowledge of the land of which he was to be the chronicler, and it is evident how much this must have helped him in his task. To it we owe the ample and accurate data bearing on the topography of Kaśmīr, its people, customs, climate, and the rest, which make the Chronicle so valuable for us. But we cannot ignore the fact that there are also defects directly connected with these narrow territorial limits.

Restriction of historical horizon of Kaśmīrians

The seclusion which Kaśmīr has enjoyed owing to its peculiar position, has even to the present day materially restricted the geographical horizon of its inhabitants. This must have been far more the case yet in Hindu times when a rigid system of guarding the frontiers increased the natural obstacles to intercourse with outside territories. It hence results that the true relation of Kaśmīr to the rest of India in point of importance and power is never fully realized. To the Kaśmīrī who knew the traditions of his land, but practically nothing of the world outside it, the imperial sway of the Mughal rulers over India naturally appeared rather as a consequence of their possession of Kaśmīr than *vice versâ*. We can clearly trace the influence of such notions also in Kalhaṇa's work.

To them is due the almost complete effacement of all recollections regarding early foreign dominion in Kaśmīr which is otherwise so plainly indicated. In their light we must judge of the fanciful conquests extending to the remotest limits of India, which Kalhaṇa in evident good faith ascribes to various Kaśmīr

kings even down to the eighth century.[5] In reality Kalhaṇa's historical horizon is limited by the petty hill-states immediately adjoining the Kaśmīr Valley. From them he probably took the comparative standard by which he measured the resources and political importance of Kaśmīr. Even these neighbouring regions were towards the north but vaguely known to Kalhaṇa and his informants.[6] Earlier interpreters of the Rājataraṅgiṇī have expressed surprise at the fact that its narrative fails to notice many interesting events which took place in what to them appeared the close vicinity of Kaśmīr. But in view of what has already been said, Kalhaṇa's silence is easily understood.

Influence of Kaśmīrian superstition.

The limited knowledge of the outside world and the exaggerated opinion of the importance of his country are not the only points which show us the direct influence of Kaśmīrian ideas on Kalhaṇa's work as a Chronicler. We recognize it clearly also in the large part which the supernatural element, sorcery, and similar factors play in his account of historical events. The modern Kaśmīris have very justly been called a *gens religiosissima*. The hold which superstitious beliefs of all kinds have over the population is probably more deeply rooted and universal in Kaśmīr than in India proper.[7] Far away in Central Asia, Marco Polo heard of Kaśmīr as a land famous for sorcery and "devilries of enchantment."[8] Kalhaṇa's narrative proves how widespread the practice of witchcraft was in ancient Kaśmīr. More than one king was supposed to have been killed by it. Kalhaṇa himself fully shares the belief in its efficacy.[9] Hence his marked disposition to credit supernatural agencies with an important share in the events he relates.

Want of critical judgment in Kalhaṇa's chronology.

29. For an estimate of the character of the Rājataraṅgiṇī as a historical record it is necessary also to take into account its chronological framework. The questions raised by Kalhaṇa's chronological system are so manifold and detailed that it is advisable to discuss them separately in a subsequent chapter. Here only the result can be indicated. Our inquiry will show the wholly artificial nature of the chronology adopted by Kalhaṇa in the first three books of his work, i.e. up to the beginning of the seventh century of our era. It represents an attempt to fill a great chasm in historical tradition by figures bearing a fictitious look of exactness. We have no means to ascertain in detail how this faulty and unhistorical fabric was built up, and what share Kalhaṇa himself had in its construction. So much is clear that we cannot expect critical judgment in matters of chronology from an author who bases his reckoning on a legendary date like that of Yudhiṣṭhira's coronation, and is prepared to accept a reign of three hundred years for a single king (Raṇāditya).

This grave defect of Kalhaṇa's work is the result, however, of a more general

[5] Compare i. 294 sqq (conquests of Mihirakula extending to Laṅkā); iii. 27 sqq (Meghavāhana's *Digvijaya*); iii 324 (Pravarasena); iv. 146 sqq. (Lalitāditya's expeditions reaching from the Carnatic to the Uttarakurus); iv. 463 sqq., 531 sqq. (Jayāpīḍa's conquest of Bengal, Nepāl).

[6] Compare below, *Memoir*, §§ 83 sq

It is very characteristic that Kalhaṇa when describing the home of the 'Mleccha' chiefs from the north which, in his own time, invaded Kaśmīr together with the Darads of the Kiṣangaṅgā Valley (viii. 2762-64), can treat us only to details of the mythical geography of the Himālaya regions. The chiefs meant came in all probability from Astōr, Gilgit and other valleys on the Upper Indus. These regions with which Kaśmīris have become familiar enough since the Sikh conquest, were to Kalhana apparently a kind of Ultima Thule.

[7] See Prof. BÜHLER'S *Rep* , p 24.

[8] See YULE, *Marco Polo*, i p 175, and my note iv. 94.

[9] Compare for the belief in witchcraft, i. 331 sqq.; iv. 88 sqq., 112 sqq., 124, 651 sqq., 686; v. 239 sqq.; vi. 108 sqq., 121 sqq., 229; vii. 17 sqq., 133; viii. 1460 sqq., 2241.

cause than the individual disposition of the Chronicler. Albērūnī, whose critical genius could read so deeply in the Hindu mind, has not failed to notice it. "Unfortunately the Hindus do not pay much attention to the historical order of things, they are very careless in relating the chronological succession of their kings, and when they are pressed for information and are at a loss, not knowing what to say, they invariably take to tale-telling."[10] In the system of early Kaśmīr chronology as embodied in the Rājataraṅgiṇī we recognize only too plainly an illustration of Albērūnī's blunt judgment. But it is equally evident that Kalhaṇa was not the first who thus attempted to restore a semblance of chronological order where genuine tradition was vague and fragmentary.

SECTION IV.—KALHAṆA AS A NARRATOR.

Kalhaṇa's impartiality and independence.

30. It is pleasant to turn from the weakest side of Kalhaṇa's work to features which are apt to raise our estimate of its worth. Among these the author's honesty of purpose and impartiality deserve to be named first. Our brief review of Kalhaṇa's personality has already given us occasion to notice the independence he shows in his judgment of contemporary history and its actors. He does not hide from us the errors and weaknesses of the king under whom he wrote. The undisguised manner in which he often chastises the conduct of those holding influential positions in his own time, makes us occasionally wonder whether he could ever have intended to give full publicity to his narrative in his own days. He extends the same impartiality to the near past. In the pictures he draws of King Jayasiṁha's father and uncle, as well as of his most dangerous adversary, the pretender Bhikṣācara, light and shade seem to be mixed with fairness.

The full and historically interesting account which Kalhaṇa gives us of the eventful reign of Harṣa, also bears out this opinion. We have seen that Kalhaṇa had personally good reason to feel grateful to this ruler whose favour had raised his family to high office and influence. Yet he dwells at length on all those evil qualities and acts of the king which had made his reign so baneful for the land and his own prosperity.[1] Even in the touching description of Harṣa's tragic end, where sentiment seems to rule supreme, Kalhaṇa makes us feel the justice of the fate which overtook this Nero of Kaśmīr history.

Honesty in a historian has not unjustly been called a forerunner of critical judgment.[2] In regard to contemporary history Kalhaṇa has manifestly endeavoured to be fair and impartial. May we not assume that the same feeling has helped to guide him rightly also in the opinions he formed of the past?

Individuality of Kalhaṇa's characters.

31. We must hold it equally to Kalhaṇa's credit that where his materials are more ample and historical he endeavours to present to us the principal figures of his narrative in their individual character and not as mere types. To appreciate Kalhaṇa's merit in this respect it is enough to compare the pictures he gives us of personages like Tuṅga, Ananta, Harṣa, Sussala, with the colourless abstractions we meet in the Kāvyas including the historical Caritas. The narrative of Bāṇa and

[10] See *India*, ii. p. 10.

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[1] See particularly vii. 869 sqq

[2] Taine, *Tite Live*, p. 48

Bilhaṇa, too, treats of historical facts. Yet their "heroes are painted all white and their enemies all black."[3]

It is true that in those few passages where Kalhaṇa attempts a systematic analysis of character he is apt to lapse into the conventionalities and platitudes of the Kāvya. The attraction of the traditional models has there evidently proved too much for him. The result is often a striking inconsistency between the commonplaces of the character-sketch and the individual acts of the person described.[4] Where the same persons are introduced to us in their actions and their motives discussed, we feel at once brought face to face with real individuals. This life-like appearance of many of the principal actors in the later portions of the narrative is, no doubt, due to the fidelity with which Kalhaṇa has reproduced the ample materials there available. As we recede from the times which Kalhaṇa knew through living witnesses or reliable contemporary records, his characters become more and more generalized and shadowy. The great kings of legendary tradition in the first three Books, Meghavāhana, Tuñjīna, Pravarasena, and the rest, have no more individuality about them than the heroes of the Epics or the fairy tale.

Humorous portraits of minor actors.

Many of the minor actors, too, of later Kaśmīr history are brought before us in life-like portraits. Kalhaṇa fully possessed that sense of humour and that quick eye for human weaknesses, which are so prominent features in Kaśmīrian character. This explains why he succeeds best in those portraits which he can light up by touches of humour or sarcasm. Figures like those of the upstart Bhadreśvara, the miserly Candramukha, the truculent conspirator Saḍḍa, and others, stand out in Kalhaṇa's pages with an air of reality which does credit to his knowledge of human character.[5]

In descriptions of the low-born and coarse who had risen through their depravity, Kalhaṇa's humour becomes more than once quite Rabelaisian.[6] We feel that if the details are, perhaps, not all historical, they are at least drawn true to life from available models. Kalhaṇa seems to have done his best to be just in such character-sketches, even where he could feel little sympathy or regard for the individuals. As a significant case we may mention the account he gives of the life and doings of Kularāja, a contemporary, whom his skill as a bravo had advanced to the influential position of city-prefect.[7]

Historic truth in description of later events

32. The same spirit of historic truthfulness which gives reality to many of Kalhaṇa's characters, pervades also most of the detailed descriptions of particular events found in the later parts of the Chronicle. From the point of view of the modern historical writer we might find fault with the disproportionate length at which particular incidents are narrated. But we must gratefully acknowledge the fact that the descriptions themselves are often graphic and nearly always of historical interest. If accounts like those of King Harṣa's last struggle, his flight and end, Bhikṣācara's tragic death, and the fall of Lohara,[8] strike us as true, this is due not only to the mass of accurate detail with which they are related. The impression is created quite as much by the dramatic directness of the narrative and by the almost complete absence of those rhetorical ornaments and hyperboles with which such incidents are garnished in the typical Kāvyas.

[3] Bühler, *Vikram.*, Introd., p. 4.

[4] Compare, e.g., regarding Yaśaskara, vi. 2-13 and vi. 68 sqq.

[5] Compare vii. 39 sqq., 111 sqq.; viii. 263 sqq.

[6] See, e.g., vii. 297 sqq., 285 sqq.; vii. 87 sq.; v. 397 sq.

[7] viii. 3333 sqq.

[8] vii. 1539 sqq., 1616 sqq., 1700 sqq.; viii. 1702 sqq., 1814 sqq.

It is certainly not chance that we find the episodes which are described in this graphic and impressive manner confined almost entirely to the last two books of the Chronicle. The explanation lies clearly in the fact that Kalhaṇa was in direct touch with the events there related through contemporary records and the narration of eye-witnesses. It seems as if we could yet trace the impressions of the latter in the very words with which Kalhaṇa records pathetic incidents like Kalaśa's death, Queen Sūryamatī's Satī, King Sussala's murder.[9] Often we feel that his description of particular scenes closely reproduces the picture which they had left in the minds of the onlookers.[10] More than once Kalhaṇa puts into the mouths of the actors of his story words so characteristic and pregnant that we can scarcely doubt their authenticity.[11]

Elsewhere we meet with humorous anecdotes and expressions which bear the unmistakable stamp of contemporary popular origin.[12] It needs scarcely to be said that it is just this circumstance which gives them their value But it is not only the humour of the popular mind which Kalhaṇa knows how to record with fidelity. Passages like the one on the vanished glory of the S'āhi dynasty seem to convey to us still in full freshness the impression which great events had made on the minds of the people.[13]

' precision onology.

33. In judging of the character of a Chronicler's work it is right to take into account the degree of precision he shows in matters of detail. Applying this test to the Rājataraṅgiṇī we cannot fail to note again a significant shortcoming in regard to chronology. The artificial nature of the chronology given in the first three books has already been explained. In 'this portion only the length of individual reigns is mentioned, but no real dates stated. That Kalhana adds to the number of years each king is supposed to have reigned, often also the months and days, does not make these figures more authentic.

It is only from the death of Cippaṭa-Jayāpīḍa (A.D. 813) onwards that Kalhaṇa gives us proper dates. They are expressed in the Laukika era which has since early times been in customary use in Kaśmīr. After the accession of the Utpala dynasty (Book v.) the beginning and end of each reign is indicated by a statement of year, month and day. It will be shown elsewhere that these dates are on the whole reliable and probably taken from sources representing contemporary records. But we have scarcely ever the means to test their accuracy by independent data. Apart, however, from the dates indicating the length of individual reigns we receive no exact indication of the chronological succession of events until we reach the latter part of the eleventh century. Even, thereafter, when Kalhana relates what may be described as the history of his own time, exact dates remain scanty. We are hence often left in doubt as to the time even of such events which Kalhaṇa thought important and deserving of lengthy accounts.

It is evident that Kalhaṇa had not realized the assistance which exact dates offer for the comprehension of historical records. As a characteristic sign of his indifference on this point it may be mentioned that he sometimes states the month of a particular occurrence, yet leaves us entirely in the dark as to the year.[14] That

[9] See vii. 709 sqq., 463 sqq.; viii. 1287 sqq.

[10] See, e.g., vii. 1557 sqq. (Harṣa's appearance after the capture of the palace); viii. 309 (Uccala's murder); viii. 703 (Bhikṣācara's advent); viii. 2635 sqq. (surrender of Loṭhana).

[11] vii. 1490; viii. 688, 886, 1643, 903, 1201.

[12] vii. 122, 1091, 1107, 1572 sqq; viii. 99 sqq., 2370 sqq., etc.

[13] vii. 66 sqq.

[14] See, e.g., vii. 45, 47, 97, 915, 970; viii. 598, 993.

he gives a date for Harṣa's birth which does not agree with the statements accepted by him as regards the king's horoscope may be more readily forgiven.[15] On the other hand it is fair to note that Kalhaṇa shows exact knowledge of a detail in the lunisolar calendar of the year of Harṣa's death which lay fully half a century before the time of his writing.[16]

Accuracy of logical state

Genealogy is a matter to which an annalist must be expected to pay attention. It is hence gratifying to find that Kalhaṇa was evidently aware of its importance. In those parts of his narrative for which he possessed trustworthy records, he generally indicates with accuracy the family-origin of every new actor who appears on the scene. But for this our difficulty in following the intricate details of the affairs which Kalhaṇa relates in the last two books—often obscurely enough,—would have undoubtedly been yet far greater. For the more prominent figures of his narrative Kalhaṇa sometimes gives regular pedigrees which throw an interesting light on family history and are otherwise useful in tracing historical details.[17]

Exactness of haṇa's topogr

Reference has been made already to the thorough and extensive acquaintance which Kalhaṇa shows with the topography of his country. We can scarcely over-estimate the advantage we derive for the comprehension of the Chronicle from the clear and exact manner in which its local references are given. It is chiefly Kalhaṇa's merit that we can restore the ancient topography of Kaśmīr in fuller detail than perhaps that of any other Indian territory of similar extent. The accuracy with which he usually specifies the localities of the events he relates, enables us often to elucidate the latter themselves by an examination of the actual topographical facts. A close relation is thus established between the study of the Chronicle and that of ancient Kaśmīr geography. The latter has been fully treated in the separate memoir attached to the present work. Its contents afford ample evidence of the reliability and precision which we must claim for our author as a guide to the scenes of his narrative.[18]

General not influencing l haṇa's view history.

34. Neither the general drift of Hindu thought nor the specific character of Kalhaṇa's Chronicle would justify us in looking to the latter for a conscious appreciation of what we understand as the philosophy of history. To search for the laws which explain the concatenation of events and govern the development of a nation's history, would have presupposed a mental atmosphere wholly different from that in which Kalhaṇa lived. Inductive analysis of the lessons of history has ever been foreign to the Indian mind. Yet this fact must not lead us to assume that the Hindu Chronicler could contemplate the records of the past without being influenced by certain general ideas. Individual events present themselves to his mind not as phenomena to be traced to their causes. He looks upon them merely as illustrations of those maxims, religious, moral or legal, which make up what the Hindu designates so comprehensibly as 'Dharma.' It will not be without interest to acquaint ourselves with some of the most characteristic of these ideas as indicated by Kalhaṇa. They may help us to realize better the light in which he viewed the events of the past; they are also likely to have influenced already the opinions formed by his predecessors.

Of these ideas none, perhaps, is more significantly Indian than the notion which explains the fortunes of individuals or a nation by the influence of spiritual merits (*puṇya*) from previous births. Kalhaṇa often accounts for strange facts by

[15] See note vii. 1719-20

[16] See viii 35.

[17] See, e.g., v. 409 sqq.; vii. 263 sqq., 1282 sqq.

[18] Compare below, *Memoir*, §§ 17-21.

this convenient and to the Hindu mind absolutely conclusive argument.[19] It is evident to what extent an unquestioning belief in this principle must divert attention from the true motives of individual actions and from all the influences determining the life of a nation.

The theory of the Yugas.

Another Hindu dogma which has a marked influence on the Chronicler's ideas, is connected with the theory of the Yugas. It assumes the progressive decay of all things spiritual and material in the present Kali Yuga. It naturally leads the Hindu mind to attribute to the past the more splendour and greatness the further back it lies. We can easily realize to what extent such a notion must predispose the Chronicler to accept in good faith the exaggerations of popular tradition regarding the ancient kings. Kalhaṇa distinctly adduces this principle in explanation of the reduced power of the Kaśmīr kingdom.[20] Viewed in this light, the fact of the Kaśmīr of his own time being a small country of limited resources could not appear to him a reason for doubting the wonderful power and exploits ascribed to Lalitāditya and other earlier rulers.

The power of Fate.

An equally characteristic feature is the unqualified belief in the power of Fate. Kalhaṇa never tires of expatiating on the inscrutable and perverse ways of this highest of factors.[21] In all directions he is prepared to recognize its working. It is Fate to which Kalhaṇa attributes the failing of all resolve and wisdom in Harṣa at the close of his reign.[22] Yet his own account of the latter shows plainly how little such qualities could be expected from a prince manifestly insane. Fate alone is the cause which turns the recipients of royal fortune into enemies of their relatives and trespassers against the moral laws.[23]

Belief in divine retribution.

35. More in harmony with our notions regarding the connection of cause and effect are Kalhaṇa's ideas about the retribution which follows upon evil government. Fiscal oppression seems to have weighed as heavily on Kaśmīr in Hindu times as it did in a more recent period. We can hence understand why Kalhaṇa takes particular pains to demonstrate that avarice in kings defeats its own object and meets soon with due punishment.[24] In one passage he emphasizes the point by giving a chronologically arranged list of illustrations taken from Kaśmīr history.[25] But even wealth thus evilly obtained becomes purified by being liberally used for pious objects, among which benefices to Brahmans naturally claim prominence.[26]

We have already seen the important part which witchcraft and other features of Kaśmīrian superstition play in Kalhaṇa's narrative. It is fully in keeping with it that we find the cruelties and excesses which mark the later portions of the reigns of Harṣa and Sussala explained by those kings' having become possessed by demons.[27] The belief is plainly indicated by the Chronicler as a popular one, but it is equally clear that he fully shared it. He ascribes to the influence of bewitchment a political murder of his own time, though its real cause is clearly discernible in his own relation.[28] We can scarcely wonder that Kalhaṇa is prepared to credit cases of Brahmans committing suicide by voluntary starvation or otherwise with the power of procuring terrible consequences.[29] It is this semi-religious

[19] v. 456; vi. 147; vii. 506, 1140; viii. 235, 281.

[20] iv. 309, 408; v. 137; see also viii. 2238.

[21] See, e.g., ii. 92 sqq.; iii. 492, vii. 916 sqq., 1070 sq., 1369 sq., 1629; viii. 220 sqq., 607, 1036, 1274, etc.

[22] vii. 1455 sqq.

[23] viii. 189 sq.

[24] v. 183 sqq., 210 sq.

[25] viii. 1951-61.

[26] iv. 701.

[27] vii. 1243 sqq.; viii. 1460 sqq.

[28] viii. 2241.

[29] iv. 632 sqq.; viii. 2242.

belief which made the practice of *prāyopaveśa* under Hindu rule so dreaded a resource of the oppressed. Yet it is curious to note that this belief does not prevent Kalhaṇa from expressing, often in a sarcastic fashion, his contempt for the Purohitas who participated in the great Prāyopaveśa demonstrations so frequent in the later reigns.

Desecrations of holy shrines are naturally looked upon as specially provoking divine vengeance. Incidents of this kind are represented as the turning points in the fortunes of *Harṣa* and his grandson Bhikṣācara.[30] We can in Kalhaṇa's pages clearly trace also the superstitious awe which Kaśmīrian belief has always cherished towards the Nāgas or spring-deities. The legendary account of the destruction of *Narapura* by the Nāga Suśravas and the quasi-historical incident at the spring of Piṇḍāraka in Ananta's time illustrate the important issues attributed to the wrath of these *genii loci*.[31] It is only what we must expect as a faithful reflection of universal belief, that we find Kalhaṇa allotting no small importance to omens and portents of all sorts.[32]

36. The didactic element in Kalhaṇa's work to which we had occasion to refer above, is not sufficiently strong to make him use historical events as texts for lessons on policy. Yet there are passages which show that he could fully appreciate their value as illustrations of political maxims. We notice this plainly where the Chronicler takes occasion to criticize specific acts opposed to these maxims. Thus dealing with Jayasiṁha's expedition into the upper Kisanganga Valley, he takes particular care to point out how failure must ensue alike from plans made without sufficient knowledge of the enemy and from undue deliberation in face of him.[33] When humorously describing Kamalavardhana's vain attempt to obtain the throne by diplomacy while it was within his reach by force, he plainly teaches the necessity in politics of quick perception of the opportune moment and of boldness in seizing it.[34] Elsewhere the risks arising from undue delay in diplomatic action are exemplified.[35] He does not hesitate to criticize the mistakes of policy committed by the rebel opponents of Jayasiṁha, and shows how much the king's success was due to their errors.[36] **Historical events illustrating political maxims.**

Particular interest attaches to the passage where Kalhaṇa gives us "in abstract the principles of government adapted to his own country."[37] This little code of administrative wisdom is put into the mouth of King Lalitāditya as a kind of political testament. But it was clearly drawn by the Chronicler from the experiences of his own time, and intended to express his personal views on them. The somewhat Macchiavellian air which pervades these precepts, could easily be traced also in the professed Nītiśāstra works of India proper. But th re is besides in Kalhaṇa's maxims an unmistakably Kaśmīrian flavour which makes them particularly interesting from a historical point of view. **Lalitāditya's code of Kaśmīrian statecraft.**

The first item of advice bears already this distinctive local colour. As Kaśmīr has to fear no foreign foes, owing to the strength of its natural position, its rulers are advised to concentrate their attention on preventing internal dissensions. The inhabitants of the mountain-tracts enclosing the Valley "should be punished even if they give no offence." For if they were allowed to acquire wealth, the inaccessi-

[30] vii. 1344 sqq.; viii. 993.
[31] i. 258 sqq.; vii. 169 sqq.
[32] vii. 743 sqq., 796, 1291, 1309, 1643; viii. 718.
[33] viii. 2521 sqq.
[34] v. 456 sqq.
[35] viii. 1645.
[36] viii. 2014.
[37] iv. 344-352.

bility of their strongholds would make them dangerous. Kalhana evidently is thinking here of the Khaśas and other mountain clans surrounding the Kaśmīr Valley. Their restless disposition and habits of plunder were under weak reigns always a source of trouble to Kaśmīr.

Principles of fiscal policy.

Very characteristic is also the advice "that there should not be left with the villagers more food supply than required for one year's consumption, nor more oxen than wanted for the tillage of their fields." We clearly see from the remarks which follow after this and similar injunctions, that a rigorous administration of the land revenue in the fiscal interest seemed to Kalhaṇa the only means for preventing the growth of a landed aristocracy. The latter was represented by the Ḍāmaras or feudal barons of contemporary Kaśmīr, so often mentioned in the last two Books of the Chronicle. Their endless rebellions were indeed the main cause of the great troubles from which Kaśmīr had suffered during Kalhaṇa's lifetime, and for generations earlier. Similar advice is given regarding the guarding of important strongholds, the judicious distribution of high official posts between different families with a view to ensuring due balance of power, and other matters of state-craft.

Kalhaṇa thoroughly understood the inconstancy of the political feelings of his countrymen, of whom it could justly be said then as now: *novis plerumque rebus student.* Kalhaṇa dwells more than once upon the rapidity with which the great and the small in the land were ready to change their allegiance.[38] Popular attachment and loyalty is clearly a factor which he wishes his reader to exclude from serious consideration. He is also aware of the unconscious change which the mind of the people is bound to undergo, and justly warns us against trusting individual impressions even of contemporary events.[39]

SECTION V.—KALHAṆA'S STYLE.

37. We had occasion to explain at the commencement of this chapter why the only form which Kalhaṇa could give to his narrative was that of a Kāvya. It is this form naturally which determines the style of his composition

Use of rhetorical ornaments.

We are accustomed to connect with the idea of a Sanskrit Kāvya a redundance of all the rhetorical ornaments which according to the Alamkāraśāstra are essential attributes of such a work. Metaphors, similes, puns, and the endless varieties of poetic figures which are the tests of the Kavi's skill, are indeed largely represented throughout Kalhaṇa's Chronicle. But it is only in particular portions more or less episodic that we find them accumulated in the fashion characteristic of later Sanskrit poetry Kalhana himself, as we have seen, takes care to explain this apparent departure from the conventional standard. It is the length of the story he has to relate, which according to the statement of his introduction precludes the "amplification" necessarily implied by a liberal use of those embellishments.[1]

If we wish to gauge Kalhaṇa's dexterity by the standard of the orthodox Kāvya, we have only to turn to incidental descriptions like those of Yudhiṣṭhira's departure into exile, Cakravarman's or Sussala's triumphal entries into the capital,

[38] See, e.g., vii. 1683 sqq.; viii. 375 sqq., 702 sqq., 922 sqq.

[39] viii. 2303 sqq.

[1] See above, § 19.

Bhikṣācara's last fight, etc.[1] We may not be able to indicate exactly the classical models which these and similar passages imitate. But their conventional character is made sufficiently clear by the total absence of historical detail or local colour. From our Western point of view we have hence little reason to regret that Kalhaṇa has given us but comparatively few specimens of what his pen could do in the more florid style of Kāvya composition.

Dramatic force in episodes.

Poetic merit of a different character must be ascribed to those portions of Kalhaṇa's work which display a certain dramatic force in the treatment of pathetic incidents. The narration of Jayāpīḍa's end, with the spirited dialogue between the king and the injured Brahmans whose curse proves fatal, furnishes a good specimen.[3] Equally impressive is the account of King Ananta's funeral and the Satī of his consort Sūryamatī.[4] It is, perhaps, in the relation of Harṣa's tragic end that Kalhaṇa shows himself at his best as a narrator of historical incidents.[5] In words which lose nothing of dramatic power by their simplicity and directness, he describes to us the ill-fated king staggering towards his doom. His helplessness in the face of overwhelming misfortunes, the desertion and treachery of his followers; his miserable refuge and sufferings as well as the redeeming valour of his final struggle, are all brought vividly before our eyes. The impression which Kalhaṇa's story leaves on the mind of the reader is all the deeper, because the form in which it is told wisely avoids all exaggeration and rhetoric effect.

38. The great mass of the subject-matter which Kalhaṇa has to relate, does not admit of such dramatic narration. By far the largest portion of the work can hence appeal to us only as versified prose. Kalhaṇa was, no doubt, aware of this. He tries to relieve what from the Kavi's point of view must appear monotonous in the relation of commonplace events, by poetic similes, bold antithesis and other rhetorical figures as well as by occasional puns.

Metaphorical language; proverbial verses.

Much of the metaphorical language to which we are thus treated, is not adapted to render the narrative more lucid or its contents more attractive for us. Yet we may readily acknowledge that the metaphors themselves are often distinctly graphic and original.[6] It is probably for the same purpose that Kalhaṇa so frequently intersperses his story with verses setting forth general maxims and observations in proverbial form. These verses are usually composed in more elaborate metres and thus easily distinguished even outwardly from the plain S'lokas of the narrative proper. Many of them display power of poetic imagination even where the themes are well-worn. Their language, though intricate, is often elegant and graceful. This accounts for the prominent place which both old and modern anthologies of Indian proverbial wisdom have accorded to Kalhaṇa's poetry.[7]

Orations and dialogues in Kalhaṇa's narrative.

It is likely that we also owe the short orations and dialogues we meet in the Chronicler's narrative to the same desire of introducing diversity. Kalhaṇa more than once succeeds in making the actors of his story explain in this way more clearly the motives of their conduct.[8] Elsewhere a lively dialogue enables us to

[1] i. 368 sqq.; v. 341 sqq.; viii. 947 sqq., 1744 sqq.

[3] iv. 640 sqq.

[4] vii. 461 sqq.

[5] vii. 1600-1714.

[6] See, e.g., vi. 209; vii. 1067, 1225; viii. 134, 2520, 2560, 2586, 2635, 2747.

[7] See for verses quoted from the Rājatar., Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvali*, ed. Peterson, p. 18. Geheimrath O. von Böhtlingk in his great collection of "*Indische Sprüche*" has reproduced and translated many verses of Kalhaṇa. Comparison of them with the great store of didactic Sanskrit poetry gathered in this florilegium shows how well Kalhaṇa could hold his own on this ground.

[8] See, e.g., Uccala's exposition of his claim to the throne, vii. 1281 sqq.; Harṣa's vindication of his reign, vii 1416 sqq.; Bhikṣācara's monologues, viii. 1023 sqq., 1449 sqq.

follow closely the changing aspects of a complicated affair or the varying sentiments of the bystanders.[9] It is curious to note that just in such dialogues we find sayings introduced which are unmistakably reproductions of popular proverbs or expressions, some of them still currently used by modern Kaśmīrīs.[10] We have here a welcome indication of the fact that Kalhaṇa where he makes the actors of his later story speak, is not likely to depart very far from the conversational tone of his time and country.

Obscurities of Kalhaṇa's diction.

39. It cannot be denied that Kalhaṇa has made it often difficult for us to follow exactly the purport of his narrative. Many of the misinterpretations to which the latter has been subjected in the earlier versions, are due not to textual defects but to original obscurities of Kalhaṇa's diction. These obscurities arise only partly from peculiarities of style, such as the use of rare words, involved constructions, or poetic ambiguities. To a great extent their causes lie deeper. Kalhaṇa, particularly in the later portion of his narrative, has often to give us accounts of intricate affairs of state, of tangled intrigues, of petty incidents of court-life and administration, and the like. The more accurate and detailed he desires to make this information the more difficult we find it now to ascertain the matter-of-fact meaning of his statements, couched as they are in the florid phraseology of the Kāvya.

Kalhaṇa writes for contemporaries.

This difficulty is considerably increased by the evident fact that Kalhaṇa writes only for readers—or hearers—equally well-acquainted with contemporary Kaśmīr as he himself was. In dealing with the history of his own time he hence often omits to specify important details or alludes to them only in a manner necessarily obscure to us.[11] They evidently appeared to the Chronicler too notorious to require precise statement. In the same way we find Kalhaṇa constantly using terms of a specific local sense without ever indicating their meaning, though a knowledge of the latter may be indispensable for a correct comprehension of the narrative. Only a close scrutiny of parallel passages in the Chronicle and of the scanty evidence available outside it enables us to ascertain the true significance of important terms like *kampana, dvāra, pādāgra, pārṣada*, etc.[12]

Difficulties of Book viii.

40. The disadvantages to the modern reader from these peculiarities of Kalhaṇa's diction make themselves particularly felt in the Eighth Book. Nothing perhaps has hampered more the correct interpretation of this curious record of contemporary Kaśmīrian history than the manner in which Kalhaṇa constantly presupposes our familiarity with its actors, however unimportant, and their personal history.

In a narrative extending over nearly three and a half thousand verses it must be necessarily a source of trouble to find the same persons reappearing at great intervals under varying names, without our receiving any clear indication that the latter

[9] Compare, e.g., dialogue of Ananta and Sūryamati, preceding the former's suicide, vii. 423 sqq.; the consultation of Harṣa and his ministers, vii. 1386 sqq.; the soldiers and Ḍāmaras' comments on Bhikṣācara's fall, viii. 1704 sqq., 1725 sqq.; the counsel of ministers outside S'irahśilā castle, viii. 2613 sqq.; Jayasiṁha and Bhoja's meeting, viii. 3214 sqq.

[10] Compare vii. 441 sqq.; viii. 2863, 2890, 3102; also viii. 903.

[11] Compare, e.g., notes vii. 1638; viii. 731, 1112, 1190, 1350, 1449, 1457-59, 2348-50, 2704-9, 2953, 3084, etc.

[12] See for *kampana* ('army,' 'command-in-chief'), note v. 447; *dvāra* ('frontier watch-station,' 'command of frontier-defences'), note v. 214; *pādāgra*, a high revenue office, note vii. 210; *parṣad* (Purohita corporation), note ii. 132.

apply to the identical persons. It has cost me a good deal of close investigation to make sure that Gargacandra, Garga, Gaggacandra and Gagga; Losṭhaka, Loṭhaka and Loṭhana; Rājavadana and Balahara, and many more doublets and triplets of this kind are in reality designations given to one and the same person.[13] The use of such varying forms may often have been caused by metrical requirements.

Indistinct references to contemporaries.

Elsewhere it is even more difficult for us to find out whom Kalhaṇa really means. Frequently he refers to individuals merely by official titles, sometimes by such as they had already ceased to hold at the particular phase of the narrative. Changes of state officers were rapid enough in the Kaśmīr of Kalhaṇa's lifetime. The modern interpreter of the Chronicle who wishes to make sure of the persons meant, is thus obliged to prepare and to consult an official succession list, as it were, for the sake of these references. Sometimes again we can identify the person intended only by following up a complicated relationship or tracing an equally obscure allusion to some trivial incident in the person's previous career, etc.[14]

It is clear that the Chronicler had never thought of the trouble which his future reader would experience in following the thread of this, the most authentic and detailed portion of his narrative.[15]

[13] See notes viii. 182, 2496, 2768; compare also viii. 1524 (*Koṣṭhaka, Koṣṭheśvara*); 2188 (*S'aradbhāsin, S'aradiya*), etc

[14] See, e.g., vii. 1177, 1468; viii. 372, 2808, 3244.

[15] In translating the viii Book of the Chronicle I have found it necessary to constantly take stock, as it were, of all personages figuring in the narrative, by means of a succession list as above indicated and an alphabetically arranged register of brief personal histories. It is only by this expedient that I succeeded in tracking the more intricate of Kalhaṇa's allusions.

While engaged in this task I have often regretted the absence of an indigenous commentary. Yet I doubt whether even a Kaśmirian commentator would have always taken the trouble, or been able, to enlighten us on the points of real difficulty. Jonarāja's commentary on Maṅkha's *S'rīkaṇṭhacarita*, as we have seen, does but little to elucidate the references which that poet makes to his contemporaries.

It is difficult to believe that the last Book of the Chronicle could ever have been attractive reading to the Paṇḍits even when its subject-matter was comparatively recent history. The little attention it has received accounts probably in part for the defective state of the text (see below, § 46).

CHAPTER III.

THE TEXT OF THE CHRONICLE.

SECTION I.—THE TEXT LEFT BY KALHAṆA.

41. In judging of Kalhaṇa's work as a whole and in using its contents, it is equally important for us to know whether the Chronicle we possess is in the main such as its author has left it. On this point our answer can unhesitatingly be given in the affirmative.

Rājataraṅgiṇī completed by Kalhaṇa, A.D. 1149-50.

The exact dates which Kalhaṇa names both at the commencement and the end of his Chronicle, suffice to assure us that the extent of the work cannot have undergone any material change after its completion by the author. Kalhaṇa when discussing in his introduction the basis of his chronological system, distinctly tells us that he is writing in the year 1070, expired, of the S'aka era corresponding to the year [42]24 of the Laukika era, i.e. in A.D. 1148-49.[1] At the end again he takes care to indicate the Laukika year [42]25 or A.D. 1149-50 as the year current when he completed his narrative, and to specify the date still further by giving the year of the reign of King Jayasiṃha.[2]

There is no reason whatever to doubt that the writer who carried down the Chronicle's record to the latter date is the identical Kalhaṇa who wrote the introduction in the preceding Laukika year 4224 or A.D. 1148-49. The interval between the two dates represents in fact the minimum length of time which must be allowed for the composition of a work comprising nearly 8000 verses.

It is true that Mr. Troyer, in the preface to the third volume of his translation, had expressed the belief that the last two cantos of the Chronicle were the work of an author different from the Kalhaṇa who wrote the first six. But Prof. Bühler has long ago proved in a manner absolutely conclusive that the supposed discrepancies which had led Mr. Troyer to form this belief, were due solely to the translator's imperfect materials and to his inability to correctly comprehend Kalhaṇa's text.[3] In view of this fact it would serve no useful purpose to detail here the several misapprehensions upon which Mr. Troyer's supposition was based. Nor would it, perhaps, have been necessary to refer at all to the latter had it not found its way also into Prof. Lassen's account of the Kaśmīr Chronicle.[4] Prof. Bühler has

[1] i. 52.

[2] viii. 3404.

[3] See *Report*, pp. 56 sqq. One of Mr. Troyer's arguments was that the viii. Book related events which occurred after A.D. 1148-49. Prof. Bühler is prepared to admit this statement, but rightly objects to the conclusion drawn from it, inasmuch as Kalhaṇa gives this date merely for the *commencement* of his work which he cannot be supposed to have completed in the same year. In reality, however, the Chronicle does not contain a single date later than the one already quoted for the conclusion of the work, viz. Laukika Samvat 4225 or A.D. 1149-50. The passage, viii. 3179, which Prof. Bühler, following Troyer's version, assumed to refer to events of the Laukika year [42]33, gives clearly the date 4221.

[4] See *Ind. Alt.*, iii. p. 481.

already pointed out that Jonarāja who wrote his continuation of the Rājataraṅgiṇī about two hundred years after Kalhaṇa, distinctly states that the work of his predecessor ended with the reign of Jayasiṁha, i.e. the one described at such length in Book viii.[4] This plain and explicit testimony must alone suffice to set at rest all possible doubts on the question.

Want of revision in latter portion of Chronicle.

42. The fact of the whole of the Chronicle as it is before us, being the work of one and the same hand, forces certain defects which are found in the latter portion of Kalhaṇa's narrative, still more prominently on our attention.

We have already had occasion to explain that much of the difficulty experienced in following Kalhaṇa's relation in Book viii. is due to the fact of Kalhaṇa writing as if only for readers—or hearers—already thoroughly versed in all details of contemporary Kaśmīr history. Another source of difficulty is, no doubt, the frequency of corruptions, in single words or whole verses, which we must needs ascribe to errors of successive copyists and other defects of the Manuscripts. But after making due allowance for these causes of obscurity there yet remain defects for which none but Kalhaṇa himself can be held responsible. They scarcely admit of any other explanation than that the latter portion of the Chronicle had not received the author's final revision.

Among the indications pointing in this direction I may mention at once several instances of undoubted oversights on the part of the Chronicler which meet us in the concluding portion of the viii. Book. Thus in the synopsis of reigns added at the end of the narrative proper Kalhaṇa departs in two, it is true, very minor points from his own relation in Book i. and iv.[6] But, besides, he forgets altogether the mention of a king (Nara I.), the legends connected with whose reign he has treated at great length in the First Book.[7] These oversights, pardonable enough in themselves, are such that an author of Kalhaṇa's general accuracy and precision could not have failed to notice and correct them if he had bestowed on this part the same careful revision which we have reason to assume for the earlier portions.

The same observation holds good of another historical retrospect in Book viii. where Kalhaṇa incidentally alludes to a detail which he had omitted to specify in the corresponding passage of the preceding Book.[8] It also explains to us why we are confronted more than once in the concluding part of the narrative with a certain abruptness amounting almost to incoherence which we should look for in vain in the earlier portions. As particularly striking instances I may mention the abrupt references made to Prince Ghaṭotkaca's conquests;[9] the sudden shifting of the narration from one scene to the other as in viii. 2842 sqq.; our introduction to a thoroughly changed political situation without any previous warning as in the relations of King Jayasiṁha and the rebel Rājavadana.[10]

Defects of text in Books vii. and viii.

43. In the light of these indications the cases not unfrequent towards the end of Book viii., where we meet with bad Sanskrit and wrong metrification in Kalhaṇa's verses, acquire significance.[11] Standing in a context which exhibits

[5] *Jonar.* 5.

[6] See notes viii. 3411, 3425.

[7] Compare note viii. 3414.

[8] Compare note viii 1957.

[9] See viii. 3398-3402. It is characteristic that Kalhaṇa quite against his custom does not even indicate the home and descent of this foreign prince who became King Jayasiṁha's son-in-law.

[10] See viii. 2962 sqq.

[11] Compare the remarks in notes viii. 3070-71 and 3384-35, and the defects noted in viii. 2701, 3097, 3125, 3238, 3319, 3326 sq., 3379.

For a striking case of wrong metre (which cannot be due to any corruption of the text), see viii. 2910.

otherwise all the peculiarities of Kalhaṇa's thought and diction, it would be manifestly erroneous to condemn these verses on account of such formal defects as the work of an interpolator. It is far more probable that we have to recognize in these defects slips of Kalhaṇa himself which, owing to the want of a final revision, have remained in the text. The cases where similes already previously used are repeated in almost identical terms, come under the same aspect. Such repetition is condemned by the rules of the Alaṁkāraśāstra, and it is characteristic that we meet with it only in the latter part of the viii. Book [12]

Finally it appears to me that the unrevised state in which Kalhana left the concluding portion of his work, may be held to account also for the many textual corruptions we notice in it. It is true that undoubtedly corrupt readings and small lacunæ are found in the text of our two manuscripts throughout the whole of Books vii. and viii. But it is only within the last six hundred verses or so that meaningless passages and lacunæ of varying length become a constant feature in the text.[13]

We have already been led to assume that Kalhaṇa had never finished the revision of the whole of his work. The explanation hence naturally suggests itself that the strongly marked inferiority of the final portion in regard to textual correctness may directly be due to Kalhaṇa having left for it no corrected clean Manuscript. If this portion of Book viii. was originally copied from Kalhaṇa's unrevised and possibly badly written autograph, perhaps some time after the author's death, the very defective condition of the extant text would be thoroughly intelligible. It is, however, evident that other explanations are *à priori* also possible, and that with our manuscript-tradition reaching back no further than the seventeenth century, any view on this point must for the present remain purely conjectural.

[12] Compare viii. 2789, 2796, 2810, 2848, with viii. 469, 2747, 776, 1199, respectively.

[13] See for textual corruptions of all kinds, viii. 2818 sqq., 2862 sq., 2926, 3003 sq., 3070 sqq., etc. For lacunæ the verses shown with † in the translation from viii. 3204 onwards, may be referred to. These lacunæ are distinctly marked in Rājānaka Ratnakaṇṭha's old codex, and are such as might result from the partial illegibility of the original Manuscript.

In the first part of Book viii. we find some large lacunæ of a different kind, not indicated in our MSS, yet plainly proved by the break in the narrative; see notes viii 290, 848. In these cases the omissions are most likely due to clerical oversights.

Very curious are those corrupt passages where we find half-verses or Pādas of manifestly different context tacked together, see viii. 1197 sq., 3327, 3379. It is difficult to guess here the exact reason of the strangely garbled condition of the text.

SECTION II.—THE CODEX ARCHETYPUS.

44. The questions touched in the preceding paragraphs show sufficiently why it is necessary for us in the present place to take note also of the Manuscript tradition through which Kalhaṇa's work has reached us. The results of my researches on this subject have for the greater part been discussed already in the Critical Preface of my edition of the text.[1] Of these, it will suffice to give here only a succinct *résumé*.

Mr. Moorcroft's transcript.

The Calcutta edition of 1835 which forms the editio princeps of the Rājataraṅgiṇī, was based principally on a Devanāgarī transcript which Mr. Moorcroft, the traveller, had caused to be prepared for the Asiatic Society of Bengal during his stay at S'rīnagar in 1823. The versified colophon attached to this transcript and reproduced at the end of the editio princeps, informs us that the original Manuscript from which the Annals of the kings of Kaśmīr were copied for "the illustrious Murkarāphaka Sāhibha," had been obtained from the learned Kaśmīrian Paṇḍit S'ivarāma. The latter is praised in the colophon as the representative of that family which alone in Kaśmīr had always preserved a copy of the Royal Chronicles.[2]

The very numerous corruptions found in the text of the Calcutta edition prove clearly that Mr. Moorcroft's copy shared all the defects inherent to Devanāgarī transcripts made in Kaśmīr from S'āradā Manuscripts. Yet even in this defective condition the text obtained from Kaśmīr was far superior to that presented by the incomplete Devanāgarī Manuscripts from Calcutta and Lucknow on which Dr. Wilson had been obliged to rely in 1825.[3] Mr. Troyer's edition of the first six books (Paris, 1840) was avowedly prepared with the same materials as the editio princeps.

Discovery of *codex archetypus*.

No advance was made towards the recovery of the genuine text of the Rājataraṅgiṇī until Professor Bühler's memorable tour in search of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Kaśmīr in 1875. One of the many important results which rewarded his brilliant researches, was that he established the absolute superiority of the Kaśmīr MSS. of the Chronicle written in the S'āradā character, over those in Devanāgarī. He also clearly recognized the fact that all S'āradā MSS. known to exist in Kaśmīr are derived from a single Manuscript, the same from which Mr. Moorcroft had obtained his copy. This *codex archetypus*, as Professor Bühler appropriately called it, was at the time of his visit in possession of Paṇḍit Keśavarāma, the grandson of Paṇḍit S'ivarāma. The owner guarded his precious heirloom so jealously that Professor Bühler was not able to obtain more than a glimpse of the ancient manuscript.[4]

Codex archetypus secured for edition, 1889.

45. The chances of obtaining access to the codex seemed even less promising at the time of my first visit to Kaśmīr in 1888. After Paṇḍit Keśavarāma's death, which had occurred in the meantime, the manuscript had been cut up and divided among three of his heirs. My first endeavours to secure permission to see and collate these portions resulted in failure. The actual owners, though by no means able to appreciate the scientific value of their possession, were evidently resolved to maintain their predecessor's policy. More than a year passed in repeated endeavours and negotiations, which proved fruitless but were instructive to me in a small way of the methods of eastern diplomacy My success in obtaining at last the loan of

[1] See pp. v.-xiii.

[2] The colophon is reproduced in my edition, p. xii.

[3] See *Essay*, p. 2.

[4] See *Report*, pp. 7, 54.

the several parts for the purposes of my edition was mainly due to the kind offices of the Honourable Paṇḍit Suraj Kaul, C.I.E., then Member of the Kaśmīr State Council, and his son Paṇḍit Hari Kishan Kaul, then my pupil and now an officer of the Statutory Civil Service, Punjab.

Thus the disjecta membra of the codex archetypus of the Rājataraṅgiṇī became once more for a time united in my hands.[5] It proved to contain all the eight Books of Kalhaṇa's work, forming a large octavo volume which originally consisted of 328 folia of age-worn Kaśmīr paper. The last leaf and one in the middle have been lost, probably when the above-mentioned partition took place. The leaves are arranged as in the case of most Kaśmīr MSS., in forms which were originally bound up after the fashion of European books, but are now loose. The facsimile of a leaf published with my edition shows the character of the writing and the general appearance of the manuscript.

Rājānaka Ratnakaṇṭha, the writer of the cod. arch.

46. The colophons attached to the several Books do not contain a date. But fortunately they name the writer of the codex, Paṇḍit *Rājānaka Ratnakaṇṭha*, and this entry enabled me to fix the age of the codex with approximate accuracy. Other MSS. from the same writer's hand which I successively saw or purchased, show dates ranging from S'aka 1570 or A.D. 1648-9 to S'aka 1603 or A.D. 1685-6. One of these MSS. contains Rājānaka Ratnakaṇṭha's own commentary on the Haravijayakāvya. The more detailed information which the writer gives here as to his person and family, proves beyond all doubt his identity with Rājānaka Ratnakaṇṭha, son of S'aṁkarakaṇṭha, the learned author of several commentaries on Kaśmīrian Kāvyas and also of some original poetical compositions. The known dates of these works fall within the time-limits already indicated.[6]

[5] *Habent sua fata libelli.* The codex, the use of which had been obtained with so much trouble, was nearly lost on my voyage to England in 1890. The box which contained it, was dropped overboard in the Ostende harbour through the carelessness of a Flemish porter, and recovered only with difficulty. Fortunately my collation of the text was complete and safely packed elsewhere.

Happily, too, the soaking with sea water left no perceptible trace in the codex. Kaśmīr paper of the old make stands immersions of this kind remarkably well, and the ink used to this day by Kaśmīrian Paṇḍits for their Sanskrit MSS., is in no way affected by water. The owners when they received back in 1892 their respective parts, had no inkling of the *abhiṣeka* their household talismans had undergone.

[6] The following are the texts which I am at present able to trace to the authorship of our Rājānaka Ratnakaṇṭha.

i. *Laghupañcikā*, a commentary on Ratnākara's *Haravijayakāvya*. (My MS of this work, No. 188, is Ratnakaṇṭha's autograph copy. The dates shown in the introduction and the colophon of Canto i. prove that the composition and writing fall both within the year S'aka 1603 or A.D. 1681-2).

ii. *S'iṣyahitā*, a commentary on the *Yudhiṣṭhiravijayakāvya* of Vāsudeva, composed in S'aka 1593 or A.D. 1671-2. (An edition of this commentary has been printed by Paṇḍit S'ivadatta in the *Kāvyamālā*, based on my MS, No. 205.)

iii. *Laghupañcikā*, a commentary on the *Stutikusumāñjali* of Jagaddhara, a Bhakti text of the S'aiva persuasion, composed S'aka 1602 or A.D. 1680-1. (Printed in the *Kāvyamālā* Series.)

iv. The *Ratnaśataka* or *Citrabhānuśataka*, a century of verses in praise of Sūrya, composed S'aka 1587 or A.D. 1665-6. (MS. No. 115 in my collection.) Both this and the following small text are referred to by Ratnakaṇṭha in the colophon of his Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya commentary.

v. *Sūryastutirahasya*, a small devotional poem, undated (MS. No. 179 in my collection).

vi. A commentary on Yaśaskara's *Devīstotra* which itself is a poetical illustration of S'obhākara's *Alaṁkāraratnākara*, undated (MS. No. 14 of my collection).

vii. *Sārasamuccaya*, a commentary on the *Kāvyaprakāśa*, containing a *résumé* of the Jayantī and other earlier expositions. (Compare regarding this text, Prof. PETERSON's remarks, *Second Report of operations in search of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, pp. 16 sqq.)

In the first five compositions Rājānaka

Text of Ratnakaṇṭha's codex.

The point thus established is of considerable importance for our estimate of the critical value of the codex archetypus. We see clearly that its writer was not a mere copyist but a scholar of no small attainments who, we have good reason to

Ratnakaṇṭha calls himself the son of Rājānaka S'aṁkarakaṇṭha, of the Dhaumyāyana Gotra, an inhabitant of "the land which is purified by the dust from the lotus-feet of S'āradā," i.e. Kaśmir. Rājānaka is a name borne by numerous Paṇḍit families in Kaśmir; compare below, note vi. 117.

The memory of Rājānaka Ratnakaṇṭha still lives in Kaśmir Paṇḍit tradition as that of a great scholar and very fast writer. The latter fact accounts for the considerable number of manuscripts written by him which are still extant in Kaśmirian libraries both in and outside the Valley. I myself have been able to acquire at S'rinagar, copies from his hand of the following texts:—

i. *Rāyamukuṭa's* commentary on the Amarakośa, written S'aka 1577 or A.D. 1655-6 in 'Kaṣṭhavāṭa' (*sic*) or Kaṣṭ[a]vār (No. 6 of my collection).

ii. *Amaravidyā* (No. 9).

iii. *Kātantrapañcikā* of Trilocanadāsa, dated S'aka 1595 or A.D. 1673-4 (No. 33).

iv. *Kāśimāhātmya* from the Brahmavaivartapurāṇa (No. 39).

v. A commentary on the *Prabodhacandrodaya* (No. 93).

vi. Jonarāja's commentary on the *S'rikaṇṭhacarita* (No. 166).

The oldest of the MSS. from Ratnakaṇṭha's hand which I have seen, is the interesting birch-bark codex now in possession of Paṇḍit Mahānandajiva, son of my departed friend Paṇḍit Dāmodar, of S'rinagar. The *Kāvyaprakāśasaṁketa* which it contains, besides some other Alaṁkāra texts, is dated S'aka 1570 corresponding to A.D. 1648-9. (Compare regarding this codex which to my knowledge is the latest dated Kaśmir manuscript on birch-bark, my edition of the Rājat., *Preface*, p. vii., and my *Catalogue of Jammu Sanskrit MSS.*, p. xxiv.)

A manuscript of the *Kṣetrapālapaddhati* by Ratnakaṇṭha dated S'aka 1607 (A.D. 1685-6), came to light on my examination of Paṇḍit Jaganmohana Huṇḍ's library at Lahore (see below, § 49). Other MSS. from the learned copyist's hand, I have little doubt, have found their way into other Kaśmirian libraries in the plains, and probably also into the collections acquired by Prof. Buhler and other European scholars in Kaśmir.

An inspection of the codex archetypus or of the facsimile pages reproduced from it in my edition, fully bears out the tradition of the Paṇḍits as to Ratnakaṇṭha's fast writing. His handwriting as it appears there, with its very cursive and peculiar characters, presents unusual difficulties even to the practised reader of S'āradā writing. To these difficulties must be ascribed, at least partly, the numerous clerical corruptions and blunders which we meet, to a greater or smaller extent, in all modern transcripts of the codex archetypus. Those among the above-quoted MSS. which bear earlier dates, show the same peculiar cursive *ductus*, but are more easily read. It seems to me very probable that Ratnakaṇṭha wrote his copy of the Rājataraṅgiṇi at a comparatively advanced age and, like the majority of his manuscripts, chiefly for his own use.

The following anecdotes were related to me by Paṇḍit friends in illustration of the above tradition. When Ratnakaṇṭha was a youth and still at school, he used to write out the whole of the text which his teacher had expounded during a fortnight on the single day closing the *pakṣa*, which is a regular *anadhyayanadina* or holiday of orthodox Brahman instruction. He is credited with having been able habitually to write six hundred S'lokas per diem. On one occasion he is supposed to have accomplished even a greater clerical feat. Resting during the middle of the day at Gambhirasaṁgama (see below, *Memoir*, § 64), on a journey from S'rinagar to Vij[a]brōr, Ratnakaṇṭha is believed to have presented his companion with a copy of the Bhagavadgitā which he had written while the latter had busied himself about their meal. Ratnakaṇṭha's name in its Kaśmiri form, *Rath[a] Rāzdān* (Rājānaka), still lives in a proverbial saying often heard among Paṇḍits, "*Yim gai Rath[a] Rāzdāni achar*" ("These are Rath[a] Rāzdān's letters"). It is used of a hurried writing, difficult to read. Ratnakaṇṭha's direct descendants still live in S'rinagar as a respectable family of Kārkuns.

Judging from my manuscript of the Rāyamukuṭi which was written in Kaṣṭ[a]vār, A.D. 1655, Ratnakaṇṭha seems to have continued copying texts even while travelling abroad. Curiously enough, while writing this note, an excellent manuscript of Bāṇa's Harṣacarita in Ratnakaṇṭha's familiar hand has reached me from Bhadravāh (Skr. *Bhadrāvakāśa*, see Rājat. viii. 501), the district adjoining Kaṣṭ[a]vār on the south. Is it possible that this welcome find is in some way connected with Ratnakaṇṭha's visit to that region?

believe, has copied his original with great care and accuracy. The text given by Rājānaka Ratnakaṇṭha in the first six books and in the greater portion of the seventh, is remarkably free from mistakes and corruptions. Yet the care with which he has marked in these portions of the text the lacunæ he found in his original, proves sufficiently that the immunity of his text from defects of this kind cannot be due to unscrupulous restoring as might otherwise be suspected. These lacunæ are now filled up by a later hand, as we shall see, from the collation of another manuscript, independent of Kalhaṇa's original.

The fact here indicated makes it clear that the far less satisfactory condition in which we find the remaining portion of the work, must be attributed to the defective state of the text in Rājānaka Ratnakaṇṭha's original. Here we meet much more frequently with lacunæ, now but rarely supplemented by the later hand already mentioned. Undoubted corruptions, blunders and misspellings also increase as we proceed towards the close of the work. We have had already occasion above (§ 43) to indicate a cause which may be held to account for part of these deficiencies. There are, however, also other circumstances which are likely to have co-operated. The diminished interest with which the concluding portion of the Chronicle seems to have been read, must have caused them to be copied less frequently. Hence the number of copies available for comparison and correction was also more restricted. The greater obscurity of Kalhaṇa's narrative where it deals with contemporary events, is likely to have often led even intelligent copyists into errors. Finally it is to be remembered that the leaves at the end of birch-bark volumes, such as we must suppose the older copies of the Rājataraṅgiṇī to have been, were always exposed to greater risk of injury from the peeling or breaking off of their brittle material.[7]

The glossator A_2.

47. The great critical value of the codex archetypus (marked *A* in my edition and Notes) is due not only to the fact of its having been written by a scholar of Rājānaka Ratnakaṇṭha's stamp, but also to the abundance of important glosses, various readings and corrections which later hands have recorded in it. Two of these designated in my edition A_2 and A_3, respectively, are of particular importance.

Of A_2 I have shown that he was the oldest of the annotators of the codex and probably a contemporary of Rājānaka Ratnakaṇṭha himself. To A_2 we owe, besides a series of important corrections and various readings, a great number of valuable glosses. They have proved most useful to me in tracing the details of the historical topography of Kaśmīr, and have more than once thrown welcome light also on other points in Kalhaṇa's narrative. Certain indications fully noticed in the edition led me to the conclusion that the corrections, various readings, and probably also the majority of the glosses entered by A_2 resulted from a careful collation of Ratnakaṇṭha's copy with its original. While Ratnakaṇṭha was copying the text, A_2 appears to have revised what the former had written, and to have added from the original manuscript the marginal notes and various readings which Ratnakaṇṭha had omitted to copy.

The conclusion I had thus formed as to the age of the annotator A_2 has quite recently received a striking confirmation. Since the publication of my edition I had repeatedly in manuscripts of other Sanskrit texts which I saw or acquired in Kaśmīr, come across learned glosses and notes in the handwriting of A_2, so

[7] Comp. Prof. Bühler's remarks, *Report*, p. 30.

familiar to me from the codex archetypus.[8] But none of these texts furnished a clue to the person of the annotator. In the autumn of last year (1898), however, I was able to purchase in S'rīnagar an old paper manuscript of part of the Mahābhārata which in a most conclusive fashion settled the question as to the age and identity of "A_2." Apart from numerous explanatory notes written by A_2 I found in it, endorsed on the first leaf of the Aśvamedha Parvan, a formal deed of sale executed and signed in the annotator's own handwriting.

A_2 identified with *Bhaṭṭa Haraka*.

The document which I hope to reproduce elsewhere as it presents also other points of interest, records the sale by certain Paṇḍits of a complete copy of the Mahābhārata for 45,000 Dīnnāras to one designated as the "excellent Guru Ānanda." The writer of the deed signs himself with the name of *Takaḍe Bhaṭṭa Haraka.* The date is given as Thursday the 8th *śu ti* Āśvayuja of the Laukika year 58. This by calculation and the evidence of the Muhammadan date, indicated in an attached Persian version of the deed, is shown to correspond to Thursday the 10th July, A.D. 1682. Thus the fact of A_2, recte Bhaṭṭa Haraka, having been a contemporary of Rājānaka Ratnakaṇṭha is proved beyond all doubt. From the way in which Bhaṭṭa Haraka annotated not only the codex archetypus but other MSS. written by Ratnakaṇṭha it may be inferred with great probability that he was his constant companion and possibly his pupil. The name *Takaḍe* (written with *ḍe* as the final syllable and hence pronounced *Takaṛĕ*)[9] represents, perhaps, the modern 'Krām' designation *Trikaṛ* borne by a considerable number of Brahman families in S'rīnagar.

The annotator A_3.

48. Another important annotator of the codex archetypus is A_3. His hand has filled up most of the lacunæ which Ratnakaṇṭha had left in the text of Books i.-vii. He has, besides, recorded a considerable number of various readings and explanatory notes. A_3 has also supplied in several instances whole verses and Pādas which Ratnakaṇṭha had omitted without indicating a lacuna. It is certain that all these additions of A_3 were made after Bhaṭṭa Haraka had done his revision of the codex.

Text recension followed by A_3.

There is ample evidence to prove that the additions of A_3 are derived from a genuine recension of Kalhaṇa's text and cannot be due to conjectural emendation. We are hence fully justified in assuming that for the purpose of revising Ratnakaṇṭha's text, A_3 had used a manuscript independent from the latter's original. But my endeavours to obtain information as to the existence of this manuscript have been in vain. Nor have I been able to discover traces of its use in other Kasmīrian copies. No definite opinion can thus be formed as to the relative value of the text recension which this manuscript now lost represented. The very numerous lacunæ and corruptions which have remained in the text of the last two Books notwith-

[8] Numerous glosses of A_2 are found in the manuscripts from Rājānaka Ratnakaṇṭha's hand, described above in note 6, under i.-iv., also in Ratnakaṇṭha's autograph copy of his commentary on the Haravijayakāvya.

Of other MSS. showing notes from the hand of A_2, I may mention the following now in my possession: No. 122, S'rīvara's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*; No. 208, *Karmakriyākāṇḍa* of Somaśambhu; Nos. 228 and 222, Ṛcakas containing Mantras of the Kāṭhakasaṃhitā (described by Prof. Von Schroeder in the "Anzeiger" of the Imperial Academy, Vienna, Jahrgang. 1896, p. 73). The glosses in the last-named text show that A_2, a *rara avis* among Kaśmirian Paṇḍits, had studied works connected with Vedic literature, like Yāska's Nirukta, Uvaṭa's Bhāṣya, etc.

Glosses by A_2 are frequent also in the MS. of the Harṣacarita written by Ratnakaṇṭha, which has recently come into my hands; see above, note 6.

[9] See note i. 306.

standing the revision of A_2, suggest that the text of the manuscript collated by A_2 was in these Books either equally defective or partially missing. Some indications to be noticed below, seem to show that the revision of A_2 took place early in the last century but was not effected at one time. I am hence inclined to look for the person of A_2 among the early owners of the codex, possibly ancestors of S'ivarāma and Keśavarāma.

Apart from the two old annotators A_1 and A_2 we meet in Ratnakaṇṭha's codex with additions also from other hands. But none of these can claim any special interest or authority. Two of them, A_3 and A_4, can be shown to be of very recent date, while the rest have contented themselves with entering explanatory notes only in isolated instances.

Other Kaśmīr MSS. derived from A.

Notwithstanding a diligent search extending over a series of years, I have succeeded as little as Professor Bühler in bringing to light in Kaśmīr a manuscript of the Chronicle which might prove independent of Ratnakaṇṭha's archetypus. All Kaśmīr manuscripts of the Rājataraṅgiṇī which I have seen or of which I could obtain information, are comparatively recent transcripts from that codex made either directly or through some intermediary copy. Many of the mistakes we find in them are directly due to the difficulty the copyists experienced in reading Ratnakaṇṭha's peculiar and extremely cursive handwriting. In all of these transcripts we notice that the scribes in copying have followed indifferently either Ratnakaṇṭha's text or the various readings of A_1 and A_2. This circumstance accounts for the frequent discrepancies which these copies exhibit among themselves notwithstanding their undoubted common origin. To these comparatively modern transcripts of A belongs also the S'āradā MS., now in the Deccan College Collection, on which Paṇḍit Durgāprasāda's text edition (1892-94) was based.

SECTION III.—THE LAHORE MANUSCRIPT.

49. The critical materials above indicated had already been fully recorded and utilized in my edition of Kalhaṇa's text. I should have been obliged to content myself with them also in preparing my translation, had not a fortunate chance enabled me to secure fresh textual help in a place where I little expected it.

Discovery of Lahore MS., 1895.

In April, 1895, I obtained, after a good deal of negotiation, access to a small and much-neglected collection of Sanskrit manuscripts, belonging to Paṇḍit Jaganmohan Lāl Hund, a Purohita of Kaśmīrian descent, temporarily resident in Lahore. Among the contents of a miscellaneous bundle of manuscripts, a few loose leaves, evidently from some Rājataraṅgiṇī copy in Devanāgarī characters, attracted my attention. I had a careful search made in the confused rubbish representing the remainder of the 'library,'[1] with the result that the greatest portion of the manuscript was ultimately recovered.

At first this find seemed to promise but little. It was evident that the manuscript had been very carelessly copied by an ignorant scribe from a S'āradā original, the text of which agreed closely with that of the Kaśmīrian codex archetypus. A closer examination, however, of some detached leaves which happened to belong to the vii. Book, revealed to my surprise that amidst endless blunders and corruptions there were also some readings manifestly superior to Ratnakaṇṭha's text. I accord-

[1] *Garta* would be a more appropriate designation, to use the facetious term current among my Paṇḍit friends in S'rinagar.

ingly prepared, with the assistance of Paṇḍit Govind Kaul, a careful collation of the whole manuscript as far as I was able to obtain it. The help this manuscript has furnished for restoring the true sense of Kalhaṇa's text in a number of passages, makes it necessary to give a detailed description of it in the present place.

Description of Codex L.

The codex which in the notes accompanying the translation has been marked as *L*, seems to have consisted originally of about 316 leaves. Of these the folia at the beginning and end as well as some 44 leaves from other parts could not be traced by me.[2] The manuscript is written on brownish paper of Kaśmīr make, apparently about 150 years old. The leaves are carefully cut and were originally arranged in forms or 'saṁcayas' of about 8 folia each. They measure 10 inches in height by 6¾ inches in width. The writing is enclosed in a nicely-drawn frame of coloured ruling; its lines, on the average about 20 per page, run parallel to the narrower side just as is the case in almost all Kaśmīrian manuscripts.

This mode of writing, unknown in Sanskrit manuscripts of India proper; the arrangement in forms equally peculiar to Kaśmīr; the prevalence of clerical mistakes directly due to a faulty transcription of S'āradā characters,—all these are indications showing that L had been written either in Kaśmīr or, if outside the Valley, by a Kaśmīrian still attached to the clerical traditions of his home. Certain considerations seem to point to the latter conclusion.

L probably written outside Kaśmīr.

In the first place it must be remembered that the common use of Devanāgarī characters in Kaśmīr cannot be traced back beyond the second quarter of the nineteenth century,[3] whereas paper and writing prove unmistakably an older date for L. I further ascertained from Paṇḍit Jaganmohan Lāl's *vaṁśāvalī* or family tree that his great-great-grandfather (Nātharām Huṇḍ) had emigrated from Kaśmīr to Delhi, probably in the third quarter of the eighteenth century. Nātharām's son, Mukundrām Huṇḍ, who seems to have been a Sanskrit scholar of some attainments, lived at Lucknow about the end of the eighteenth century. A Ṛcaka manuscript in S'āradā character which was copied for him at "Ayodhyā," by a Kaśmīrian scribe (Lachīrāma), and which is now in Jaganmohan's collection, bears the Laukika date 57, corresponding to A.D. 1781-2. It seems thus chronologically possible that L was also copied at Delhi or Lucknow, from some S'āradā original which Nātharām, Jaganmohan's emigrant ancestor, had brought with him from Kaśmīr.

Text of L in relation to A.

50. The questions presented by the text of L in its relation to that of Ratnakaṇṭha's codex, A, appeared for a long time very puzzling. On the one hand there was overwhelming evidence to show that the text found in L, with all its faults of transcription and other clerical defects, was directly derived from A. On the other hand, again, there was the fact that L, in a considerable number of passages spread through the whole of the Chronicle, presents readings which set right undoubted corruptions of A. In certain cases lacunæ of A, even to the extent of half-verses, appeared in L filled up with a text which could clearly not be the result of conjectural restoration.

In proof of the first point it will suffice to mention the following. Throughout the whole of the work L shows the same curious mixture of readings taken indifferently from Rājānaka Ratnakaṇṭha (A_1) and his annotators, A_2 and A_3, which, as already stated, characterizes all extant Kaśmīr MSS. derived from the codex

[2] The folia missing at the time of my collation were 1, 2, 22, 63-71, 81-110, 120, 140, 160, 181, 311-finis.

[3] Compare *Report*, p. 33.

archetypus. Thus often, even in the same verse, L sides with A_2 against A_1 and *vice versâ*. In several instances L shows actually the variæ lectiones which A_2 has quoted in the margin as "from another manuscript," while otherwise slavishly following the text as given by A_1.[4] The great majority of lacunæ found in Books vii. and viii., whether large or small, reappears in L exactly in the same form. Even such minute details as to whether Ratnakaṇṭha has marked the lacuna by dots, - - - -, or not; whether *yugalakas* and *tilakas* are designated as such in words or merely by the figures 2, 3, are duly reflected in the text of L. Though L, like most modern copies of the archetypus, does not reproduce ordinarily the wealth of glosses found in A, yet there is one instance (viii. 2628) where L actually shows one of the rare explanatory notes jotted down by Ratnakaṇṭha himself.

Independent readings of L.

By the side of such manifest proofs of descent from A the Lahore Manuscript exhibits readings which cannot be accounted for except by the use, direct or indirect, of some independent source. Reference has already been made to the most striking evidence, viz. those passages where L supplements the text of lacunæ found in A. These instances are unfortunately not numerous, but as the supplemented text is such as cannot possibly be attributed to conjectural restoration, they are quite sufficient to establish the point.[5] Equally convincing are those very numerous passages in which the otherwise so defective text of L rectifies undoubted corruptions of Ratnakaṇṭha's codex. Such critically most welcome corrections are offered by L throughout the whole of the Chronicle. But they are exceptionally frequent in the vii. Book, and there again in that portion which might roughly be described as the second third.[6]

A critical examination of all the passages for which such corrections by L have been recorded in my notes, shows conclusively that these correct readings cannot be due to the conjectural emendations of some Paṇḍit. In a series of passages it is true L actually confirms the emended readings which I or Paṇḍit Durgāprasāda had proposed in our respective editions.[7] But their number is indeed insignificant when compared to the number of passages where corruptions had not been suspected before, or where satisfactory emendation seemed previously hopeless. Another argument against the suspicion of conjectural restoration is supplied by the fact that the corrections of L are very unequally distributed over the several parts of the text. Thus Book viii., which with its many textual deficiencies might reasonably be supposed to have offered the widest scope for such emendations, shows in proportion to its length the smallest number of corrections.

Text of L copied from A but revised from independent MS.

51. It appears to me that the observations above detailed can be reconciled only by the assumption that L represents a text which has been copied from Ratnakaṇṭha's archetypus, but has subsequently undergone a revision with the help of some manuscript independent alike from A and the codex collated by A_2. It is evident that this revision cannot be attributed to the writer of L itself. His numberless blunders and inaccuracies prove him to have been an exceptionally careless

[4] See for readings thus quoted in A and reproduced by L, iv. 498; vii. 248, 264.

[5] See notes iv. 420; vii. 881, 897, 1081; viii. 343.

[6] Compare for noteworthy corrections of the text as supplied by L, notes ii. 44, * 167; iii. 28, * 214, * 475, 523; iv. 246, 335, 462, 464, 499, 500, 507, 584; v. 106, 231, 261, 280, 282, 297, 305, 370, 374 (the text from v. 375 to vii. 194 is missing in L); vii. * 234, 243, 253, 295, 313, 316, 390, 416, 422, 462, * 487, 511, 517, 524, 555-1178 (corrections found in not less than 111 verses), 1200, 1364, 1551, 1648; viii. 147, 357, 445, 452, 510, 631, 701, 1023, 1031, 1165, 1346, 2566.

[7] See the passages marked with * in the preceding note, and vii. 748, 811, 902, 1004, 1082, 1128, 1166; viii. 631, 701.

and ignorant copyist, incapable even of always reading correctly the S'āradā writing of his original. We are thus led to the conclusion that the scribe of L found this revised text already in the manuscript which he copied and which for brevity's sake we may designate as λ.

Original of L.

The assumption of such a manuscript, intermediary between A and L, allows us to explain also why L sometimes marks small lacunæ where the text of A is even now intact.[8] It is clear that in these passages λ had suffered slight damages before the writer of L set about to copy it. Similarly it becomes intelligible why we find in L in a few passages the places of single syllables which Ratnakaṇṭha has omitted through mere oversight, correctly marked as lacunæ.[9] The careless copyist of L could scarcely be supposed to have noticed himself such slight omissions. But it was different with the writer (or corrector) of λ who, from the very fact of his text-revision may be assumed to have been a scholar capable of noticing also such small defects. The manuscript λ was certainly written in S'āradā characters. For only thus can we explain the numberless faults of transcription in L, and the occasional occurrence in it of S'āradā characters which the scribe has slavishly reproduced instead of transcribing them.

It would, of course, be possible to argue that there was yet another manuscript besides λ in the line of descent which leads from A to L. But at present I see no ground for such an assumption. The interval between the respective dates when A and L were written can, after what has been said above, *à priori*, not be assumed to exceed a century.

Date of MS. λ.

In this connection it may yet be mentioned that there is good reason to suppose that λ (or the copy immediately preceding it) was transcribed from A at a time when the revision of the codex archetypus by A_2 was not yet completed. It is only in this way that we can readily understand why some lacunæ which in Ratnakaṇṭha's codex are now filled in by the hand of A_2, still figure as lacunæ in L.[10] It is evident that so extensive a text-revision as that of A_2 is not likely to have been effected at one time. If, as seems probable, we must recognize in the still anonymous annotator A_2 a later owner of the archetypus, it is only natural to suppose that he added his corrections and supplements at various times in the course of his reading, or as opportunity offered for the collation of other manuscripts.

I have not been able to discover in any of the Kaśmīrian copies known to me, traces of the use of the original of L. If the latter manuscript, as suggested above, was copied outside Kaśmīr in Delhi, Lucknow, or some other place of the plains, this can scarcely surprise us. The manuscript λ when once carried outside the Valley by some emigrant, was not likely to find its way back again to the land of S'āradā. If, then, the original of L has escaped destruction it would be from the *gartas* of one of those towns in the North-West Provinces or the Panjâb where there are great colonies of Kaśmīrian Brahmans, that we might expect it to come to light again.

[8] Thus in v. 162-178 in twelve places; vii. 887, 1554, 1596; viii. 206, 629, 714, 1088, 1200, 1244, 1386, 1624, 1751, 1822, 1868, 2360, 2524, etc.

[9] Thus in vii. 1707; viii. 1788, 1921, 2703.

[10] Such lacunæ are found, vii. 1395, 1637, 1661 sq., 1673, 1676, 1688; viii. 5, 26, 48, 725, 1157, 1286, 1350, 1366, 1550, 3138, 3140. Apart from these passages L has all the extremely numerous lacuna-supplements as given by A_2. It is certainly curious that a few verses which A_2 has supplied in the margin of the archetypus, viz. iii. 80 sq., 95, 310, are also missing in L. All other verses thus supplemented by A_2 are duly reproduced in L.

SECTION IV.—CRITICAL CONSTITUTION OF THE TEXT.

Lines followed in edition of text.

52. The lines which I followed in preparing the text of the Chronicle as shown in my edition, have been fully indicated in the critical preface of the latter.[1] We have seen already that besides the text which Ratnakaṇṭha had copied and A_2 revised from some now lost codex, the only critical materials then available were the corrections and additions reproduced by A_3 from one other independent manuscript. In these circumstances Ratnakaṇṭha's copy as revised by A_2, or Bhaṭṭa Haraka, was the only possible basis of my edition. From this I had departed in favour of A_3 only where the readings of the latter appeared to be distinctly preferable and to represent a closer approach to Kalhaṇa's original text. The full apparatus criticus given in the footnotes of my edition makes it possible to see at a glance the manuscript authority for the text as adopted by me, as well as the eventual variations from it as represented by the several hands of the codex archetypus.

Such emendations as I had thought indispensably required for the constitution of an intelligible text, were invariably marked as such in the edition and the actual readings of A carefully recorded. But I had kept in view the risks with which any attempt at emendation is beset in the case of so difficult a text as the Rājataraṅgiṇī, and had accordingly endeavoured to exercise the utmost caution. For the same reason I had abstained from suggesting conjectural restorations for passages in which the text as found in A showed lacunæ, except where only a few Akṣaras were missing, and could be restored from the nature of the context or by reference to related passages with a reasonable degree of certainty.

53. My prolonged study of Kalhaṇa's Chronicle which followed the publication of the edition, has brought to light no facts to modify the principles on which my text has been constituted. No lengthy explanations are hence required in regard to the text underlying my present translation.

Text adopted for translation.

It is in all material points the same as has been adopted in my edition. In those comparatively rare cases where a close examination of the context had induced me to change my choice between the different readings recorded in A, the point has been distinctly indicated in the notes. The same was done, of course, in all those instances where the translation is based on emendations arrived at since the publication of my edition. Whenever L supplied readings which appeared to me preferable to those shown in the printed text, I have followed them in the translation and indicated them in the notes. In the latter, too, I have marked those not unfrequent instances in which the readings of L have actually confirmed conjectural emendations already proposed in the edition. In view of the circumstances explained above it would have served no useful object to include in the present work a complete collation of L. But I have taken occasion to show in the notes all those variæ lectiones of L which though not superior to A, yet seemed deserving of consideration.

Paṇḍit Durgāprasāda's posthumous edition of the text which was published after the appearance of my own, was avowedly prepared from modern copies of A.[2] These I had occasion to examine after the death of that lamented scholar. Neither in them nor in his printed text was I able to trace the use of materials

[1] See pp. xiv. sq.

[2] See Prof. Peterson's note in Preface to Vol. ii. of Paṇḍit Durgāprasāda's edition, Bombay, 1894, p. v.

which would point to a source independent of A. No independent critical authority can therefore attach to Durgāprasāda's text. But the Paṇḍit's edition contains also a considerable number of useful new emendations, besides others which had already been proposed in my edition. Wherever I saw good reason to adopt such emendations for my translation, their source has been duly indicated in the notes. Though the direct aid I could derive from Paṇḍit Durgāprasāda's edition was limited to these corrections, I had yet ample occasion to appreciate the great care and critical judgment with which he had prepared his text. To the scholarly merits of his work I may hence be allowed to render here a well-deserved tribute.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE RĀJATARAṄGIṆĪ.

Chronology as a critical test.

54. The contents of Kalhaṇa's work from the point of view of the critical tests which we are able to apply to them, divide themselves into two great portions, marked also by a corresponding difference in their intrinsic historical value. The narrative of Books iv. to viii. which extends from the beginning of the Kārkoṭa dynasty to Kalhaṇa's own time, we are able to check in many important points by independent evidence from other sources, such as coins, inscriptions and the notices of Indian and foreign writers. Our position is very different in regard to the first three Books containing the narrative of the earlier epoch. The record here found of the successive Gonandīya dynasties whose rule is supposed by Kalhaṇa to have filled an aggregate period of nearly 3050 years, consists mainly of bare dynastic lists interspersed with more or less legendary traditions and anecdotes. The persons and events which figure in them, can but rarely be traced in our other sources, and then, too, only with considerable variations as to date and character. It is clear that here where independent information fails us in the control of Kalhaṇa's statements, we must depend all the more on the only remaining critical test, that of internal evidence.

It helps us greatly in applying this test that Kalhaṇa follows from the first a clearly-defined system of chronology which by its outward precision lends itself conveniently to critical analysis. It is evident that the result of a scrutiny of this chronological system must have an important bearing on our views regarding the historical value of the narrative itself, for which that system forms as it were the framework. It hence seems justified that an examination of the characteristic features of Kalhaṇa's Chronology should precede our critical inquiry into the traditions and records contained in his Chronicle.

SECTION I.—THE SYSTEM OF KALHAṆA'S CHRONOLOGY.

55. It can safely be asserted that what induced European scholars from the first to turn with special interest towards Kalhaṇa's account of Kaśmīr history, was not the intrinsic importance of the records contained in it, but the fact of their being presented with all the appearance of strict chronology. The Kaśmīr Chronicle stands quite alone among extant works of Sanskrit literature in respect of the exact dates it furnishes. They seemed to offer the means for determining the dates of events and persons in other parts of India, the history of which in the absence of similar Chronicles presented itself to the inquirers of the early part of this century as shrouded in hopeless obscurity. It is, therefore, only natural that all those scholars who had occasion to occupy themselves with the Rājataraṅgiṇī, have devoted a good deal of attention to the determination of these dates.

Apparent uncertainty of chronological statements.

Notwithstanding these continued labours, the general student of Indian history who had occasion to consult the Chronicle in the several published translations and abstracts, might have apparently had just reason to complain of perplexing variations and uncertainties in connection with its chronology.[1] In justice to Kalhaṇa it is necessary to point out that whatever the defects of his chronology from a historical point of view may be, he can yet in no way be held responsible for these obscurities. They have arisen partly from the defective state of the text upon which the inquiries of early interpreters like Wilson, Troyer and Lassen were based, partly from their insufficient acquaintance with the particular era in which all really reliable dates of Kalhaṇa are calculated. The attempts made by these scholars and others like General Cunningham, to "adjust" the early part of Kalhaṇa's chronology on a conjectural basis, with the help of dates gathered from outside the Chronicle, only increased the discrepancies and doubts in their respective results.[2]

Prof. Bühler's researches.

It is due to Prof. Bühler's researches that the two main difficulties in the way of an exact comprehension of Kalhaṇa's chronology have been removed. His "Kaśmīr Report" indicated for the first time the materials available for the restoration of the genuine text of the Chronicle. It also fully elucidated the questions connected with the Saptarṣi or Laukika era which Kalhaṇa uses, as well as those relating to the theoretical basis of his chronological system.[3] Since the

[1] Thus e.g. Mr. THOMAS, *Useful Tables*, ii. p 243, in dealing with Kaśmīr chronology was justified by the condition of the information then available to complain of "the hazy atmosphere with which Oriental authors so often envelop the simplest history"

[2] Dr WILSON has treated Kalhaṇa's Chronology at length in his *Essay*, pp 81-92*. He started from the perfectly correct perception that it was "advisable to commence with the most modern and recede gradually to the most remote dates" Unfortunately Dr. Wilson was not in possession of the text of the last Book and thus failed to obtain the right clue to the calculation of Kalhaṇa's dates given in the Laukika era. He clearly recognized, however, the marked difference in the character of Kalhaṇa's chronological data from the commencement of the Kārkoṭa dynasty (Book iv.) onwards.

Mr. TROYER's chronological tables, ii. pp. 363 sqq., mark no real advance beyond Wilson's results. He has not succeeded in computing correctly the exact dates given in the last four Books, and has allowed his calculations as to the regnal periods quoted in the earlier Books, to be vitiated in detail by consideration of the totals shown in the verses interpolated after the colophons of these Books. His attempt at a critical analysis of the chronology of the Rājataraṅgiṇī can scarcely be taken seriously, seeing that amongst other curious points it endeavours to prove the possibility of King Raṇāditya having ruled during three hundred years as Kalhaṇa has it (ii. pp. 379 sqq.).

General CUNNINGHAM had occasion to discuss Kaśmīr chronology at length in his paper on the Hindu coinage of Kaśmīr, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1843, vi. pp. 1 sqq. He used rightly the key supplied by Kalhaṇa for the calculation of the Laukika dates, and his results as regards the chronology of the Kārkoṭa and subsequent dynasties require correction only in minor points. The extensive adjustment of Kalhaṇa's figures which General Cunningham attempted for the periods preceding the Kārkoṭa dynasty was based on purely conjectural grounds derived from often more than doubtful synchronisms, and cannot claim equal merit.

These lines of conjectural rectification were followed also by Prof. LASSEN. His elaborate treatment of early Kaśmīr chronology, *Ind. Alt.*, ii. pp. 759-781, 1219 sqq., did not furnish any new results as far as the elucidation of Kalhaṇa's data is concerned. For the period following the accession of the Kārkoṭa dynasty Prof. Lassen adopted the dates as calculated by Troyer; see *Ind. Alt.*, iii. pp. 1177 sqq.

A convenient synopsis of the chronological results deduced from the Rājataraṅgiṇī by Wilson, Troyer, and Cunningham, has been given by Mr. THOMAS, in his edition of Prinsep's *Useful Tables*, ii. pp. 243 sqq.

[3] See *Report*, pp. 59 sq.

important advance thus made a detailed review of the chronological statements and speculations contained in the above-quoted earlier publications can only have a quasi-historical interest.

We may hence proceed directly to the exposition of Kalhaṇa's chronology as it is presented in the text itself. Our first task must be to ascertain what the chronological data are which Kalhaṇa wishes to put before us. Subsequently we may concern ourselves with the question what critical value can be allowed to this chronological system as a whole, and to the particular dates it furnishes.

Precise dates in Books v.-viii.

56. In regard to the chronological information contained in the Rājataraṅgiṇī it is essential to note at the outset the marked difference between the two forms in which this information is conveyed to us. In the earlier portion of Kalhaṇa's narrative as comprised in the first three Books, as well as in the bulk of Book iv., we receive no chronological data whatever except such as may be deduced from the stated length of individual reigns and a few general figures of a manifestly theoretical character. On the other hand we find that from the concluding part of the Fourth Book onwards, the dates of the accession of individual rulers, and of other events of political or economical importance for the country, are indicated by the quotation of the exact years of the Laukika era, coupled in most cases with equally precise statements of the month and day. The dates thus ascertained range from the Laukika year 3889 which began on March 7th, A.D. 813, to the Laukika year 4225 corresponding to A.D. 1149-50. The first-named date is that of the death of King Cippaṭa-Jayāpīḍa; the last is given by Kalhaṇa as the time of the completion of his work.[4]

In regard to the form in which the chronological statements of the last four Books are made, it has to be noted that Kalhaṇa, following an ancient custom prevailing to the present day in connection with the Laukika era, does not name the centuries. But this omission causes no difficulty whatever in calculating the corresponding Christian dates for the connected narrative of the last four Books. For Kalhaṇa has been careful enough to indicate the time of the composition of his Chronicle not only in Laukika years but also according to the S'aka reckoning.[5]

Reckoning in the *Laukika* era.

The *Laukika* or *Saptarṣi* era, as it is also often designated, is still in current use among the Brahman population not only of Kaśmīr but also of the hill territories to the south-east, such as Cambā, Kāngra, Maṇḍī, etc. Prof. Buhler was the first to prove from the extant tradition of Kaśmīr Brahmans and other evidence that the commencement of the Laukika era is placed on *Caitra śudi* 1 of Kali Saṁvat 25 (expired) or the year 3076-75 B.C.[6] Since his discovery correct accounts of the Laukika reckoning are to be found in all handbooks of Indian Chronology.[7] Laukika years are counted at present in Kaśmīr from the first day of the bright half of the luni-solar month Caitra. A reference to Rājat. viii. 341, 480 proves that Kalhaṇa follows the identical reckoning.[8] In the same way it can be shown

[4] Compare iv. 703 and viii. 3404, respectively.

[5] Compare notes i. 52; iv. 703.

[6] See *Report*, pp. 59 sq. Albērūnī's remarks, *India*, ii. pp. 8 sq., regarding the calendar "of the people of Kashmir," show that he was correctly acquainted with the system of reckoning as maintained in Kaśmīr to this day.

[7] Compare, e.g., CUNNINGHAM, *Book of Indian Eras*, pp. 11 sqq.; SEWELL AND DIKSHIT, *Indian Calendar*, p. 41.

[8] In viii. 341 we are informed that Uccala's murder took place on the 6th Pauṣa *śudi* of the Laukika year 4187. The dethronement of his successor Salhana which Kalhaṇa places 3 months 27 days later, is dated the 3rd Vaiśākha *śudi* of the year 4188.

with certainty that the months are reckoned by him *pūrṇimānta*, just as is the invariable practice in Kaśmīr at the present day.[9]

All points bearing on Kalhaṇa's system of reckoning being thus clearly determined, the dates intended by the chronological statements of Books v.-viii. can be fixed with absolute precision. Thus the very form in which these dates are placed before us, raises a strong presumption in favour of their substantial correctness. We shall see that this presumption is fully borne out by whatever evidence is available to us from independent sources regarding that period of Kaśmīr chronology.

Lengths of reigns shown in Books i.-iv.

57. The date given by Kalhaṇa for Cippaṭa-Jayāpīḍa's death[10] as already indicated, is an important landmark in the chronology of the Rājataraṅgiṇī. The dates which succeed it, besides their precise form, have the great merit of being independent of each other; that is, a possible error in the reckoning of one would not necessarily imply a corresponding error in other dates. It is very different in the case of the chronology given for the preceding period. Here Kalhaṇa has no real dates to offer to us, but only figures indicating the supposed duration of the reigns of individual rulers. If we wish to deduce from these figures true dates we must either reckon backwards from Cippaṭa-Jayāpīḍa's death or start our reckoning from the initial date which Kalhaṇa accepts for the commencement of his long dynastic list. This, as we shall see, is based on "the imaginary date of a purely legendary event." It is evident that in either case the approximate correctness of the results must depend on the soundness of each link in this long chain of regnal reckonings, and, further, that the historical value of these results must diminish in proportion as we recede from the above-indicated chronological landmark.

Kalhaṇa himself, in the closing passage of his Introduction, has given us sufficiently clear indications as to the theoretical basis of this earlier portion of his chronology[11] The points explained by him there are briefly as follows.

Calculated date of Gonanda I. (653 Kali).

58. Kalhaṇa takes as the starting-point of his chronological calculations the traditional date indicated by Varāhamihira's Bṛhatsaṁhitā for the coronation of Yudhiṣṭhira, the Pāṇḍava hero of the epics, viz. the year 653 of the Kali era.[12] The date of this legendary event is accepted by him also for the accession of Gonanda I., the first of the 'lost' kings of Kaśmīr, whose name, as we are told, was recovered by the Chronicler (or his predecessors) from the Nīlamata Purāṇa.[13] The exact reason for the equation of these dates is nowhere given. But it appears that the story as contained in the earlier version of the Nīlamata which Kalhaṇa had before him, represented Gonanda I. in a general way as a contemporary of the 'Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas.'[14]

Calculated aggregate of reigns in Book i.

Kalhaṇa next assumes a period of 2268 years as the aggregate length of the reigns of Gonanda I. and his successors as detailed in Book i. For this statement Kalhaṇa does not adduce his authority, though it is one of the main bases of his

[9] Compare note vii. 131.

[10] iv. 708.

[11] See i. 48-56. For detailed evidence as to the interpretation of Kalhaṇa's statements compare notes i. 48-50, 53, 54.

[12] i. 55 sq.

[13] i. 16.

[14] The extant text of the Nīlamata which is in many parts fragmentary, does not contain a distinct reference to Gonanda I. But the few verses at the beginning of the work which mention Gonanda's immediate successors, prove beyond all doubt that Kalhaṇa's narrative of Gonanda I. and the next three rulers was derived from the Nīlamata as stated by himself in i. 16; compare BÜHLER, *Report*, p. 38.

chronology. But the importance which he attached to it, is evident from the trouble he takes to prove its correctness. He does this by showing that if to the figure of 2268 years are added the 653 years from the commencement of the Kali era to Gonanda I.'s accession, as well as the years (1328) representing the rough total of the reigns described in Books ii.-viii., we arrive at an aggregate of 4249 years which corresponds exactly to the 4249 years of the Kali Yuga elapsed in S'aka 1070, the date when Kalhaṇa wrote his introduction.[15]

Kalhaṇa himself tells us that the calculation of a total of 2268 years for the regnal period of the first Gonanda dynasty had been "thought wrong by some authors." As the ground of their objection he indicates the belief (according to him, erroneous) which placed the 'Great War' of the Kurus and the Pāṇḍavas at the close of the Dvāpara Yuga, i.e. at the commencement of the Kali era. From this remark it is evident that Kalhaṇa was not the first to propose the above figure for the aggregate length of the reigns of Gonanda and his descendants, and, further, that the connection of Gonanda I.'s date with the legendary date of the Bhārata war was generally assumed by writers on Kaśmīr history. Kalhaṇa's reticence does not allow us to go beyond this. We know neither the source from which he obtained that base of his chronological system, nor by what figure the critics he alludes to were prepared to replace it.

Date assumed for Gonanda III. (1182 B.C.).

59. Kalhaṇa's Introduction furnishes us only with two more chronological statements of a general character. One is that at the time of Kalhaṇa's writing, or in S'aka Saṁvat 1070, "on the whole 2330 years had passed since the accession of Gonanda III.," and the other that 1266 years were "believed to be comprised in the sum of the reigns of the fifty-two lost kings."[16]

[15] For detailed evidence as to Kalhaṇa's line of argument, compare note i. 50. For its correct exposition we are indebted to Dr. Hultzsch, *Ind. Ant.*, xviii. pp. 99 sq.

We are led by two calculations to the total of 1328 years as Kalhaṇa's aggregate of the reigns from the close of the first Gonanda dynasty to Kalhaṇa's time. Deducting from the total of 2268 years for the reigns comprised in Book i., the 1266 years which Kalhaṇa allows "for the sum of the reigns of the fifty-two lost kings" (i. 54), there remain 1002 years for the aggregate rule of the kings the length of whose reigns is specified in Book i. (from Gonanda III. to Narendrāditya I.), and of Yudhiṣṭhira, the last king of Book i., the duration of whose reign Kalhaṇa has omitted to indicate. If we deduct these 1002 years from the rough total of 2330 years which Kalhaṇa mentions as having elapsed from the accession of Gonanda III. to his own time (i. 53), we get the result of 1328 years as the aggregate length of the reigns in Books ii.-viii.

The other calculation we may follow is to add up the figures given in the seven later Books. These are, according to the text, adopted for our translation as follows*:—

	Years.	Months.	Days.
Total of reigns of Book ii.	192	0	0
" " iii	589	10	1
" " iv. from Durlabhavardhana to Cippaṭa-Jayāpīḍa .	212	5	27
Period from the death of Cippaṭa-Jayāpīḍa, Laukika-Saṁvat [38]89 (iv. 708), to the date of Kalhaṇa's Introduction, Laukika-Saṁvat [42]24 (i. 52)	335	0	0

The exact total of these figures would be 1329 years, 3 months and 28 days. But if we disregard the odd months and days found in the aggregate of Books ii. and iii., the result will be again 1328 years. We are all the more justified in adopting this manner of calculation as Kalhaṇa's words (i. 53) distinctly imply that he himself had arrived at the figure of 2330 years for the total from Gonanda III. to his own time by a similar 'rough' reckoning.

[16] i. 53, 54.

* The only passages where the codex archetypus shows any variations as to regnal figures, are iii. 379 and iv. 400. In both cases those readings have been adopted which agree with Kalhaṇa's own rough total of 1328 years.

In explanation of the first statement it has to be noted that it is only from Gonanda III. onwards that Kalhaṇa is able to indicate the length of individual reigns. With this ruler begins in fact the continuous list of kings which Kalhaṇa professedly obtained from the works of earlier chroniclers.[17] We have already seen that a 'rough calculation,' as implied by Kalhaṇa's expression (*prāyaḥ*, 'on the whole'), of the aggregate duration of those reigns actually gives us the total of 2330 years.[18] Kalhaṇa does not tell us distinctly whether he took the figures for individual reigns summed up in this 'rough' total, also from the "works of former scholars" which supplied the dynastic names from Gonanda III. onwards. It is hence *à priori* not certain whether these earlier sources already knew the date of Gonanda III.'s accession as indicated by Kalhaṇa's calculation, viz. 1919 Kali or 1182 B.C.

Computed length of reigns of 'lost kings.'

As regards the second statement, allotting 1266 years to the whole of the reigns of the 'lost' kings who preceded Gonanda III., it is evident that this figure could easily be computed either from the traditional sum of 2268 years for the whole period of the first Gonanda dynasty or from the rough total of 2330 years just discussed.[19] Kalhaṇa's words in fact seem to imply that this computation had been made by himself.

Our observations as to the theoretical basis of Kalhaṇa's early chronology may thus be briefly summed up. We have seen that the starting-point of his and his predecessors' calculations was the supposed date of Gonanda I., obtained by connecting a semi-mythical king of Purāṇa tradition with a purely legendary event of the great Indian epic and its imaginary chronology. We are next asked, without indication of an authority, to accept the figure of 2268 years for the aggregate length of rule of a single dynasty, of which, however, fifty-two kings had already become 'lost' to the tradition of the earlier Chronicles. Lastly, Kalhaṇa presents us, again without naming his authority, with the figure of 2330 years as the result of an avowedly 'rough' calculation of the aggregate duration of reigns from Gonanda III., to his own date.

17 Compare i. 16 with the gloss of A_2 thereon.

18 See above, § 58, note 15.

19 Total of reigns of first Gonanda dynasty 2668
Deduct for reigns from Gonanda III. to Yudhiṣṭhira I. 1002

Results a total for 'lost' kings' years 1266

The same result is obtained by deducting from—

The number of Kali years elapsed in S'aka Saṁvat 1070	—	4249
The aggregate number of years of known reigns . .	2330	
+ the number of Kali years passed before Gonanda I. .	653	
		2983
		1266

SECTION II.—THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE FIRST THREE BOOKS.

Lengths of reign not recorded for earliest kings.

60. The doubts which these observations are bound to raise in us as to the value of the earlier portion of Kalhaṇa's chronology, are in no way dispelled by an examination of the figures given for individual reigns in the first three Books. These figures will be found tabulated in a convenient form in the Dynastic Table shown in Appendix I. of this Introduction.

It has already been stated that Kalhaṇa indicates the length of reigns only from Gonanda III. whose name was the first in the regular list of kings supplied by the earlier Chronicles. For the preceding period of the fifty-two 'lost' kings no chronological information whatever is given to us apart from that conveyed by the two extreme dates, viz. Kali 653 for Gonanda I.'s accession and Kali 1919 for that of Gonanda III. Attempts have sometimes been made to fill the gap left between these two dates, by means of approximate calculations regarding the reigns of the kings who are supposed to have been recovered from among the 'fifty-two lost' ones.[1] But it must be remembered that Kalhaṇa avowedly took the seventeen royal names thus 'recovered' from three entirely distinct sources, and that for the place and order in which he inserted these three groups of names we have no authority but his own.

Averages of reigns for Gonanda dynasties.

The regnal years for each of the rulers from Gonanda III. onwards are shown, indeed, with an outward look of precision. But this very display of exact figures must excite suspicion when we come to examine them more closely. Dr. WILSON has already called attention to the curious fact that according to Kalhaṇa's figures thirty-seven princes of the first three dynasties reign for not less than 1784 years, or on an average more than forty-eight years each.[2] It is manifest that such an average which greatly exceeds possibility, does not allow us to place any reliance whatever on the pretended accuracy of the statements regarding the duration of individual reigns.

This observation applies with equal force to each of the first three dynasties, the calculated averages of reigns being approximately forty-eight years in the i.; thirty-two years in the ii.; and fully fifty-nine years in the iii. Book. The worthlessness of figures which imply such excessive average durations of reigns cannot be better illustrated than by a comparison of the corresponding figures in the last four Books of the Chronicle. Here we find a period of 547 years divided between not less than fifty princes. This gives an average of not fully eleven years to one reign for the whole period. The maximum average for a particular dynasty within the same period is a little over sixteen years, viz. in the case of the first Lohara dynasty treated in Book vii.

Reigns of excessive length in Book i.

61. Our misgivings as to the real character of Kalhaṇa's early chronology are only increased by an examination of the durations indicated for particular reigns. Thus we are invited in the First Book to accept a succession of four reigns descending from father to son, each one of sixty or more years (Hiraṇyakula, Vasukula, Mihirakula, Baka). Of twenty-one princes belonging to the first Gonanda dynasty not less than eight are credited with having reigned each from

[1] See, e.g., TROYER, ii pp 420 sq., DUTT, ii. p. x.

[2] *Essay*, pp. 86 sq.

sixty to seventy years. That Kalhaṇa in the case of one of these exceptionally long reigns (Baka) is able to specify even the number of days by which it exceeded sixty-three years, is not calculated to allay our scruples.[3]

Raṇāditya's reign of 300 years.

But the most remarkable particular feature to be noticed in this portion of Kalhaṇa's Chronology is undoubtedly the wonderful reign of three hundred years which our author allots in Book iii. to King Raṇāditya.[4] The attempts to account for this truly astounding item in Kalhaṇa's dynastic reckoning have been numerous enough. Mr. TROYER was at pains to justify it, as it were, by quoting examples of exceptional longevity and referring to the belief in individual existence protracted through fresh incarnations.[5] Other interpreters more critically disposed have thought that the extravagantly long reign attributed to Raṇāditya was intended to hide a great break in the succession of indigenous kings, or have proposed other conjectural explanations. But I doubt whether the true significance, from a critical point of view, of Kalhaṇa's extraordinary figure has yet been sufficiently emphasized.

According to the Chronicler's reckoning there is only an interval of roughly seventy-nine years between the end of Raṇāditya's reign and the accession of the first Kārkoṭa king Durlabhavardhana which marks the commencement of the truly historical period in Kalhaṇa's records. Independent evidence shows us that the date which the reckoning of the Rājataraṅgiṇī would assign to Durlabhavardhana's reign (A.D. 600-636), cannot be more than about a quarter of a century removed from the right one. Notwithstanding the close vicinity in which the alleged date of Raṇāditya's death thus appears to the commencement of Kalhaṇa's real chronology, we find the Chronicler yet prepared to insert this extraordinary reign of three hundred years in his dynastic list, and that without a single word of comment or explanation.

Want of critical judgment in K.'s chronology.

We could scarcely expect a more signal proof of Kalhaṇa's wholly uncritical frame of mind in matters of chronology. An author who is ready to treat us to so extravagant a piece of chronological information at a distance of scarcely more than six centuries before his own time, cannot be expected to have sifted with critical judgment the chronological materials available to him for earlier epochs. Still less can we expect of him that he should have taken care to specify where the chronological data contained in his sources were fragmentary or contradicting.

The attitude here indicated agrees fully with the conclusions we have already had occasion to draw above as to Kalhaṇa's notions as a historian. But it is right to remember also that this wholly uncritical attitude was the natural result of the mental atmosphere in which he moved. Considering that his predecessors, the earlier Chroniclers of Kaśmīr, had looked at things past more or less with the same eyes, we can scarcely feel surprised at the incongruities already noticed. Chronological impossibilities equally striking are revealed to us if we turn to the examination of the few points of contact which can be established between Kalhaṇa's early narrative and the ascertained facts of general Indian history.

62. Among the fifty-four reigns recorded in the first three Books of the Chronicle there are only six of which some notice can be traced also in other available sources. In testing the position assigned to these reigns in Kalhaṇa's early chronology, we may follow the order indicated by the Rājataraṅgiṇī.

[3] i 330

[4] iii. 470.

[5] See TROYER, ii. pp. 379 sqq.

Alleged date of Aśoka.

The first historical name which we meet in the Chronicle is that of King AS'OKA. Kalhaṇa had taken it together with the names of the next four rulers from the work of Chavillākara. The latter himself, in a verse quoted by Kalhaṇa, had declared that these royal names "were obtained by the ancients from among the fifty-two lost ones."[6] Aśoka falls thus outside the list of those kings for whom Kalhaṇa indicates the length of reign. Nor does the Chronicler furnish any distinct statement as to the number of generations which were supposed to have intervened between Aśoka and Gonanda III. Yet it is certain from the succession of reigns as shown in the Chronicle, that Kalhaṇa must have placed Aśoka a considerable time before the Kali year 1919 or 1182 B.C. which, according to the computation explained above (§ 60), he accepted as the initial date of Gonanda III.

Aśoka's date is fortunately one of the few facts of old Indian chronology which are established beyond all doubt. The most authentic documents, Aśoka's own inscriptions, prove that the great patron of the Bauddha creed whose fame is spread through the whole of Buddhist literature, ruled about the middle of the third century B.C.[7] On the other hand, Kalhaṇa's narrative leaves no doubt as to the identity of the Aśoka of the Kaśmīr record with the Aśoka of universal Buddhist tradition. It is thus clear that if we were to give credence to Kalhaṇa's chronological calculations for this period we should have to place Aśoka at least fully a thousand years before his real date.

Date assigned to Huṣka, Juṣka, Kaniṣka.

The list of kings which Kalhaṇa borrowed from Chavillākara, presents us a second time with truly historical names in those of the Turuṣka kings, HUṢKA, JUṢKA, and KANIṢKA, who, according to the Chronicle, are supposed to have reigned simultaneously. The identity of the third and first of these princes with the great Kuṣana rulers known to us as Kaniṣka and Huviṣka from the inscriptions, and as KANHÞKI and OOHÞKI from their coins, has long ago been recognized.[8] The exact date of Kaniṣka and his successor Huviṣka has not yet been determined with equal certainty. A theory which had been originally proposed by Mr. Fergusson, and which had met for some time with general acceptance, recognized in the initial year of the S'aka era, A.D 78, the date of Kaniṣka's coronation. But weighty objections have recently been urged against this assumption, particularly by Prof S. LÉVI who, relying chiefly on new evidence from Chinese sources, is inclined to place Kaniṣka about the commencement of our era.[9]

Whatever date we shall have ultimately to adopt in the light of subsequent finds and researches, so much may already now be considered as certain that Kaniṣka's reign cannot be removed by more than a century from the commencement of our era. Kalhaṇa, on the other hand, makes the Turuṣka kings precede Gonanda III., with one intermediate reign (Abhimanyu), and thus places them before the year 1182 B.C., which implies a chronological aberration of not less than eleven hundred years.

Date assumed for Mihirakula.

63. We are confronted with an equally curious result when we turn to the next prince of Kalhaṇa's first Gonanda dynasty who is known to us from historical sources. There can be no doubt whatever that Kalhaṇa's MIHIRAKULA, the cruel king of popular Kaśmīrian tradition, is identical with the White Hun or Ephthalite

[6] i. 19 sq.

[7] Compare, e.g., DUFF, *Chronology of India*, pp. 11 sq.; SENART, *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, ii. pp. 255 sqq.

[8] Compare note i. 168.

[9] See his *Notes sur les Indo-Scythes*, pp. 61 sqq., 76 sqq (*Journal asiat.*, 1897, No. 1).

ruler of that name.[10] From the conclusive testimony of the inscriptions, the coins and the Chinese records, Mr. FLEET has been able to establish the fact that Mihirakula ruled within the first half of the sixth century of our era over the Western Panjāb and the neighbouring territories including Kaśmīr. Yet calculating from the figures which Kalhaṇa gives for the reigns following after Gonanda III., we should have to assign to Mihirakula's rule the period 704-634 *before Christ*. We see that in this case the difference between Kalhaṇa's date and the true one amounts to fully twelve hundred years.

For one more royal name found in Book i. we are able to adduce the probable evidence of the coins. The Rājataraṅgiṇī mentions as Gokarṇa's son and the nineteenth successor of Gonanda III., King Narendrāditya I., who also bore the second name *Khiṅkhila*. This curious un-Indian looking name we find in a slightly modified form, *Khingila*, also on a unique silver coin of the White Hun type, which General Cunningham was prepared to attribute to the king named in the Chronicle.[11] The coin on numismatic grounds must be assigned to the fifth or sixth century of our era, while the date deducible from Kalhaṇa's chronology would be 250-214 B.C. Thus assuming the historical identity of Khingila with the Narendrāditya-Khiṅkhila of the Rājataraṅgiṇī we find here a chronological error of not less than six hundred years.[12]

64. The names of the Kings recorded in the Second Book do not assist us in the examination of Kalhaṇa's early chronology, as none of them have as yet been traced in other sources. In the Third Book, however, we meet again with historical names, as we may reasonably expect seeing that we are there nearing the commencement of the authentic records in the Chronicle. But the comparison of the dates as calculated on Kalhaṇa's basis with the periods indicated by independent documents, proves conclusively how far removed from true critical value Kalhana's chronological system is even for the period immediately preceding the Kārkoṭa dynasty.

Date of Toramāṇa.

An undoubtedly historical name is that of TORAMĀṆA, whom Kalhaṇa represents as the brother and co-regent of King Hiraṇya. In my note on the passage and in the disquisition on the ancient currency of Kaśmīr,[13] I have shown that Kalhaṇa's notice clearly refers to the ruler whose copper coinage bearing the name *Toramāṇa* is still extant in Kaśmīr in remarkable abundance. Calculated with reference to Kalhaṇa's system the date of Toramāṇa would fall towards the end of the first century of our era. But whether we have to identify the Toramāṇa of the Chronicle with the White Hun king of that name, the father of Mihirakula, or to see in him another and later ruler, there is the unmistakable evidence of the coins showing that the Kaśmīr prince who issued them must have ruled at least four centuries later than the date above indicated.

The reference which Kalhana makes to the great Vikramāditya-Harṣa, of Ujjayinī, in connection with the next reign, that of the poet Mātṛgupta, exposes a chronological error of equal magnitude. Kalhana, true to his chronological scheme,

[10] Compare note i. 289.

[11] See note i. 347.

[12] Kalhaṇa names as the father and predecessor of Narendrāditya-Khiṅkhila, King *Gokarṇa*. General Cunningham had read the latter name on a Kaśmīr coin of the so-called Kidāra type, *Coins of Med. India*, p. 43 and pl. iii. 6. But according to information kindly communicated to me by Mr Rapson, the reading of this coin, now in the British Museum, is extremely doubtful.

[13] See note iii. 103, and Note *H* (iv. 495), §§ 18 sqq.

identifies this king with the Vikramāditya whose victory over the S'akas he, in agreement with an old popular theory, supposed to be commemorated by the initial date of the S'aka era, 78 A.D.[14] Yet Kalhaṇa, himself, in a subsequent passage clearly designates this Vikramāditya-Harṣa as the father of King S'īlāditya-Pratāpaśīla, whom we know from a statement of Hiuen-tsiang to have flourished as ruler of Mālava (Ujjain) about sixty years before his own time, i.e. about A.D. 580.[15] Hiuen-tsiang ascribes a rule of over fifty years to S'īlāditya. The real date of his father, the Vikramāditya meant by Kalhaṇa, falls thus into the first half of the sixth century, i.e. nearly five centuries later than the date which Kalhaṇa's calculation would lead us to assume.

Time of Pravarasena. We note the same discrepancy between Kalhaṇa's chronology and the true date in the case of King Pravarasena II whom the Rājataraṅginī mentions as the son of Toramāṇa and immediate successor of Mātṛgupta. Pravarasena's historical existence and approximate date is attested by his coins and by the foundation of S'rīnagara, the Kaśmīr capital, which derives its proper designation *Pravara[sena]pura* from this king.[16] The coins of Pravarasena by their type and the Gupta characters of their legend attach themselves closely to the coins of Toramāṇa already mentioned, and thus clearly indicate the sixth century as the date of their issuer. The same conclusion can be derived from the statement of Hiuen-tsiang who A.D. 631, visited the capital founded by Pravarasena, and who speaks of it as "the new city" in distinction from the earlier capital (Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna).[17]

White Hun rulers. The suggested identification of Lahkhana-Narendrāditya, according to Kalhaṇa, Pravarasena's grandson, with the Lahkhaṇa-Udayāditya of the coins cannot be considered as absolutely certain though there is much to support it.[18] If correct, it shows Kalhaṇa's early chronology in a very curious light also from another point of view. The coins of Lahkhana, undoubtedly those of a White Hun ruler, exhibit the closest resemblance in type, legend and fabric to the coin of Khiṅgila whose identity with the Khinkhila-Narendrāditya of the Rājataraṅginī, as already explained, can scarcely be doubted.[19] As Kalhaṇa's chronology would assign to Khiṅkhila a date corresponding to 250-214 B.C., while that calculated for Lahkhaṇa is 209-222 A.D., we should find here two rulers whose very close proximity in time is vouched for by their coins, separated by a gap of more than four centuries.

SECTION III.—THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE KĀRKOṬA AND LATER DYNASTIES.

65. The consideration of the comparatively few data in Kalhaṇa's early chronology which can be tested by historical evidence, has brought us down to the mythical reign of three hundred years ascribed to King Raṇāditya, the true significance of which has already engaged our attention. Whatever explanation may suggest itself for this extraordinary item in Kalhaṇa's reckoning, it is certain that we approach almost immediately after it the beginning of the critically valuable portion of his chronology.

The account of the Kārkoṭa dynasty contained in the Fourth Book of the

14 Compare note iii. 125 and iii 128.

15 See for references below, note iii 330

16 Compare note iii. 339-349.

17 Compare below, *Memoir*, §§ 9, 91

18 See note iii. 383.

19 See above, § 63.

Chronicle forms as it were the transition between the semi-legendary traditions recorded in the first three Books and the detailed and accurate narrative of the last four. At the end of the Fourth Book Kalhaṇa gives us the first date expressed in years of the Laukika era,[1] and his chronology of the early Kārkoṭa rulers brings us to comparatively safe ground already at its commencement.

Date of Chinese Annals for Candrāpīḍa.

We owe the historical evidence which enables us to check Kalhaṇa's dates for the early reigns of the Kārkoṭa dynasty, to records of the Chinese Annals. The chronologically most definite of these notices concern Candrāpīḍa, the third king in Kalhaṇa's list of that dynasty.[2] We are informed in the Annals of the T'ang dynasty that King Tchen-t'o-lo-pi-li of Kaśmīr whose identity with Candrāpīḍa has long ago been recognized, sent, A.D. 713, an embassy to the Chinese court to invoke its aid against the Arabs. They further record that about the year A.D. 720 Tchen-t'o-lo-pi-li was at his request granted the title of king on the imperial rolls. Allowing for the time required by an embassy to cover the great distance between Kaśmīr and the Chinese capital, we must conclude that Candrāpīḍa was still living A.D 719. Candrāpīḍa, according to the Rājataraṅgiṇī, was put to death by his younger brother Tārāpīḍa, after a reign of eight years and eight months. Assuming the duration of the reign here indicated to be approximately correct and keeping in view the recorded date of the arrival of the first embassy at the Imperial court (A.D. 713), Candrāpīḍa's death could not be put much later than A.D. 720.

If we now turn to Kalhaṇa's relation, we find there a period corresponding to A.D. 686-695 assigned to Candrāpīḍa's reign, and the latter thus antedated by about twenty-five years as against the Chinese records. The necessity of rectifying Kalhaṇa's computation by the addition of twenty-five years has been duly noticed by General Cunningham and other scholars.[3] We shall see that it implies also in all probability a corresponding correction in Kalhaṇa's dates for other Kārkoṭa Kings. But this error must indeed appear small if we compare it with the phantastic chronology of the first three Books. Its relative smallness creates a presumption that we are now nearing firm ground in the records of Kaśmīrian history.

Date of Muktāpīḍa.

66. The suggested correction by twenty-five years would suffice to bring also Kalhaṇa's dates for Muktāpīḍa-Lalitāditya, 699-735 A.D., into accord with the evidence of the Chinese Annals. The latter mention the arrival of an embassy sent by *Mu-to-pi*, king of Kaśmīr, after the first Chinese expedition against Poliu or Baltistān, which took place between the years 736-747.[4] The identity of Mu-to-pi with Muktāpīḍa may be considered as certain, and the object assigned to the embassy clearly shows that the latter could have been despatched only after the successful conclusion of the Chinese expedition. This makes it evident that Muktāpīḍa's death must have taken place considerably later than the date indicated by the Rājataraṅgiṇī.

We have in all probability a reference in the Chinese Annals also to Durlabhavardhana, the founder of the Kārkoṭa dynasty, who according to the Chronicler's

[1] See above, § 56.

[2] For detailed references regarding these notices, compare note iv. 45.

[3] Compare *Anc. Geogr*, p. 91; BUHLER, *Report*, pp. 18, 55, *Ind. Ant.* ii, p 106. General Cunningham has subsequently resumed the discussion of the point in *Coins of Med. Ind.*, pp. 38 sqq. But several misapprehensions render the conjectural results arrived at in this posthumous work confused and unreliable.

[4] For references, see note iv. 126.

reckoning ruled in the years 600-636 A.D. For it is tempting to identify *Tu-lo-pa*, the name of the Indian king who between the year 627-649 A.D. was charged with having the envoys of Ki-pin or Kâbul safely conducted to their country, with *Durlabha*, the abbreviated name by which Durlabhavardhana calls himself on his coins.[5] But this identification does not lead to any exact conclusion as regards the correctness of Kalhaṇa's date, as the latter would suit the period indicated in the Chinese notice whether we apply the proposed correction or not.

There is reason to suspect that the error of about twenty-five years which the Chinese notices just discussed prove in Kalhaṇa's dates for the early Kârkoṭa kings, extends also to his reckoning towards the close of the dynasty. But this point will be more conveniently dealt with below in our critical abstract of Kalhaṇa's narrative.[6]

Exact dates of Books v.-viii.

We have already had occasion to notice the important change which the accession of Avantivarman's dynasty (Book v.) marks in the character of Kalhaṇa's narrative and particularly in its chronology. From this point onwards the accuracy and completeness of Kalhaṇa's dynastic succession list is vouched for in the most authentic fashion by an unbroken series of coins, and again it is from Avantivarman onwards that we find Kalhaṇa recording the lengths of individual reigns by means of exact dates, that is by stating the Laukika year, the month and day when each reign closed and the new commenced The very form of the chronological data thus justifies the presumption that they are based on contemporary records and as such entitled to our acceptance unless disproved by reliable evidence. The fact that conflicting evidence of this kind has not yet come to light, notwithstanding the more ample materials available for this later period of Kaśmîr history, only helps to strengthen our belief in the general accuracy of Kalhaṇa's chronology for the three centuries preceding his own date

Conclusions as to value of K.'s chronology

67. We have already in the preliminary remarks of this chapter pointed out that the scrutiny of Kalhaṇa's chronology is of importance as supplying a test for the historical value of the several portions of his narrative.[7] It will hence be useful briefly to sum up the conclusions which may be drawn in this direction from the review of chronological data just completed.

We have seen that in respect of the critical reliability of its chronology Kalhaṇa's account of Kaśmîr history divides itself into three main sections The first coincides with the first three Books, dealing with the dynasties which Kalhana supposes to have ruled the land from the earliest times to the accession of the Kârkoṭas The second is represented by the narrative of the reigns of the Kârkota dynasty which fills the Fourth Book. The third and last section is made of Books iv.-viii. giving a detailed relation of the several dynasties which reigned in Kaśmîr from the middle of the eighth century to Kalhaṇa's own time.

In regard to this last portion of the narrative we have found that the exact form and correctness of the chronological data given in it corresponds to the reliable and ample sources which we must suppose the Chronicler to have had at his disposal for the period immediately preceding his own time. It is possible that minor

[5] Compare below, note iv 8, and CUNNINGHAM, *Coins of Med. India*, pp. 38 sq., 43

[6] A probable discrepancy between Kalhaṇa's date of Cippaṭa-Jayâpîḍa and the true one will be noticed below, § 91. General Cunningham's attempt at a conjectural revision of Kalhaṇa's chronology of the Kârkoṭas, *Coins of Med. India*, p 40, is vitiated by an erroneous interpretation of the data furnished by the Râjataraṅgiṇî and the Chinese Annals.

[7] See above, § 54.

chronological errors had found their way into the records used by Kalhaṇa also for this period. But none have yet been proved, while there is a general agreement between Kalhaṇa's reckoning and our other sources in respect of all dates which can at present be checked by outside evidence It is clear that in dealing with Kaśmīr history of the three centuries comprised in Books v.-viii., we must accept Kalhaṇa's dating of reigns and events until conclusive proof is furnished of its inaccuracy.

As regards the period comprised in Book iv. we have seen that Kalhaṇa's chronology of the Kārkoṭa dynasty, though out of reckoning by about twenty-five years, is yet in its general outlines in touch with historical facts. We do not know whether the chronological discrepancy proved by the Chinese Annals is caused by, or connected with, any error in the record of the several reigns attributed to this dynasty. But as the ascertained chronological aberration is relatively small and the succession of reigns attested by absolutely authentic evidence, we may reasonably hope that the discovery of fresh materials will yet give us the means of adjusting Kalhaṇa's chronology for this dynastic period on a satisfactory basis.

Unhistorical chronology of Books i.-iii.

68. We find ourselves in a widely different position as regards the chronology of the first three Books. Here we are furnished nowhere with true dates but only with figures indicative of the supposed duration of the individual reigns. Kalhaṇa cannot supply even these figures for the initial part of his dynastic list, comprising characteristically enough fifty-two "lost reigns." Yet notwithstanding this acknowledged want of tradition we find Kalhaṇa fixing the imaginary date of a legendary event previous to these "lost reigns," as the starting-point of his chronological calculations. The latter are vitiated not only by the unhistorical character of the initial date, but also by arbitrarily chosen aggregates for the duration of specific dynasties For these aggregates Kalhaṇa cannot adduce his authority, nor even claim the support of a uniform tradition or the assent of his predecessors.

Turning to the details of this chronological system we are confronted by manifest impossibilities and absurdities, such as the excessive length of the average reigns throughout the first three Books, and a reign of three hundred years ascribed to a single king. Comparing the true dates of the few rulers who are known to us from other sources, with the imaginary dates deducible for them from Kalhaṇa's computations, we find them separated from the latter by periods ranging from four to twelve centuries. The wide range of these chronological aberrations shows sufficiently that Kalhaṇa's dates for these well-known rulers cannot claim even the merit of being approximately consistent in their relation among themselves. And thus indeed we find, e.g., Mihirakula not only placed some twelve hundred years before his true date but also separated by about eight centuries from rulers like Toramāṇa, Pravarasena, Laḫkhaṇa, whom numismatic and other evidence assigns to periods immediately preceding or following his rule.

The conclusion that we must draw from these facts is plainly that the chronological system of the first three Books of the Rājataraṅgiṇī cannot be accepted as the basis of any critical account of the periods of Kaśmīr history preceding the seventh century of our era.

Attempts to "re-adjust" Kalhaṇa's chronology.

69. The grave defects of Kalhaṇa's chronology for the so-called Gonandīya dynasties were duly recognized by Professor Wilson, General Cunningham and Professor Lassen, who first subjected it to a critical analysis. We must attribute it to the want of more reliable historical materials at the time that each one of those scholars was tempted into a conjectural "readjustment" of Kalhaṇa's dates with a

view to using them for the elucidation of early Indian chronology generally.[8] It would be of little interest or advantage to indicate here the points of contact which were assumed between Kalhaṇa's narrative and the events of early Indian history, or to review the often very arbitrary methods adopted to reduce Kalhaṇa's impossible dates to more reasonable chronological limits.

It is the merit of Professor BÜHLER to have emphatically pointed out the uselessness of such readjustments on a conjectural basis.[9] He justly called attention to the important fact that we do not know what materials Kalhaṇa had for the reigns recorded in the first three Books, nor how he treated them, "if in any particular case he lengthened or shortened the reigns, and if he displaced or added kings or not." Without a knowledge of these older accounts of Kaśmīr history it is impossible to explain the strange chronological errors which meet us wherever Kalhaṇa's narrative of the earlier dynasties can be confronted with the evidence of independent records. Still more difficult would it be to estimate adequately the probable errors in those statements for which such external evidence is not available. The discovery of truly historical records, such as inscriptions, coins and contemporary foreign notices, may yet throw light on that dark epoch of Kaśmīr history and enable us to restore, at least partly, the true chronological relation of the reigns and events which figure in the first three Books of the Chronicle. But it is evident that in this task we can expect no help from Kalhaṇa's own chronological system, and that in regard to questions of general Indian history it will be safest to ignore it completely.

[8] WILSON, *Essay*, pp. 89 sqq.; CUNNINGHAM, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1846, pp. 1 sqq.; LASSEN, *Ind. Alt.*, ii pp. 762 sqq.

[9] See *Report*, pp. 58 sq.

CHAPTER V.

THE RĀJATARAṄGIṆĪ AS A HISTORICAL SOURCE.

70. It would be a task far beyond the scope of the present introduction were we to attempt a detailed critical account of the history of Kaśmīr such as it presents itself from all extant sources during the long period comprised in Kalhaṇa's Chronicle.

On the one hand, our available historical information is for a great part of this period far too scanty to permit of anything resembling a connected treatment of the political and cultural development of the country. On the other hand again it must be remembered that the history of Kaśmīr, notwithstanding the geographical isolation of the Valley, has been greatly influenced by the relations which community of race, religion and culture, and at times also political dependence, have established from an early date between this country and the neighbouring territories of India proper. As regards the history of the latter territories during the pre-Muhammadan epoch our information is even more fragmentary and in need of critical sifting than in the case of Kaśmīr. It is thus evident that a great deal of preliminary work still requires to be done before the task above indicated can be attempted on a satisfactory critical basis.

Purpose of critical summary of K.'s narrative.

Among these preliminary labours precedence may justly be claimed for a critical analysis of Kalhaṇa's Chronicle as a source of historical information. For the Rājataraṅgiṇī is at present our earliest accessible record of the historical traditions of the country, and is likely also to remain so hereafter. Before we can safely utilize its contents for the reconstruction of Kaśmīr history, we must endeavour, firstly, to arrive at a clear perception of its author's personal character, surroundings and intellectual horizon, his materials and methods of work. In the second place it is necessary to review from a critical point of view the facts and traditions which he has recorded, and his opinions regarding them. In the initial chapters of the present Introduction we have had occasion to consider the questions arising under the first head. In the present place we may attempt to furnish a critical summary of Kalhaṇa's narrative and of the historical data reflected in it

Following the course of Kalhaṇa's relation we shall endeavour as far as possible to indicate the sources which he had utilized for its several portions, and to trace their character and relative trustworthiness On the basis of this analysis and our previous observations regarding Kalhaṇa's own labours as a chronicler we shall examine what historical value can be attached to the traditions and records presented to us. For the purpose of this scrutiny we shall take special note of the results furnished by the comparison of Kalhaṇa's data with the evidence of independent records such as the coins, foreign notices, etc. Finally our review will enable us to call attention also to those features in Kalhaṇa's narrative which though incidental and perhaps not strictly historical in themselves, yet throw a true light on the cultural development and social conditions of the country. The fact that all points of detail bearing on the historical contents of the Chronicle have been fully discussed in the commentary, will permit us to make this review more concise than would be otherwise possible.

SECTION I.—THE KINGS OF THE FIRST BOOK.

The 'lost' kings.

71. Kalhaṇa characteristically enough begins his account of Kaśmīr history with the statement that the fifty-two earliest rulers of the land have not been recorded in the former Chronicles. The mention of an exact number of kings must appear strange where the want of all record is expressly acknowledged. But it is evident from the way in which Kalhaṇa repeatedly refers to this number that it figured as a recognized item of traditional lore in most, if not all, the earlier royal Chronicles consulted by him.[1] It is probably owing to the uniform acceptance of this tradition and the consequent authority attaching to it that Kalhaṇa has taken special care to let us know the works from which he obtained the seventeen royal names he claims to have recovered from among the 'lost' ones.

Kings taken from *Nīlamatapurāṇa*.

That for the first four of these names, from Gonanda I. to Gonanda II., Kalhaṇa was indebted to the *Nīlamatapurāṇa* is a fact possessing special interest in several respects. We still possess, though in a somewhat mutilated state, that curious compendium of Kaśmīrian hieratical lore, and can judge in this case of the manner in which Kalhaṇa has used his source. We find in it also convincing evidence of the very slender foundation which Kalhaṇa has used for the starting-point of his chronological reckoning.

What Kalhaṇa has to tell us of Gonanda I and his three successors is briefly as follows.[2] GONANDA I., the powerful ruler of Kaśmīr, being called upon for help by his relative Jarāsaṁdha, king of Magadha, besieged Kṛṣṇa, the divine hero of the epics, in his town of Mathurā After a prolonged contest the Kaśmīr king was slain by Kṛṣṇa's brother Balabhadra. DĀMODARA I, his son, who succeeded him, wished to avenge his death and attacked Kṛṣṇa and the other scions of Yadu, at a Svayaṁvara to which they had been invited in the neighbouring territory of Gandhāra. In the contest with Kṛṣṇa Dāmodara was killed, whereupon the disc-wielding god had Yaśovatī, the king's pregnant widow, installed on the throne This unusual procedure Kṛṣṇa is made to explain by a reference to the spiritual importance of the Kaśmīr-land as an incarnation of Pārvatī. In due time the queen bore a son, GONANDA II, who was crowned king when receiving the birth sacraments. He was still an infant at the time when the 'Great War' took place, and was hence "taken by neither the Kurus nor by the Pāṇḍavas, to assist them in their war."

(Margin: GONANDA I. — DĀMODARA I — GONANDA II.)

The legend of the Nīlamata of which Kalhaṇa's account is a poetically amplified reproduction, occupies the very commencement of that text, but is found in our extant manuscripts only in a very fragmentary form. The few verses saved are, however, sufficient to prove "that Kalhaṇa took over some portions of his narrative almost literally from the Purāṇa."[3] In the Nīlamata the legend is given as the answer of the sage Vaiśampāyana to a question from his interlocutor, King Janamejaya, as to why no ruler of Kaśmīr took part in the Great War of the Kurus and Pāṇḍus. The object with which the question and its answer are introduced, is undoubtedly to emphasize the spiritual greatness of Kaśmīr and to

[1] Compare i. 44 sq., also i 16, 19 sq., 64, 83.

[2] See i. 57-82.

[3] See BÜHLER, *Report*, p 38, also my notes i 70, 72, 82

account at the same time for the absence of any mention of the country and its ruler in connection with the 'Great War.'

In judging of the story of Gonanda and his descendants as told in the Nīlamata, we have to remember that through the whole of that text, as shown by Professor Bühler, there is a deliberate attempt made "to connect special Kaśmīrian legends with those of India proper, and specially with the Mahābhārata." The true value of the alleged connection between the story of Gonanda and the legend of the 'Great War' can thus be easily estimated. Yet it is this imaginary synchronism with a legendary event which Kalhaṇa has chosen as a fundamental date for his chronological system. For as we have already seen (§ 58), he derives 653 Kali as the initial year of Gonanda I. from the traditional date of the coronation of King Yudhiṣṭhira, the Pāṇḍava leader.

It is impossible for us to judge now with any certainty of the true character of the legend of Gonanda I. and his family which Kalhaṇa accepted on the authority of the Nīlamata. It can scarcely have been a general popular tradition, else these royal names would have been received already by the earlier Chroniclers into their dynastic lists. It also deserves attention that though the name *Gonanda* is borne by two of the kings of the Nīlamata, yet Kalhaṇa's narrative distinctly names Gonanda III as the first of the Gonanda race, and the founder of that dynasty.[4] It is difficult to believe that some connection had not been established between Gonanda III. and these earlier rulers of identical name if the latter had been known to genuine tradition whether of the people or the learned. Is it possible that the first two Gonandas are only reflex images, as it were, of the recognized founder of the oldest Kaśmīr dynasty, projected into a higher antiquity in order to provide Kaśmīr contemporaries for the heroes of the Mahābhārata?

72. After Gonanda the Second Kalhaṇa places thirty-five kings whose "names and deeds have perished through the destruction of the records." This gap represents the remainder of the traditional number of 'lost kings' whose names Kalhaṇa had not been able to recover. It is only natural that a lacuna so prominently indicated should have exercised the imagination of uncritical compilers who have dealt with the early regal lists of Kaśmīr on the basis of Kalhaṇa's work. And accordingly we find the gap duly filled in the works of some of the later Muhammadan Chroniclers who otherwise only give extracts from Kalhaṇa, by a list of royal names representing a curious jumble of mythical Hindu and Muhammadan designations.[5]

Thirty-five 'lost' kings.

The fictitious character of this list does not need detailed demonstration here. But the fact of this supplement having been attempted at so late a period and without any historical foundation whatever, deserves mention as curiously suggestive of the course which Kalhaṇa himself appears to have taken in his endeavour 'to recover' at least a proportion of the fifty-two 'lost' kings.

[4] See i. 191.

[5] Compare for this list WILSON, *Essay*, pp. 10 sqq.

I may mention as a curious illustration of the temptation offered to unscrupulous Hindu genealogists by the gap in Kalhaṇa's list, that the author of a genealogy of the Dogrā rulers of Jammu which was shown to me some years ago at Jammu, had boldly identified thirty-five of the early ancestors of that family figuring in his table with the missing Kaśmīr kings of the Rājataraṅgiṇī. The author when questioned by me regarding this remarkable discovery, was loth to offer any proof for it, but seemed not a little proud of having thus by an ingeniously simple device demonstrated the antiquity of the Jammu family's claim to the rule of the Kaśmīr Valley.

Kings taken from Helārāja.

The series of eight royal names which follows the gap, can scarcely claim any historical value whatever, but is of interest as throwing light on the character of some of Kalhaṇa's sources. According to Kalhaṇa's own statement these names had been furnished to him by Padmamihira, who himself had taken them from an earlier work, the 'Pārthivāvali' of the Pāśupata Brahman *Helārāja*.[6] Dr. Hultzsch has already justly called attention to the fact that all that Helārāja can tell us regarding Lava and the other seven kings, is their connection with particular localities in Kaśmīr, and that this connection is manifestly based on mere popular etymology.[7]

Lava, Kuśa, etc.

Thus we find LAVA credited with the foundation of the Agrahāra of *Levara*; KUŚA with that of *Kuruhāra*, *Khāgi* and *Khonamusa* attributed to KHAGENDRA; GODHARA as the founder of *Godharā*, etc. Whether the local names are those of villages, sacred buildings or canals, we find them invariably showing the same initial consonants as the names of the kings with which they are mentioned. In no case can we trace any other connection between the localities or structures and their supposed founders than this superficial resemblance of the names.

King Godhara in local legend.

The explanation for this peculiar character of the notices taken from Helārāja's work is not far to seek. Popular tradition in Kaśmīr, as in other countries, is to this day influenced by a tendency to account for local names by their apparent relation to names of kings whether real or imaginary. And in the case of at least one of the places named by Helārāja, Godhara, the local legend still survives which probably gave rise to Helārāja's notice regarding its alleged founder, King Godhara.[8] We are thus led to conclude with good reason that what Helārāja in all probability did was to include in his list a number of kings whose names were known to popular local tradition, but not to the historical records of the country. It is impossible for us now to make certain whether these royal names themselves were pure creations of popular etymology or whether only their connection with particular localities and consequent preservation was due to that agency. So much, however, is clear that we cannot attach historical value to Helārāja's notices of the kings from Lava to S'acīnara, and still less to the order in which Kalhaṇa has thought fit to reproduce them.

Five kings taken from Chavillākara.

73. We reach a record of a different character with the next five kings whose names Kalhaṇa has obtained from *Chavillākara*.[9] This author whose time and person are not otherwise known, has been the means of preserving for us at least a few fragments of genuine tradition regarding some prominent figures in the early history of Kaśmīr. The name of King AŚOKA which is the first in the list taken from Chavillākara, stands out as a great landmark in general Indian history. The reminiscences which Kaśmīr tradition has retained of this great ruler, may therefore, scanty as they are, claim special interest.

Aśoka.

Kalhaṇa's account, in full agreement with historical fact as vouched for by Aśoka's own famous inscriptions, represents the king as a pious follower of the teaching of Buddha.[10] The mention of S'uskaletra and Vitastātra in particular, as places where Aśoka had erected Vihāras and Stupas, is significant as pointing to the survival in Kaśmīr of local traditions regarding him. That Buddhist tradition in Kaśmīr knew of Aśoka's connection with the Valley is made quite certain by the

[6] i. 18.
[7] See *Ind. Ant.*, xviii. p. 69; also below, note i. 86.
[8] See note i. 96.
[9] i. 20.
[10] i. 102 sqq.

records of the Chinese pilgrims.[11] Kalhaṇa attributes to Aśoka the foundation of S'rīnagarī, the old capital, which can be shown to have occupied a site in the close vicinity of the present S'rīnagar and to have left its name to the latter. It is fully in keeping with what from other evidence we may conclude as to Aśoka's attitude towards other great religious systems, that he figures in the Kaśmīr record also as the benefactor of the ancient and famous S'aiva shrine of Vijayeśvara.[12] There the king is said to have replaced the old stuccoed enclosure of the shrine by a new one of stone and to have erected two temples called after him *Aśokeśvara*. One of these appears to have been known by Aśoka's name even down to Kalhaṇa's time.[13] Also the ancient Kaśmīrian pilgrimage site of S'iva Bhūteśa is said to have claimed King Aśoka among its worshippers. Foundation of S'rīnagarī.

Of less interest than these statements which seem to reflect genuine local traditions, are the recorded references to Aśoka's descent. The alleged relationship with S'acīnara, the last in Helārāja's list of kings, must appear highly suspicious already on account of the character we have proved above for that list. Of S'akuni, whom Kalhana names as Aśoka's great-grandfather, our other sources know nothing. It seems evident that Kaśmīrian tradition has preserved no recollection of Aśoka's true historical position as a great monarch ruling over the whole of Northern India. But by retaining his name at least in the list of Kaśmīr kings it affords us a welcome indication that the sovereign sway of the historical Aśoka was acknowledged also in that distant region.

JALAUKA, whom the traditions preserved by Kalhaṇa represent as the son and successor of Aśoka, appears before us as the popular hero of many wonderful stories.[14] He is described as a great warrior who cleared the land of oppressing Mlecchas and effected extensive conquests. From the subdued regions he is supposed to have brought settlers to Kaśmīr, and to have established there for the first time a complete system of administration. From among the many tales of Jalauka's divine power Kalhaṇa reproduces several which show the king to have figured traditionally as a fervent worshipper at the shrines of S'iva Vijayeśvara and Nandīśa.[15] More characteristic still is the story of the Kṛtyāśrama Vihāra, a local legend of unmistakably Buddhist colouring, in which the king appears first as an opponent of Buddhist worship subsequently converted to a more friendly attitude by special divine intercession[16] Also the mention of the saint Avadhūta, "the vanquisher of Bauddha controversialists," as Jalauka's religious instructor shows that tradition saw in Aśoka's son pre-eminently the pious S'aiva.[17] JALAUKA.

It is impossible for us to indicate what historical elements, if any, there are in the Kaśmīrian tradition regarding Jalauka The name of this alleged son of Aśoka cannot otherwise be traced in our available sources, and the account given of his reign in the Chronicle bears in its main part a manifestly legendary character. As data possibly derived from more historical records, we may indicate, however, the references to the Agrahāra founded by Jalauka at the hamlet of Vārabāla (the present Bāravul), and to certain sacred diagrams attributed to his queen Īśānadevī.[18]

74. With DĀMODARA II., the next king whose name Kalhaṇa had taken from Chavillākara, we come clearly to the region of local legend. The stories told DĀMODARA II.

[11] For references compare note i. 101.
[12] i. 105 sq.
[13] See note viii. 3391.
[14] i. 121 sqq.
[15] i. 113 sq., 123 sqq., 149 sqq.
[16] i. 131 sqq.
[17] i. 112.
[18] See notes i. 121, 122.

of the wonderful works executed by this king and his final transformation into a snake, cluster to this day round the dry alluvial plateau south of S'rinagar, known still as "Dāmodara's Uḍar."[19] Apart from these tales the origin of which must be looked for in ancient folk-lore rather than in history, Kalhana has nothing to record of Dāmodara II. Even his connection with Aśoka's family is characteristically enough left doubtful by the Chronicler.

The Turuṣka kings: Huṣka, Juṣka, Kaniṣka.

With the names of the three Turuṣka kings, Huska, Juska and Kaniska, we reach once more the *terra firma* of historical record The identity of Kaniska with the great Kuṣana or Indo-Scythian ruler of North-Western India, so well known to us from Buddhist traditions, the coins and inscriptions, has been recognized long ago. The name of Huska, too, frequent enough in the form of Huviska on coins and inscriptions, has been verified by epigraphical evidence[20] Juṣka alone remains to be searched for. Kalhana's account of the reign of these kings who are supposed to have ruled simultaneously, is brief enough, but undoubtedly preserves data of genuine historical tradition It clearly describes them as princes of Turuṣka, i.e Turkish nationality, as powerful sovereigns and as faithful patrons of the Buddhist Church. On these points the statements of the Chronicle are fully supported by the evidence of our most authentic records. The continued existence of the three places, Kaniṣkapura, Huṣkapura and Juṣkapura, which are described as foundations of these kings and which still survive to the present day, is likely to have assisted in preserving a recollection of their founders.

Kaśmīr under Kuṣana rule.

That Kaśmīr was included in the wide dominion of the great Kusana dynasty, is a fact amply attested by the combined evidence of the Buddhist records and the coins, copper pieces of Kaniṣka and Huviska being found to this day in remarkable abundance at many of the old sites of Kaśmīr. According to the uniform Buddhist tradition Kaniṣka held the third great Council of the Church in Kaśmīr, and Hiuen Tsiang on his visit to Kaśmīr still found local traditions regarding that ruler fully alive in the country. Kalhana's notice of the popularity and power enjoyed by Buddhism in Kaśmīr under the sway of the Turuska kings thus truly represents historical information. The Chronicle records the Buddhist teacher Nāgārjuna as living in Kaśmīr at that time, and it deserves to be noted that Tibetan sources certainly place that patriarch of the Buddhist Church at a date identical with that traditionally assigned by them to Kaniṣka[21] This notice of the Chronicle, as well as another indicating the supposed date of the Turuṣka kings as reckoned from Buddha's Nirvāṇa, show plainly that Buddhistic information had been embodied here in Kalhana's source.

Abhimanyu I.

In curious contrast to this we find a distinctly anti-Buddhist colouring in the account given of Abhimanyu I's reign. The name of this king, who is the last taken from Chavillākara's list, cannot otherwise be traced Under him the Bauddhas guided by the Bodhisattva Nāgārjuna are supposed to have obtained such preponderance that the traditional customs and rites of the land fell into abeyance This evoked the wrath of the Nāgas, the tutelary deities of the Valley, who revenged themselves by causing excessive snowfall which destroyed the Bauddhas and obliged the king to reside for six months in the cold season in the lower hills south of Kaśmīr. Finally a pious Brahman through the help of

[19] Compare note i 156

[20] See for detailed references regarding these Indo-Scythian kings, note i 168.

[21] See note i 173, also Schiefner, *Tāranātha's Geschichte des Buddhismus*, p 301.

Nīlanāga, the lord of Kaśmīr Nāgas, restored the traditional cult as prescribed in the Nīlamatapurāṇa, and thereby freed the land both from excessive snowfall and "plague of the Bhikṣus." [22]

Kaśmīr delivered of excessive snowfall.

I have shown that we have in this story nothing but the *réchauffé* of an ancient legend told in the Nīlamatapurāṇa which relates the deliverance of Kaśmīr from the plague of the Piśācas through the rites revealed by Nīlanāga.[23] The story reproduced by Kalhaṇa agrees so closely in all particulars with the earlier legend that the Chronicler himself calls attention to the resemblance. The characteristic substitution of the Bauddhas for the Piśācas shows clearly that the source from which this story was originally borrowed was not the same as that to which we owe the notices regarding the reign of the Turuṣka kings. The references made in Kalhaṇa's account to the introduction of the study of the Mahābhāṣya under Abhimanyu and to certain religious foundations by him, seem to place that ruler more in a historical light; but they cannot be verified by independent evidence.

Gonanda III.

75. Kalhaṇa lets Abhimanyu be followed by Gonanda III., who is supposed to have finally assured the restoration of the traditional worship and the consequent recovery of the land.[24] With Gonanda III. begins the continuous list of Kaśmīrian rulers which, we must assume, Kalhaṇa found in the earlier works containing the 'chronicles of the kings.' It is a significant point that apart from the statement regarding the restoration of the earlier cult which necessarily follows from Gonanda III. being represented as the successor of Abhimanyu, Kalhaṇa has nothing to tell of him but that he was the founder of the Gonandiya dynasty. We have already above drawn attention to the curious light which this description of Gonanda III. throws upon the true character of the notices taken from the Nīlamata regarding the earlier two Gonandas.[25] But we are not helped by it to a more exact estimate of the historical character which may attach to the person of Gonanda III. The existence of a Gonanda dynasty in Kaśmīr may be looked upon as a historical fact vouched for by genuine tradition. But it is well to realize that as to the person and time of its founder we can gather nothing from our available sources.

Vibhīṣaṇa I., Indrajit, Rāvaṇa, Vibhīṣaṇa II.

Of the next four kings, Vibhīṣaṇa I., Indrajit, Rāvaṇa, and Vibhīṣaṇa II., only the names are recorded, as well as the lengths of their reigns. These, after the explanations given above, need not engage our attention.[26] The account given of Nara or Kiṃnara, the next ruler, seems more substantial, filling nearly eighty verses. In reality, however, it consists only of a poetically elaborated legend relating to an ancient town near Vijayeśvara which local tradition, surviving partly to the present day, attributed to King Nara, and which was believed to have been destroyed in a great catastrophe brought about through the king's wickedness.

Nara.

Legend of *Narapura*.

The antiquarian and topographical facts underlying these legendary traditions regarding *Narapura* have been fully noticed elsewhere.[27] Interesting as these traditions are as illustrations of Kaśmīrian folk-lore and from an antiquarian point of view, they do not help us to determine the question as to the historical existence of King Nara. Kalhaṇa's mention of ruins and the actual finds of ancient coins in the locality are indications that there once stood an old town on the banks of the

[22] i. 177-184.

[23] See note i. 184.

[24] i. 185 sqq.

[25] See above, § 71.

[26] Compare above, §§ 60, 61.

[27] See below, notes i. 201 sq., 263 sq.; also *Memoir*, § 108.

Vitastā below the plateau of Cakradhara. But nothing has yet come to light to instruct us regarding the real history of this important site.

Siddha.

76. Siddha, the son and successor of Nara, in obviously intentional contrast to his father and in conformity with his name (meaning 'saint'), is described as a very pious prince and credited with a bodily ascent to heaven. Of Utpalākṣa, Hiraṇyākṣa, Hiraṇyakula, and Vasukula, the next four kings who are supposed to have ruled in due succession from father to son, we are practically told only the names and lengths of reigns. Hiraṇyākṣa appears to have traditionally figured as the founder of Hiraṇyapura, now a small place at the entrance of the Sind Valley (Raṇyil).[28]

Utpalākṣa; Hiraṇyākṣa; Hiraṇyakula; Vasukula.

Mihirakula.

We reach again a record of truly historical interest in Kalhaṇa's account of Mihirakula, the son and successor of Vasukula. Already above, when discussing the chronological value of this notice, we have shown that the identity of Kalhaṇa's Mihirakula with the Ephthalite or White Hun ruler of that name must be regarded as certain.[29] From the epigraphical and other evidence which Mr Fleet was the first to collect and to interpret correctly, it is seen that Mihirakula had succeeded, about A.D. 515, to his father Toramāṇa as ruler of the wide dominion which earlier White Hun conquests had established between the Kābul Valley and Central India. About 530 A.D. Mihirakula had been ousted by a hostile alliance from the greatest part of these territories and forced to retire northwards towards Kaśmīr. From there he seems to have made endeavours to recover his lost dominions along the Indus, down to the time of his end, which falls about A.D. 544-550

Popular traditions about Mihirakula.

Kalhaṇa's relation of Mihirakula's reign consists largely of legendary anecdotes. But these are of considerable historical interest because it can be shown that on the whole they reproduce faithfully the popular tradition regarding the king such as had developed in Kaśmīr within a century of his death. The feature of Mihirakula's character which seems to have most impressed the popular mind, was undoubtedly his violence and cruelty. The stories by which Kalhaṇa illustrates these qualities of the king, agree closely with those which Hiuen Tsiang heard related, and with the description which an earlier Chinese pilgrim, Sung-yun, has left us of his own personal interview with the "cruel and vindictive" king. One of Kalhaṇa's anecdotes which accounts for Mihirakula's characteristic epithet *trikoṭihan*, "the killer of three crores," shows a further development of a tradition recorded by Hiuen Tsiang.[30] Another which relates the destruction of a hundred elephants on the ancient pass of the Pīr Pantsāl, is of interest because a recollection of it still survives to the present day in local tradition.[31]

The historical fact of Mihirakula's extensive wars abroad has left its trace in Kalhaṇa's story of the king's expedition to Ceylon and the conquests connected with it. That the phantastic motive which is assigned by the Chronicler to this expedition had figured in the popular tradition regarding Mihirakula long before Kalhaṇa's time and also outside Kaśmīr, is proved by its record in the version of the story as preserved in the Mujmalu-t-Tawārīkh.[32]

Kalhaṇa's references to the settlements of Gandhāra Brahmans which Mihirakula effected in Kaśmīr,[33] may be based on historical facts and show in any case that Kaśmīr tradition was aware of Mihirakula's close connection with that

[28] See note i. 287

[29] For detailed references regarding the data bearing on the historical Mihirakula, see note i. 289

[30] Compare note i. 322.

[31] See note i. 302.

[32] See note i. 294.

[33] i 307, 312 sqq.

territory as proved by Hiuen Tsiang and Sung-yun's relations. In regard to Mihirakula's religious propensities, too, we can trace some agreement between Kalhaṇa's narrative and the earlier record. Mihirakula who in the tradition preserved by Hiuen Tsiang figures as a persecutor of Buddhist institutions, seems to have been remembered in Kaśmīr, at least in respect of his later career, as a liberal patron of Brahmans.[34]

This point is brought out particularly in the several versions which Kalhaṇa mentions as current regarding the king's death by suicide. One of these specified as a "tenacious popular tradition," attributes to the king the merit of having after all his cruelties re-established in Kaśmīr pious observances which had suffered through Mleccha irruptions, and describes his self-immolation as a pious atonement.[35] The legends and emblems of Mihirakula's coins display an unmistakable leaning towards S'aiva cult, and thus seem to justify to some extent the tradition above indicated

77. It is impossible for us to trace the cause of the remarkable chronological confusion which has led to Mihirakula figuring in the Chronicle fully twelve hundred years before his real date. But we see this great error reflected as it were, also in the fact that Mihirakula is completely severed in Kalhana's dynastic list from the other Kaśmīr kings whom by the evidence of their names and coins we have to recognize as rulers of White Hun descent (Khiṅkhila, Lahkhaṇa-Narendrāditya).

Baka. Baka whom the Rājataraṅgiṇī presents to us as the son and successor of Mihirakula, is painted as a most virtuous prince and a comforter of humanity with the same conventional contrast between father and son we have noticed already in the case of Nara and Siddha. Kalhaṇa has otherwise nothing to tell of him but his alleged connection with certain localities the names of which contain the word *baka*, and his supernatural death at the hands of a sorceress.[36] Kalhana mentions that a recollection of the latter story was kept alive in his own day by the tradition of certain localities.[37]

Kṣitinanda; Vasunanda; Nara II.; Akṣa. The next four kings, Ksitinanda, Vasunanda, Nara II., and Aksa, are each disposed of with a single line, and accordingly can claim only a very shadowy existence as historical personages All the information vouchsafed regarding them is that Vasunanda composed a handbook on erotics, and Akṣa founded the village of *Akṣavāla*; a statement which in view of the formation of this local name may be assumed to rest on mere popular etymology.

Gopāditya. To Gopāditya, the next in the list, we may allow a greater claim to historical reality; for local traditions which seem genuine and old, represented him as the founder of Agrahāras at a series of well-known places.[38] Popular belief attributed to Gopāditya the temple of Jyeṣṭheśvara on the hill near S'rīnagar which was known by its ancient name as *Gopādri*, and connected with him also several localities in the immediate vicinity of the hill. Kalhaṇa's reference to a certain epithet which was given to Gopāditya in a 'praśasti' or laudatory poem, looks as if derived, directly or indirectly, from some inscriptional record.[39]

Gokarṇa. Of Gokarṇa, the successor of Gopāditya, Kalhaṇa has nothing to mention but

[34] i. 307, 311, 312-314

[35] i. 312 sqq.

[36] See i. 329. It must be remembered that *baka* is a common word in its ordinary meaning of 'heron.' The connection of the local names quoted by Kalhaṇa with a king Baka may be due to popular etymology.

[37] i. 335.

[38] i. 340 sqq.

[39] i. 344.

the foundation of the otherwise unknown shrine of S'iva Gokarṇeśvara.[40] General Cunningham believed that he had found this king's name on a unique coin of the Kidāra type. But according to the information kindly given to me by Mr. Rapson who re-examined the coin, the reading is more than doubtful.

Khiṅkhila-Narendrāditya. On the other hand, it appears probable enough, as already indicated above (§ 63), that we must recognize KHIṄKHILA, also called Narendrāditya, whom Kalhaṇa names as Gokarṇa's son, in the Ephthalite ruler who calls himself on his coin *Deva S'āhi Khiṅgila.*[41] The chronological question raised by this identification has already been discussed above The thoroughly un-Indian character of the name Khiṅkhila and the references to some religious endowments attributed to this king seem to lend support to the belief in his historical existence. It deserves to be noted that Lakhkhaṇa, another king in Kalhaṇa's list who on numismatic evidence must be identified with an Ephthalite prince, also figures with the second name of Narendrāditya.[42]

Kalhaṇa's First Book closes with an account of the reign of Yudhiṣṭhira I., known by a nickname as Andha-Yudhiṣṭhira, who is supposed to have brought to an end the first Gonanda dynasty. What we learn of him is mainly that by his injudicious conduct he exasperated his subjects and ministers who ultimately rose against him and forced him to abandon his kingdom The poetic description of the betrayed king's retirement from his land gives Kalhaṇa an opportunity to treat us to the 'sentiment of resignation' which he had adopted as the main *rasa* of his composition

SECTION II.—THE KINGS OF BOOKS II. AND III.

Pratāpāditya I. **78.** The six kings whose reigns are chronicled in Book ii. are represented to us as unconnected with Gonanda's dynasty and of different lines of descent PRATĀPĀDITYA I., the first among them, is said to have been brought to Kaśmīr from abroad by the discontented ministers, and to have been a relative of King Vikramāditya. Kalhaṇa rejects the opinion of other earlier Chroniclers who held this Vikramāditya to be identical with Vikramāditya S'akāri, the traditional vanquisher of the S'akas.[1] But he does not himself supply a clue that might help us to ascertain which of the several Vikramādityas of Indian tradition was really meant As Kalhaṇa in the same connection informs us that Kaśmīr was about that period "subject to Harṣa and other foreign kings," we might be led to conclude that the great Harṣa Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī who ruled in the first half of the sixth century of our era, was intended. Yet as Kalhaṇa's subsequent account represents this ruler as the patron of Mātṛgupta who in his own chronology is placed 268 years later, it is evident that he himself could not have assumed this identity.

Reference to foreign dominion. It would be possible to suppose that owing to some confusion the cause of which can no longer be traced, Kalhaṇa had been unwittingly guilty of introducing to us the same historical personage at two widely distant periods. But the total want of the earlier sources and of other materials does not allow us to form more than conjectures on the subject The expressed acknowledgment of foreign dominion over Kaśmīr is, however, in itself a point of historical interest, and throws light on

[40] i. 346.
[41] See note i. 347
[42] See below, § 83

[1] See notes ii 6 sq

the real cause of the break which tradition was constrained to assume in the line of the Gonanda dynasty. We have here the clear indication of a foreign conquest, such as we must assume Kaśmīr to have been exposed to during more than one period preceding the commencement of authentic history in Kalhaṇa's record.

JALAUKAS.

Of PRATĀPĀDITYA I. and his son and successor JALAUKAS, Kalhaṇa has otherwise nothing to tell us but that they ruled justly and for exactly the same period, thirty-two years each. The account given of TUÑJĪNA I., the next in the list, consists mainly of an elaborate description of a great famine in which the people were saved by the charity of the king and the miraculous intercession of his saintly wife, Vākpuṣṭā. The references to some pious foundations of Tuñjīna and his queen, one of them still maintained in Kalhaṇa's time,[2] and to the Kavi Candaka who is stated to have lived in their reign,[3] bear a more historical character.

TUÑJĪNA I.

VIJAYA.

Of the next king, VIJAYA, Kalhaṇa contents himself with recording that he belonged to another family, and that the foundation of the town surrounding the ancient shrine of Vijayeśvara was due to him.[4] The possibility of the latter statement resting on a popular etymology naturally suggests itself in view of what has been demonstrated above in regard to Helārāja's royal names

JAYENDRA. Story of Saṁdhimati.

The account given of Vijaya's son JAYENDRA, consists merely of a fanciful legend spun out in great detail, relating how the pious and wise minister Saṁdhimati, whom the wicked king had cruelly put to death, was miraculously restored to life by the magic of witches.[5] The saintly hero of this fairy tale is then supposed to have ascended the Kaśmīr throne vacated by Jayendra's death, under the name of Āryarāja, and to have ruled the land with exceptional piety for forty-seven years. Saṁdhimati-Āryarāja who seems to have figured in Kaśmīr tradition as the *beau idéal* of a royal devotee, is represented as having in the end voluntarily abdicated owing to disaffection among his subjects. He ended his days as a recluse at the sacred site of S'iva Bhūteśa.

Fanciful as the story of Saṁdhimati-Āryarāja is as related in the Chronicle, we should yet scarcely be justified in treating the existence of this king as altogether mythical. Local traditions extant in Kalhaṇa's time seem to have connected his memory with certain old shrines and religious endowments.[6] The picture drawn of the peculiar character of this priest-king, notwithstanding its exaggerations, shows traces, too, of historical individuality. What the elements were from which the curious story regarding Āryarāja's wonderful antecedents grew up, can no longer be guessed now. Judging from the explanation which Kalhaṇa gives for the alleged change of the name Saṁdhimati into *Saṁdhimat* we might be tempted to assume that "popular etymology" had something to do also with the creation of this legend.[7]

MEGHAVĀHANA.

79. Āryarāja's abdication which closes the Second Book of the Chronicle, was followed according to Kalhaṇa by a restoration of Gonanda's family to the rule of Kaśmīr. MEGHAVĀHANA, the first prince of the restored dynasty, is said to have been the son of Gopāditya, a great-grandson of Yudhiṣṭhira, living in exile at the court of the king of Gandhāra. Meghavāhana, who is supposed to have taken possession of the throne of his forefathers at the invitation of the Kaśmīrian

[2] See ii. 14, 55, 57 sq.
[3] ii. 16.
[4] ii. 62.
[5] ii. 65-115.
[6] Compare ii. 129-135.

[7] See ii. 110. The witches who made Saṁdhimati rise to life when reduced to a skeleton, are said to have given him the name of *Saṁdhimat* because the limbs of his body were joined (*saṁdhita*) once more (!).

ministers, is described as a strong but pious ruler. Various acts attributed to him, like the prohibition of the killing of animals, even in sacrifices, and the building of numerous Vihāras by his court, seem to show Meghavāhana in the light of a patron of Buddhism.[8] Apart from several legendary anecdotes which are intended to illustrate the spiritual greatness of the king and his command of supernatural powers acquired thereby, Kalhaṇa relates of him a 'digvijaya' or conquest of the world.[9] Meghavāhana is supposed to have undertaken it in order to impose his prohibition of slaughter on the whole earth, and to have subjected in the course of it even Vibhīṣaṇa, the mythical demon king of Laṅkā or Ceylon. It needs scarcely to be demonstrated that no historical value can attach to the record of such fabulous conquests. That popular belief in Kaśmīr gave them full credence is shown by the fact that certain royal banners, used still in Kalhaṇa's time, were alleged to have been presented on that occasion by the lord of Laṅkā.[10]

Kalhaṇa himself acknowledges some embarrassment at having to relate "of this king of recent times, acts which cannot be believed by common people."[11] But among these extravagant tales it is yet possible to discern some data which seem historical. The report of Meghavāhana having come from Gandhāra acquires significance in view of the unmistakable numismatic evidence which points to Kaśmīr having been subject to princes who were connected with the later Kuṣana and Ephthalite rulers of Gandhāra. The Amṛtabhavana Vihāra which Kalhaṇa mentions as having been founded by Amṛtaprabhā, Meghavāhana's chief queen, was known already to Ou-k'ong.[12] The attribution of a Stūpa known by a Tibetan designation (*Loh-stonpā*) to the Guru of this foreign queen, seems also to rest on genuine tradition.[13]

S'RESTHASENA.

Of Meghavāhana's son and successor *S'reṣṭhasena*, who is said to have borne also the names of Pravarasena and Tuñjīna, we are told only that he built various sacred structures at Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna, 'the old capital,' the site of which is marked by the modern Pāndrēthan.[14]

HIRANYA and TORAMĀṆA.

80. S'reṣṭhasena is said to have had two sons, of which the elder, HIRAṆYA, succeeded him, while the other, TORAMĀṆA, acted as Yuvarāja. Toramāṇa presumed to strike coins in his own name, whereupon Hiraṇya threw him into prison for the remainder of his life.[15] During his long captivity a son was born to him, who was brought up in disguise and in humble surroundings, but ultimately ascended the throne as Pravarasena II.

Coins of Toramāṇa.

Of Hiraṇya's historical existence we do not possess at present independent evidence. But the name of Toramāṇa is found on a species of Kaśmīr copper coins of which remarkably large quantities have been preserved to this day. The connection of this coinage with Kalhaṇa's notice cannot be doubted, but the interesting historical questions which are raised by it, and which have been fully discussed elsewhere, do not admit at present of a certain solution.[16] By the evidence of the characters of their legend the coins bearing the name of Toramāṇa must belong in their earliest issues to the fifth or sixth century of our era. They are undoubtedly the oldest representatives of that peculiar type which the copper coinage of Kaśmīr exhibits throughout the whole of the Hindu period. The fact of this type making its first

8 Compare iii. 4, 7, 9 sqq.
9 iii. 27 sqq., 72 sqq.
10 iii. 77 sq.
11 iii. 94.
12 Compare note iii. 9.
13 See note iii. 10.
14 iii. 99 sq.
15 iii. 102 sqq.
16 Compare for all details, note iii. 103 and Note *H* (iv. 495), §§ 18 sqq.

appearance on the coins of Toramāṇa and the abundance of their issues suggest that these coins were first struck by some powerful conqueror. It has accordingly been supposed that the Toramāṇa of these coins is identical with the Ephthalite king Toramāṇa, the father of Mihirakula, of whom it can be shown that he ruled over the Panjāb and probably also Kaśmīr towards the close of the fifth century.

If this supposition is correct, we should, indeed, have to charge Kalhaṇa with having placed the father some seven hundred years after the son.[17] But it must be remembered that as far as our present knowledge goes, Kaśmīr may well have known another and later ruler bearing the name Toramāṇa. The name, though unusual and probably of Turkish origin, can be shown from Kalhaṇa's narrative to have been borne by a Hindu Sāhi prince of Gandhāra as late as the tenth century. However the question as to the real issuer of the Toramāṇa coins may ultimately be decided, it will be difficult to explain why he should appear in Kalhaṇa's narrative as an ill-fated pretender.

81. According to Kalhaṇa, Toramāṇa died in captivity, and his son Pravarasena, who had grown into a youth by that time, left Kaśmīr for a tour of pilgrimages.[18] Hiraṇya himself is supposed to have died shortly afterwards, after a rule of thirty-one years. In the interval between his death and the advent of Pravarasena II., Kalhaṇa places the rule of the poet MĀTṚGUPTA. The account given of it in the Chronicle forms an episode of considerable historical interest, notwithstanding the legendary elements with which it is interwoven.[19] The story which Kalhaṇa relates to us at great length and in the style of works like the Kathāsaritsāgara, represents Mātṛgupta as a poor poet who had sought the court of King Harṣa-Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī. After long futile endeavours to attract the king's attention to his merits, he succeeds at last in gaining his favour by a romantic proof of devotion. The king, touched by the incident, sends Mātṛgupta to Kaśmīr with a letter directing the ministers of that land to instal him on the vacant throne. When Mātṛgupta, unacquainted with the contents of the letter, arrives at the Kaśmīr frontier pass, he finds the ministers awaiting King Harṣa's nominee, and is forthwith crowned. After a just rule of less than five years the pious poet is then said, at the death of his patron Harṣa, to have abdicated in favour of Pravarasena II., whom a divine ordinance had called back to Kaśmīr, and to have retired as a recluse to Benares. There he died, supported to the end by the liberal donations of his generous rival and successor. MĀTṚGUPTA

Romantic as this story appears, which Kalhaṇa treats as a text for many a moralizing reflection, it yet furnishes us with an important historical clue in the mention of Mātṛgupta's royal patron. Vikramāditya-Harṣa of Ujjayinī is subsequently mentioned by Kalhaṇa as the father of S'īlāditya-Pratāpaśīla, and the latter is undoubtedly the same as King S'īlāditya whom Hiuen Tsiang knew to have ruled in Mālava about 580 A.D. This indication leads us to identify Kalhaṇa's Vikramāditya-Harṣa with the famous Vikramāditya who is mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang as S'īlāditya's predecessor, and whose rule must be placed in the first half of the sixth century.[20] It appears probable that Vikramāditya had assisted in or at least profited by the overthrow of the Ephthalite dominion. It Vikramāditya-Harṣa of Ujjayin

[17] See HULTZSCH, *Ind. Ant.*, xix. p. 262.

[18] iii. 123.

[19] iii. 125-323.

[20] Compare for detailed references, notes iii. 125, 330, and for the date of Vikramāditya, Prof. M. MÜLLER's lucid exposition, *India*, pp. 286 sqq.

is therefore possible also that he exercised that direct influence on the affairs of Kaśmīr which Kalhaṇa's narrative regarding Mātṛgupta seems to indicate.

While we thus realise that the traditions recorded in the Chronicle can be reconciled generally with our available data, it is yet difficult to arrive at any conclusion as to the historical character of Mātṛgupta's reign. The existence of a poet Mātṛgupta is vouched for by the verses quoted from his compositions by Kṣemendra and other Kaśmīrian authors;[21] but the fact of his having governed Kaśmīr cannot be established by independent evidence. If Kalhaṇa's story in its broad outlines rests on historical fact, we should have to conclude that Kaśmīr, about the middle of the sixth century, had for a short time been subject to a ruler who acknowledged the sovereignty of Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī or had claimed his support. We have apparently genuine traditions regarding Mātṛgupta in the references made by Kalhaṇa to the temple of Mātṛguptasvāmin built by him,[22] and to the poet *Meṇṭha*, who wrote the now lost Kāvya Hayagrīvavadha under his patronage.[23]

PRAVARASENA II.

82. The Chronicle represents PRAVARASENA II as having received the news of Vikramāditya's death and Mātṛgupta's abdication when he was in Trigarta or Kāngra marching against Kaśmīr to recover the kingdom of his forefathers.[24] Considering Kalhaṇa's manifest bias for Mātṛgupta, the fellow-poet, we may perhaps recognise in this statement a disguised acknowledgment that in reality Vikramāditya's protégé lost the throne by the successful invasion of the scion of an earlier ruler.

Kalhaṇa's account of Pravarasena II's reign possesses special interest, as it can be verified in some important particulars by authentic historical data. Kalhaṇa attributes to the king an extensive expedition abroad, in the course of which he is supposed to have vanquished the inhabitants of Surāṣṭra or Gujarāt, and to have recovered for S'īlāditya-Pratāpaśīla the throne of his father Vikramāditya.[25] We have already seen that this ruler of Mālava can be proved from Hiuen Tsiang's record to have succeeded Vikramāditya-Harṣa. The agreement we note here between the statements of the Chinese pilgrim and Kalhaṇa, strengthens the belief that the latter was also right in making Pravarasena a contemporary of S'īlāditya. Hiuen Tsiang distinctly tells us that S'īlāditya was on the throne of Mālava sixty years before his own time, i.e. about 580 A.D., which brings us to the second half of the sixth century as the approximate date of Pravarasena.

Foundation of Pravarapura.

The date here indicated is indirectly confirmed also by the tradition which Kalhaṇa records in great detail regarding the foundation by Pravarasena of his capital *Pravarapura* (shortened from *Pravarasenapura*). I have shown elsewhere that this city was undoubtedly built on the site of the modern S'rīnagar, which has remained the capital of Kaśmīr to the present day, and still bears in Paṇḍit usage the designation of Pravarapura.[26] The record found in the Chinese Annals of the Tang dynasty, proves that the name Pravarapura was already in the early part of the eighth century, the official designation for this city.[27] Hiuen Tsiang does not mention the name of the Kaśmīr capital, but he describes it exactly

[21] See note iii. 129, where Dr. Bhau Daji's ingenious but insufficiently supported theory of Mātṛgupta's identity with Kālidāsa has also been noticed.

[22] iii. 263.

[23] See note iii. 260.

[24] iii. 285 sqq.

[25] iii. 330 sq.

[26] See for detailed evidence, note iii. 339-349 and *Memoir*, §§ 91 sq.

[27] Compare *Memoir*, § 10.

enough in the position still occupied by S'rīnagar, and distinguishes it as "the new city" from "the old city," corresponding to Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna or Pāndrēṭhan. It is thus clear that at the time of Hiuen Tsiang's visit, circ. A.D. 631, the capital founded by Pravarasena already existed, but that it was then a comparatively recent city. It is easy to perceive how well this observation agrees with the date which we have been led above to assign to Pravarasena's reign.

Equally convincing evidence on this point is supplied by the coins bearing Pravarasena's name, of which we possess rare specimens both in gold and silver.[28] They show in their types a close connection on the one hand with the Kaśmīr Toramāṇa coins, and on the other with the coinage of the 'Kidāra' Kuṣanas, who appear from the fifth century onwards as the successors of the later Great Kuṣanas in Gandhāra and the regions east of the Indus.[29] The coins of Pravarasena are unmistakably older than the coins of the Kaśmīr kings, whose names we shall meet in Kalhaṇa's list of the Kārkoṭa dynasty (Book iv.). The legend *Kidāra*, which we find written perpendicularly both on Pravarasena's coins and on those of the Kārkoṭa kings, is taken from the coinage of the Little Kuṣanas. It is usually identified with the name of the founder of the latter dynasty, who in the Chinese Annals is called *Kitolo*. If this interpretation is correct, it would certainly lend support to the conclusion that Pravarasena and the other early Kaśmīr rulers, on whose coins this legend appears, were connected with the ruling family of the Little Kuṣanas.[30] Definite evidence on this point can, however, be expected only from the discovery of fresh materials.

Coins of Pravarasena.

The detailed description which Kalhaṇa gives of the city as founded by Pravarasena, and the accuracy of the antiquarian data supplied in it, show plainly that reliable historical traditions were accessible to the Chronicler for Pravarasena's reign. The great temple of S'iva Pravareśvara, which the king had built evidently as the chief shrine of his newly-founded city, was still extant in Kalhaṇa's time. A popular legend recorded already by Bilhaṇa, a hundred years before Kalhaṇa, made the king end his life at this shrine by a miraculous ascent to heaven.[31]

Yudhiṣṭhira II.

83. Of Yudhiṣṭhira II., Pravarasena's immediate successor, Kalhaṇa has only to chronicle the foundation of some Vihāras and other sacred buildings by certain royal ministers. One of these, the Skandabhavanavihāra, has left its name to a city-quarter in S'rīnagar.[32] We receive no more detailed account of this king's son and successor Narendrāditya. But the second name, Lahkhana, which Kalhaṇa records for this prince, possesses special historical interest. We find this curious and thoroughly un-Indian name on a silver coin of the Ephthalite type which bears the legend *Rāja Lahkhaṇa Udayāditya*, and which on account of its close resemblance to the coin of Khiṅkhila already mentioned must be ascribed to Kaśmīr.[33] It appears very probable that by the Lahkhaṇa-Narendrāditya of the

Laṅkhaṇa-Narendrāditya.

[28] See Cunningham, *Coins of Med. India*, p. 43; also below, Note *H* (iv. 495), § 17.

[29] Compare for the Kidāra or Little Kuṣana coins, Rapson, *Indian Coins*, § 76; for a specimen closely resembling Pravarasena's silver coin, see *ib.* plate ii., fig. 16.

[30] See Cunningham, *Coins of Med. India*, pp. 27 sqq.; also *Numism. Chronicle*, 1893, pp. 184 sqq. It should be noted that the letters *Kidāra* are found also on the apparently oldest issues of the Toramāṇa coins. If the latter were really struck by Toramāṇa, Mihirakula's father, we should have to assume as the most likely explanation that the Ephthalite king continued a coin type which had originally been introduced into Kaśmīr by earlier conquerors belonging to the race of the 'Kidāra' Kuṣanas.

[31] See note iii. 378.

[32] See note vi. 137.

[33] For detailed evidence of this identification, see note iii. 383.

Chronicle is meant the same ruler who calls himself Laḥkhana-Udayāditya on his coin. But we have no means at present to account for the difference of the second name, or to explain why this Ephthalite prince should have found his place in Kalhaṇa's list so far away from Khiṅkhila and Mihirakula, with whom his name clearly connects him. It deserves to be noted that Kalhaṇa gives also for Khiṅkhila the name Narendrāditya as the second (Indian) appellation.

RAṆĀDITYA. The confusion which displays itself here, warns us that we cannot place full reliance on Kalhaṇa's dynastic list, even where we approach close to the commencement of the truly historical part of the Chronicle. We are taught the same lesson, perhaps even more emphatically, by the strange collection of fables to which Kalhaṇa treats us regarding the next ruler, RAṆĀDITYA.[34] This king, who is said to be a younger brother of Laḥkhaṇa, is presented to us altogether in the light of a fairy-tale hero. He is credited, as we have seen, with a reign of three hundred years, and the events recorded of it correspond fully to its miraculous length. His queen Raṇārambhā is declared to have been a goddess, and her wooing in a previous existence, with all its wonderful incidents is described to us at great length. Equally phantastic stories about Raṇāditya's descent to the underworld, the wonders worked by his queen at the consecration of various shrines, etc., fill the rest of Kalhaṇa's account. Leaving aside this superabundant legendary lore we find traces of historical tradition only in the few references to shrines and other sacred objects which were attributed to Raṇāditya and his court.[35] The hero of so many marvellous tales is said to have been followed in the rule of Kaśmīr by his son VIKRAMĀDITYA. Of his long reign of forty-one years nothing is related but the foundation of some sacred buildings no longer traceable.

VIKRAMĀDITYA.

BĀLĀDITYA. BĀLĀDITYA, the brother and successor of Vikramāditya, is introduced to us as the last king from Gonanda's race. The account which Kalhaṇa gives us as to how the rule of the land passed after Bālāditya to the founder of the Kārkoṭa dynasty, bears a very romantic colouring. Bālāditya, having been foretold of his son-in-law being destined to succeed him, is said to have married his daughter Anaṅgalekhā to a small official, Durlabhavardhana, in the hope of forestalling destiny by the selection of an insignificant husband. Durlabhavardhana, however, is believed to have been really the offspring of the Nāga Kārkoṭa, a deity worshipped at several springs of Kaśmīr. By his judicious conduct, Durlabhavardhana rose in the favour of his royal father-in-law, and by his forbearance also won the attachment of the minister Khaṅkha, whom he had discovered guilty of a love intrigue with Anaṅgalekhā. After Bālāditya's death Khaṅkha, out of gratitude, then established Durlabhavardhana on the throne.[36]

Origin of Kārkoṭa dynasty. Divesting this story of its legendary elements, it is clear that Kaśmīr tradition knew the founder of the historical Kārkoṭa dynasty as a man of humble origin, but connected by marriage with the preceding royal family. The story of Durlabhavardhana's miraculous descent looks as if invented to explain the rise of the founder of the dynasty and to please his descendants. Of the real origin of the designation *Kārkoṭa* given to the family whose reigns fill the Fourth Book of Kalhaṇa's narrative, we can form no certain opinion. It may have been a real family name or 'Krām,' such as used to this day by Kaśmīrian Brahmans.[37] Whether Durlabhavardhana's succession was due to the natural extinction of the

[34] iii. 386-473.
[35] iii. 460 sqq.
[36] iii. 485-528.
[37] See note v. 248.

male line of the earlier dynasty, or to other causes, is a question which cannot be decided from the available materials.

We have no coin or other independent evidence proving the historical existence of Bālāditya, but the references made to various religious foundations by Bālāditya, his wife and ministers, seem to rest on genuine tradition.[83] As Kalhaṇa's succession list of the Kārkoṭas may be accepted on the whole as quite historical, we may attach credit also to the traditional record regarding the immediately preceding ruler.

SECTION III.—THE KĀRKOṬA DYNASTY.

84. The accession of the Kārkoṭa dynasty, as already explained above, marks an important stage in Kalhaṇa's narrative. From here onwards we can check the majority of the recorded royal names from coins or foreign notices, and the chronology of the reigns, too, becomes, within certain limits, reliable.

To DURLABHAVARDHANA we may attribute with great probability coins bearing the name of *Durlabhadeva*, and showing a type of bold but rude execution which characterizes all the known issues of rulers of this dynasty.[1] We have possibly also a reference to Durlabhavardhana in a notice of the Chinese Annals, which mentions *Tu-lo-pa* as a king of India, who, at a certain not defined date between the years A.D. 627-649, controlled the route from China to Ki-pin, i.e. the Kābul Valley.[2] DURLABHAVARDHANA.

It appears probable that the visit of Hiuen Tsiang (circ. A.D. 631-633) fell within the reign of thirty-six years which Kalhaṇa attributes to Durlabhavardhana The *Life* of Hiuen Tsiang records the hospitable reception which the king of Kaśmīr accorded to the pious pilgrim, but, unfortunately, does not state his name[3] The king was well-inclined towards the Buddhist priests, but Hiuen Tsiang himself notes that "at the present time this kingdom is not much given to the faith, and the temples of the heretics are their sole thought."[4] Hiuen Tsiang's long account of Kaśmīr and its sacred sites and traditions, which has been analysed elsewhere, contains no reference to its political condition.[5] But we may conclude from his description that the country was prosperous and peaceful. The extent of the political power of Kaśmīr at this period is strikingly attested by the fact that Hiuen Tsiang found all adjacent territories on the west and south, down to the plains, subject to the sway of the king of Kaśmīr. He thus distinctly records that Takṣaśilā east of the Indus, Uraśā or Hazāra, Siṁhapura or the Salt Range, with the smaller hill-states of Rājapurī and Parnotsa, had no independent rulers, but were tributary to Kaśmīr.[6] Of Takṣaśilā we are informed that this dependence was of recent date. Visit of Hiuen Tsiang.

[83] iii. 481 sqq.

[1] See note iv. 8.

[2] See CUNNINGHAM, *Coins of Med. India*, p 38.

[3] Compare *Life*, ed. Beal, pp. 68 sqq.

[4] *Si-yu-ki*, i. p. 158.

[5] See below, *Memoir*, § 9.

[6] See *Si-yu-ki*, i pp. 136, 143, 147, 163 That the power of the ruler of Kaśmīr actually extended to Takṣaśilā and the Indus is proved by the fact that he personally came to visit Hiuen Tsiang when the latter, on his return journey, was stopping with the king of Kapiśa, or Kābul, at Udabhāṇḍa (Waihand, Und) on the Indus; see *Life*, p. 192.

PRATĀPĀDITYA II.

PRATĀPĀDITYA II., or DURLABHAKA, the son and successor of Durlabhavardhana, is also known to us from his coins. They show the well-known Kārkoṭa type with the legend *S'rīpratāpa*.[7] Their frequency is in keeping with the long reign of fifty years which Kalhaṇa attributes to this king. Apart from the foundation of *Pratāpapura*, the present Tāpar, Kalhaṇa relates of Pratāpāditya only the romantic episode of his marriage with Narendraprabhā, previously the wife of a foreign merchant settled in Kaśmīr. Narendraprabhā bore the king three sons, Candrāpīḍa, Tārāpīḍa, and Muktāpīḍa, who were also known by the names of Vajrāditya, Udayāditya, and Lalitāditya.[8]

CANDRĀPĪḌA.

CANDRĀPĪḌA, who first succeeded his father, has long ago been identified with King Tchen t'o-lo-pi-li mentioned in the Chinese Annals as ruling over Kaśmīr, A.D. 713, and again in 720.[9] We have already seen that these dates necessitate a correction of about twenty-five years in Kalhaṇa's Chronology of the Kārkoṭas. The Chronicler ascribes to Candrāpīḍa a noble character, and illustrates his high sense of justice by the relation of two anecdotes evidently taken from popular tradition.[10] Else only the foundation of certain little-known shrines is recorded of Candrāpīḍa's reign.[11] His death, after a reign of nearly nine years, is attributed by Kalhaṇa to the use of witchcraft on the part of Tārāpīḍa, his wicked brother and successor.

TĀRĀPĪḌA.

TĀRĀPĪḌA himself, after a cruel rule of four years, is said to have succumbed to magic used by the Brahmans whom he had oppressed.[12] The report as to the cause of his death and that of his elder brother may well be derived from contemporary tradition; for superstitious belief in the efficiency of magic rites, etc., forms an ancient feature of Kaśmīrian character.[13]

LALITĀDITYA-MUKTĀPĪḌA.

85. Of the reign of LALITĀDITYA-MUKTĀPĪḌA, the youngest son of Pratāpāditya and Tārāpīḍa's successor, the Chronicle gives us a very detailed account, which, from several points of view, is of considerable historical interest. He appears in it as a very strong ruler, asserting his power far beyond Kaśmīr and the adjacent territories. Curiously enough no coins of Lalitāditya have yet come to light, but there is fortunately the evidence of foreign notices and of monumental remains which allows us to verify the most important of Kalhaṇa's data.

We have seen that the Annals of the T'ang dynasty know Muktāpīḍa under the name of *Mu-to-pi*, as the king of Kaśmīr who sent an embassy to the Chinese court during the reign of the Emperor Hiuen-tsung[14] (A.D. 713-755), and after the first Chinese expedition against Baltistān, which occurred some time between A.D. 736-747. As the exact date of the embassy is not given, we cannot ascertain accurately the correction needed in the dates assigned by Kalhaṇa's chronology to the reign of Muktāpīḍa (699-736 A.D.). But the details recorded of the object of the embassy throw, as we shall see, an interesting light on the king's foreign relations as indicated in the Kaśmīr Chronicle.

Expedition against Yaśovarman.

Kalhaṇa represents Lalitāditya as a great conqueror, whose reign was mostly passed in expeditions abroad. In the description of the latter we find a curious mixture of historical and legendary details. The king's first enterprise was directed

[7] See note iv 8.
[8] iv. 42 sq.
[9] See note iv. 45.
[10] See the stories of the Tanner and the Sorceress, iv. 55 sqq., 82 sqq.
[11] iv. 78-81
[12] iv. 124.
[13] Compare note iv. 94.
[14] For detailed references on the Chinese record, see note iv. 126.

against Yaśovarman, the ruler of Kanyakubja or Kanauj. This prince is said to have first made a peaceful submission, but to have subsequently incurred Lalitāditya's wrath by the pretension shown in the course of the treaty negotiations and to have lost his throne.[15] Kalhaṇa's incidental mention of the well-known Bhavabhūti and of Vākpatirāja among the poets of Yaśovarman's court is of interest, as we still possess a poem by the latter celebrating Yaśovarman's victory over a Gauḍa king.[16] No information can be gathered from this work as to the dominion and time of Yaśovarman. But from notices discussed elsewhere it appears probable that Yaśovarman is identical with the king of central India, *I-cha-fon-mo*, who in A.D. 731 sent an embassy to the Chinese court. It is also possible that we have to recognize in Yaśovarman that king of central India whom, according to the T'ang Annals, Muktāpīḍa's ambassador claimed as his king's ally against the Tibetans. From the date indicated for the latter embassy it follows that in case this assumption is correct the war against Yaśovarman and his dethronement must have taken place after A.D. 736.[17]

Extent of Lalitāditya's power.

86. The political conditions of north western India during the eighth century are too obscure to permit us to guess the circumstances which would account for hostilities between the rulers of Kaśmīr and the distant territory of Kanauj. But it is evident from general considerations that Lalitāditya's attack upon Kanauj presupposes his having been in possession also of territories outside Kaśmīr, particularly to the south and south-east. It is significant that Kalhaṇa particularly mentions the territories of Jālaṁdhara and Lohara, corresponding to the present Kāngra and Pūnch, as held by Lalitāditya's feudatories.[18] In contrast to the extravagant conquests elsewhere ascribed to the king, the mention of these hill tracts, comparatively unimportant but near to Kaśmīr, bear a distinctly historical look.

The same observation holds good of the incidental reference which Kalhaṇa makes to S'āhi princes who held court-offices under Lalitāditya. The title *S'āhi* is, as I have shown elsewhere, applied by Kalhaṇa to the family of Turkish origin which ruled in the Kābul Valley and Gandhāra down to the end of the ninth century.[19] Branches of this family may be supposed to have held smaller tracts along the Indus Valley and eastwards,[20] and it is by no means improbable that some among them should have acknowledged the suzerainty of a powerful ruler in possession of Kaśmīr and the adjacent hill districts. We know that Arab invasion was threatening Kābul already from the commencement of the eighth century, and that simultaneously the Muhammadan power in Sind was making efforts to advance northwards.[21] While the S'āhi rule in Kābul and Gandhāra was exposed to these attacks, Lalitāditya may well have found an opportunity to extend his authority in the direction of the Indus.

These indications of Kalhaṇa's record, brief as they are, justify the assumption that Lalitāditya really asserted authority in one form or the other over the region of the lower hills to the north of the Panjāb. We have seen that a similar condition of things existed already a century earlier at the time of Hiuen Tsiang's

[15] iv. 133-146.

[16] Compare for detailed references regarding Yaśovarman, note iv. 134.

[17] Compare MM. CHAVANNES and LÉVI, *Journal asiat.*, 1895, p. 353.

[18] See iv. 177 and note.

[19] See note iv. 140-143 and references there given

[20] See CUNNINGHAM, *Later Indo-Scythians*, pp 57 sqq.

[21] See REINAUD, *Mémoire*, pp. 191 sqq. ELLIOT, *History*, i pp. 444 sqq.

visit, when the hill territories from the Indus to the Cināb, including the Salt Range, were in dependence on Kaśmīr.[22] An extension of this dominion to the east towards the Yamunā is likely to have brought Lalitāditya into collision with the ruler of Kanauj.

Lalitāditya's 'digvijaya.'

87. After Yaśovarman's defeat Kalhaṇa makes Lalitāditya start on a march of triumphal conquest round the whole of India, which is manifestly legendary.[23] The enumeration of the several stages of this wonderful march comprises the countries best known to Indian poetic lore along the coasts of the peninsula, from Bengal and Orissa in the east to Kathiawar and the 'Kāmbojas' (Afghānistān) in the west. The absence of all historic details, as well as the strict geographical order of the countries named, shows that we have in this account merely a conventional elaboration of the popular belief which attributed to Lalitāditya the customary 'Digvijaya' of an Indian hero. It is only when the Kavi takes the king again northwards into the neighbourhood of his own land, that we are brought face to face with details which seem derived from historical facts.

Caṅkuṇa, the Tuhkhāra.

Thus we find the mention of the Tuhkhāras as a nation of the northern region which Lalitāditya defeated, curiously illustrated by the story subsequently told of the minister Caṅkuṇa.[24] The country of the Tuhkhāras, from which Caṅkuṇa is said to have come to the Kaśmīr court, is undoubtedly the Tokhāristān of the early Muhammadan authors comprising Badakhshān and the immediately adjoining tracts on the Upper Oxus. We know that this region was inhabited in the eighth century and already earlier by tribes of Turkish race, and accordingly we have every reason to assume that Lalitāditya's minister was a Turk by origin. The historical existence of Caṅkuṇa, the Tuhkhāra, is proved by conclusive evidence. Kalhaṇa attributes to him, besides a Stūpa, the foundation of two Vihāras, and one of these was seen already by the Chinese pilgrim Ou-k'ong, who visited Kaśmīr during the years 759-763 A.D.[25] Ou-k'ong's notice, which has been fully discussed by me elsewhere, makes it probable that the strange-sounding name Caṅkuṇa was in reality a Chinese title (*tsiang-kiun*, 'general'), which was borne by the Tuhkhāra minister in his own land, and which in Kaśmīr was taken for his personal name.

Relation of Turks to Kaśmīr.

Ou-k'ong in his itinerary indicates also other close relations between contemporary Kaśmīr and Turkish tribes by the references he makes to numerous Buddhist sacred places founded in Kaśmīr by the royal family of the 'Tou-kiue' or Turks.[26] It is impossible to indicate with certainty where this Turkish dynasty ruled. But in the present state of our knowledge we are tempted to think of Tokhāristān and the valleys leading from there towards the Kābul Valley and the Upper Indus. In any case, it appears from the way in which Ou-k'ong refers to these structures and the names and titles of their Turkish founders, that they were then of comparatively recent date, and thus probably belonged to the period of Lalitāditya's reign.[27]

Victory over Turks.

It appears that the memory of a particular victory, won by Lalitāditya over

[22] See above, § 84.

[23] iv. 146 sqq.

[24] Regarding the term Tuhkhāra, see note iv. 166.

[25] For Caṅkuṇa and Ou-k'ong's notice of his Vihāra, compare note iv. 211.

[26] See *L'Itinéraire d'Ou-k'ong, Journal asiat.* 1895, pp. 354 sq., with note.

[27] The titles and names given for members of the royal family of the Tu-kiue show close resemblance to those recorded in the Chinese Annals and in the Orkhon inscriptions about the same period; see *loc. cit.*, pp. 388 sqq.

Turkish foes, lived long in the popular tradition of Kaśmīr. Albērūnī records that the Kaśmīrians of his time celebrated annually on a certain day a festival in commemoration of a victory which *Muttai*, King of Kaśmīr, was alleged to have won over the Turks. They credited this king with having "ruled over the whole world."[28] It is highly probable that Professor Bühler was right when he recognized in the *Muttai* of Albērūnī's text an Apabhraṁśa form of Muktāpīḍa's name (**Muttapir*) misspelt in the Arabic characters. The assertion of the king's universal sovereignty is justly criticized by Albērūnī as unhistorical; but it is, nevertheless, of interest because it agrees closely with the picture presented to us of Lalitāditya's reign in Kalhaṇa's Chronicle.

Mummuni, whose subjection is mentioned after that of the Tuḥkhāras, may possibly, as I have shown elsewhere, have been the chief of a Turkish tribe on the Upper Indus, named here by his title or family designation.[29]

Lalitāditya's war against Bhauṭṭas.

88. Of the Bhauṭṭas or Tibetans, who figure next in the list of Lalitāditya's conquests, we are able to show that their mention rests on historical fact. From the notice of the T'ang Annals, to which reference has already been made, we learn that the ambassador U-li-to, whom Mu-to-pi, or Muktāpīḍa, had sent to the imperial court, distinctly claimed for his master repeated victories over the Tibetans.[30] In alliance with the king of central India (Yaśovarman?) he is said to have blocked all the five great routes leading into their country. The auxiliary Chinese force of two hundred thousand men which the Kaśmīr king invited to his country and for which he proposed to establish a camp on the shores of the Mahāpadma or Volur lake, was evidently asked for with a view to further operations against that common foe. For Muktāpīḍa's ambassador supported the proposal by a reference to the previous expedition, which the Chinese had sent to the neighbouring country of Po-liu or Baltistān between A.D. 736-747, and which we know to have had for its object the expulsion of the Tibetans from that territory. There is evidence to show that the Tibetans of that period had established a powerful empire, capable of aggression westwards.[31] That Muktāpīḍa should have endeavoured to secure against this danger the help of a Chinese alliance was natural enough, seeing that the Tibetan expansion threatened equally the Chinese territories northwards.

The imperial court contented itself with directing the sumptuous treatment of the Kaśmīr envoy without acceding to his master's request. As there is nothing to show that Kaśmīr was either in Lalitāditya's time or subsequently subject to a Bhauṭṭa invasion, we must assume that Lalitāditya's successes in this direction, the reports of which we find preserved both by Kalhaṇa and the Chinese Annals, were real and lasting. The Dards, too, who are next mentioned in the description of the king's march of triumph northwards,[32] are likely enough to have come within the range of Lalitāditya's expeditions. The Dard tribes have from very early times to the present day inhabited the mountain territories immediately adjoining Kaśmīr to the north and north-west.[33] The safety of the Valley has also in

Relations with Dards.

[28] See note i. 126. Is it possible that the tradition reproduced by Albērūnī was somehow connected with the great festival which Kalhaṇa, iv. 242 sq., mentions as having been established by Lalitāditya at Parihāsapura, and which was still kept up in his own time?

[29] See notes iv. 167 and iii. 332.

[30] Compare Rémusat, *Nouveaux Mélanges asiat.*, i. pp. 196 sqq.

[31] See MM. Chavannes and Lévi's references, *Journal asiat.*, 1895, p. 382.

[32] iv. 169.

[33] Compare note i. 312.

later times more than once necessitated expeditions against these troublesome neighbours.

The regions to which the Chronicler makes Lalitāditya extend his route of conquest, after vanquishing the Bhauṭṭas and Darads, are purely mythological. The mention here made of the *Uttarakurus*, the Hyperborean paradise of the Indian Epics; of the 'land of the Amazons' (*strīrājya*), etc., only shows to what extent folk-tales and poetical fancy have permeated Kaśmīrian traditions concerning the foreign achievements of Lalitāditya's reign.[34]

Lalitāditya's buildings.

89. After relating the king's expeditions abroad, Kalhaṇa proceeds to a detailed account of the numerous buildings and foundations which attested the extent of his resources and his magnificence in Kaśmīr itself.[35] It is no longer possible to trace with certainty the sites and remains of all the towns and structures which owed their existence to Lalitāditya. But those among them which can be identified justify by their extant ruins the great fame which Lalitāditya enjoyed as a builder. The ruins of the splendid temple of Mārtāṇḍa, which the king had constructed near the Tīrtha of the same name, are still the most striking object of ancient Hindu architecture in the Valley.[36] Even in their present state of decay they command admiration both by their imposing dimensions and by the beauty of their architectural design and decoration. An even more impressive proof of the grand scale on which Lalitāditya's building operations were conducted, is afforded by the remains marking the site of the town of Parihāsapura. Kalhaṇa describes at length the series of great temples built by the king at this town, which he had founded as his residence. The extensive though much-injured ruins with which I was able to identify these structures at the site of Parihāsapura, the present Parᵉspōr, show sufficiently that Kalhaṇa's account of their magnificence was not exaggerated.[37]

Buddhism under Lalitāditya.

Kalhaṇa's detailed list of the numerous shrines and sacred images erected during Lalitāditya's reign, is of interest also because it throws light on the religious condition of Kaśmīr at that period. We know that the Chinese pilgrim, Ou-k'ong, whose visit to Kaśmīr (A.D. 759-763) fell probably only a few years after Lalitāditya's death, found the Buddhist cult there in a very flourishing condition, and the number of Stūpas and Vihāras considerable.[38] It fully accords with this contemporary evidence that Kalhaṇa, too, records the construction of Vihāras and Stūpas among Lalitāditya's pious acts and by the side of the numerous Viṣṇu shrines erected by him. Among these Buddhist gifts of the king there was a great Vihāra at Parihāsapura, with a colossal Buddha image which still existed in Kalhaṇa's time, and another Vihāra at Huskapura, which probably served as Ou-k'ong's first resting-place in the Valley.[39] We hear also of other Buddhist endowments made by members of Lalitāditya's court.[40]

Lalitāditya in popular legend

It can scarcely surprise us that a king whose historical achievements were so considerable should have become surrounded in Kaśmīr tradition by a halo of

[34] See iv. 171-175 and note.

[35] The description of the various shrines, etc., attributed to Lalitāditya and his court, occupies verses iv 181-216.

[36] For detailed references regarding this well-known edifice, see note iv. 192.

[37] For the identification of Parihāsapura and a detailed analysis of Kalhaṇa's data regarding its buildings, compare below Note F, iv 194-204, also *Memoir*, § 121.

[38] See *L'Itinéraire d'Ou-k'ong*, *Journal asiat.*, 1895, pp. 350 sqq.

[39] Regarding the *Rājavihāra* at Parihāsapura, compare Note F (iv. 194-204), § 8; for the Vihāra at Huskapura, see note iv. 188.

[40] iv 210, 211, 216, 259 sqq.

popular legends. Kalhaṇa reproduces several of these, all intended to illustrate the supernatural powers of the king.[41] The legend of the miracle worked for the king by his Turkish minister, Caṅkuṇa, is of interest because it was connected with a Buddha image still extant in Kalhaṇa's days, which Lalitāditya was supposed to have brought from Magadha.[42]

Another which relates the king's expedition into the 'sand-ocean' and his escape from its dangers through the miraculous production of water, is instructive as showing clearly how earlier folk-tales were transferred to this hero of Kaśmīrian tradition.[43] The story, which is closely akin to that of Zopyrus, is told in almost identical details by Alberūnī of Kanik, i.e. Kaniṣka. That Kalhaṇa's version places the 'sand-ocean' in the 'northern region' is a point which deserves to be noted as betokening a distant knowledge of the great deserts of Central Asia (Taklamakān?)[44] Less legendary are the reports, possibly taken from local tradition, of Lalitāditya's attempt to burn Pravarapura, the older capital, and of the destruction of the Rāmasvāmin image at Parihāsapura by a party of Gauḍas.[45]

End of Lalitāditya.

What Kalhaṇa has to tell us of the end of Lalitāditya bears the same legendary colouring as the rest of his account of the king's reign. Several traditions seem to have been current as to the manner of the king's death, but they all agreed in connecting it with an expedition to a distant northern region.[46] According to one version Lalitāditya perished "through excessive snow in a country called Āryānaka," which cannot be located exactly. Another version made him end his life by suicide in order to escape being captured when separated from his army, and blocked on a difficult mountain route. Others again were satisfied with letting the king and his army retire to the region of the immortals, in the farthest north. From these varying accounts we may conclude that Lalitāditya ended his days on some unsuccessful expedition to the north. But the details of the event had become obscured at an early date. Kalhaṇa makes Lalitāditya, before his disappearance from the scene, foretell in a kind of political testament the events of the immediately succeeding reigns.[47] The maxims of policy which the king is supposed to have set forth on this occasion for the guidance of his successors, are curious as illustrating the principles of political wisdom which influenced Kaśmīr administration in Kalhaṇa's own time—and for long after.

Kuvalayāpīḍa.

90. Lalitāditya's rule seems to have been followed by a succession of short and weak reigns. Kuvalayāpīḍa, the elder son of Lalitāditya, is said to have abandoned the throne after one year, and after a life of pious resignation abroad to have attained supernatural perfection (*siddhi*).[48] Vajrāditya, or Bappiyaka, the younger son of Lalitāditya from another queen, is described as a cruel and sensuous prince, who succumbed to his excesses after a rule of seven years.[49] He was followed in succession by his sons, Pṛthivyāpīḍa and Saṃgrāmāpīḍa I.; the first is said to have ruled for four years and one month, and the second only for seven days.[50]

Vajrāditya-Bappiyaka.

Pṛthivyāpīḍa; Saṃgrāmāpīḍa I.

Jayāpīḍa.

After these short-lived rulers, none of whom is attested by coins or other independent evidence, the Chronicle presents us once more with the account of a long and powerful reign, that of Jayāpīḍa, Vajrāditya's youngest son. This king

[41] iv. 219-309.
[42] iv. 246 sqq.
[43] Compare note iv. 277.
[44] See iv. 306.
[45] Compare iv. 310 sqq., and iv. 323 sqq.
[46] iv. 367 sqq.
[47] iv. 344 sqq.
[48] iv. 372 sqq.
[49] iv. 393 sqq.
[50] iv. 399 sq.

appears in the long and detailed narrative which Kalhaṇa devotes to his reign (iv. 402-658), almost as great a hero of popular legend as his grandfather Lalitāditya. The tales related of him bear so fantastic a colouring that we might be tempted to class Jayāpīḍa with semi-mythic kings like Meghavāhana or Raṇāditya, were it not that we possess in his coins an unquestionable proof of his historical existence *Vinayāditya* was, according to the Chronicle, another name of the king, and this name we read clearly on mixed-metal coins of the Kārkoṭa type which are still found plentifully in Kaśmīr and the immediately adjacent territories to the south.[51]

Early adventures of Jayāpīḍa.

What Kalhaṇa relates of the early part of Jayāpīḍa's reign is briefly the following Soon after his accession the king, stimulated by the ambition of rivalling his grandfather's fame, set out "for the conquest of the world."[52] Eighty thousand litters are supposed to have been counted with his army as it passed through the frontier watch-station of Kaśmīr. After the king's departure, Jajja, his brother-in-law, usurped the Kaśmīr throne. Though gradually deserted by his troops, Jayāpīḍa moved down to the Ganges, still rich enough to make a gift of a lakh less one horses (!) to the Brahmans of Prayāga. There he left the remainder of his followers, and set out in disguise on a tour of adventurous travel. While at Pauṇḍravardhana, the capital of a district of Bengal, he attracted by a deed of great prowess the attention of its king, Jayanta. His disguise being discovered, he was given by the king the hand of his daughter Kalyāṇadevī. Jayāpīḍa defeated the kings of Gauḍa, the over-lords of his father-in-law, and then turned back towards Kaśmīr. Joined by the troops he had left behind, under his faithful minister, Devaśarman, he defeated on his route the king of Kanauj and entered Kaśmīr. In a fierce contest near S'uskaletra, in the Kaśmīr Valley, Jajja was vanquished and slain, after having for three years held possession of the land.[53]

Usurpation of Jajja.

It is impossible in the absence of other records to ascertain the exact elements of historic truth underlying Kalhaṇa's romantic story. But the general tenour of the latter seems to indicate that Jayāpīḍa had, during the early part of his reign, while engaged in some foreign expedition, temporarily lost his throne to a usurper. The king's wanderings during his exile seem to have taken him to Bengal, and to have subsequently been embellished by popular imagination.

Historical data of Jayāpīḍa's reign

Of Jayāpīḍa's subsequent reign which, according to Kalhaṇa's calculation, would have to be placed in the years A.D. 751-782, but which in all probability fell much closer to the end of the eighth century,[54] few authentic details seem to have been recorded. Manifestly genuine and, for literary history important, are the data which Kalhaṇa gives us regarding the various scholars and poets, like Kṣīra, Bhaṭṭa Udbhaṭa, etc., who flourished at Jayāpīḍa's court.[55] Several of them are known to us from their works and from other references. Of topographical interest is the account we receive of the foundation of *Jayapura*, marked by the present Andᵃrkōṭh, which Jayāpīḍa built as his capital in marshy ground towards the Volur, and which has caused his name to be remembered in local tradition down to the present day.[56] But even this account of an undoubted

[51] iv. 517, and note iv. 402

[52] iv. 403 sqq.

[53] iv. 473-480.

[54] See below, § 91, for the correction needed in the dates of the later Kārkoṭa rulers.

[55] iv. 486-498.

[56] For detailed notes on *Jayapura*, see note iv. 506-511.

historical act of the king is interwoven with mythical details, showing that Kalhaṇa must have taken it directly or indirectly from popular tradition and not from contemporary records [57]

Jayāpīḍa's expeditions.

Subsequently Jayāpīḍa is supposed to have set out once more for "the conquest of the world." But what we are told of this enterprise resolves itself into mere legendary anecdotes regarding the king's marvellous escapes from enemies into whose hands he had fallen.[58] Neither Bhīmasena, "king of the eastern region," nor Aramuḍi, the ruler of Nepāl, who figure as Jayāpīḍa's adversaries and captors in these stories, can be traced as historical persons, while the accounts of the ruses by which the king is believed to have regained freedom, look as if borrowed from earlier folk-lore. In keeping with these tales is the reference to Jayāpīḍa's conquest of the 'land of the Amazons' (*strīrājya*).[59] The legend of the Nāga of the Mahāpadma or Volur lake which Kalhaṇa next relates, is curious as a piece of folk-lore. It is probably of local origin, as the mine of copper which the Nāga was believed to have shown to the king who had saved him from desiccation at the hands of a sorcerer, was still pointed out in Kramarājya (Kamrāz) in the days of Jonarāja.[60]

Jayāpīḍa's end.

Jayāpīḍa, towards the close of his reign, is said to have become a prey to avarice and to have oppressed the land by his fiscal exactions.[61] These seem to have fallen heavily on the Brahman community in particular, and some satirical verses which Kalhaṇa quotes as illustrating the changed sentiments of the latter towards the king, may well be genuine productions of the period.[62] Ultimately, after numerous Brahmans had sought death by voluntary starvation (*prāyopaveśa*), Jayāpīḍa is supposed to have fallen a victim to divine vengeance. Kalhaṇa describes with a good deal of dramatic force the final scene when the curse of the exasperated Brahmans at the Tīrtha of Tūlamūlya brought on the accident which ended the king's life.[63] Whatever the real facts of Jayāpīḍa's death may have been, it seems probable that Kalhaṇa's version had some support in contemporary popular opinion.

Lalitāpīḍa.

91. Lalitāpīḍa, Jayāpīḍa's son and successor, is described as an indolent and profligate prince, who squandered during a twelve years' rule the riches amassed by his father.[64] Neither of him nor of any other of the later Kārkoṭas do we possess any coins. He was succeeded by his half-brother Saṁgrāmāpīḍa II., or Pṛthivyāpīḍa, of whom only the length of reign, seven years, is recorded.[65]

Saṁgrāmāpīḍa II.

Cippaṭajayāpīḍa.

Cippaṭajayāpīḍa, also called Bṛhaspati, who was next raised to the throne, was the son of Lalitāpīḍa and Jayādevī, a concubine of low origin. As the king was a mere child, the royal power fell wholly into the hands of his maternal uncles, Padma, Utpala, Kalyāṇa, Mamma, and Dharma. After a nominal rule of twelve years, Cippaṭajayāpīḍa was destroyed by his uncles, according to Kalhaṇa, A.D. 813/4.[66]

Date of Cippaṭajayāpīḍa

We are indirectly able to check this date, which is the first given by the Chronicler in the Laukika era, by means of the colophon which the Kaśmīrian

[57] Compare the tale of the five demons sent by Vibhīṣaṇa, the mythic king of Laṅkā, etc., iv. 503 sqq.
[58] See iv. 519-586.
[59] iv. 587 sq.
[60] See iv. 592 sqq.; *Jonar.* (Bo. ed.), 1167.
[61] iv. 620 sqq.
[62] iv. 635-637.
[63] iv. 640 sqq.
[64] iv. 660 sqq.
[65] iv. 674 sq.
[66] iv. 687, 703.

poet Rājānaka Ratnākara has attached to his Kāvya, the Haravijaya.[67] Ratnākara there states that he wrote this poem under the patronage of "the young Bṛhaspati." As Ratnākara is distinctly mentioned by Kalhaṇa among the poets who obtained fame in the reign of Avantivarman (A.D. 855-883), it is clear that the king meant in the colophon of the Haravijaya is the Cippaṭajayāpīḍa or Bṛhaspati of the Chronicle. Professor Bühler, who first drew attention to the chronological value of this notice, was undoubtedly right in pointing out that it implied a correction in the date of Bṛhaspati. For Ratnākara "could not have flourished under Bṛhaspati and under Avantivarman, if the former had reigned A.D. 801/2—813/4," i.e. fully half a century before Avantivarman. The difficulty disappears if we apply to the date of Bṛhaspati, as assumed in the Chronicle, the same correction of twenty-five years, which we have already found indicated for Candrāpīḍa's reign by the statement of the Chinese Annals, thus placing Bṛhaspati's nominal reign about the years A.D. 826-838.[68]

AJITĀPĪḌA. It appears to me that Kalhaṇa himself confirms the conclusion just drawn as to the later date of Bṛhaspati, by the remarkably long reign he assigns to the latter's successor AJITĀPĪḌA, a grandson of king Vajrāditya Bappiyaka, whom Utpala put on the throne by armed force after Bṛhaspati's death, is stated to have remained nominal ruler up to A.D. 850/1, during which time all power was wielded in common by the uncles of Bṛhaspati.[69] The long reign of thirty-seven years thus ascribed to the puppet-king, appears in itself remarkable, considering that Kalhaṇa distinctly refers to the discord and mutual jealousy of the true rulers, Padma and his brothers. Its long duration seems still more strange in view of the account we receive regarding the close of Ajitāpīḍa's reign. The hostility between the regents led to a fierce battle between Mamma and Utpala, which ended with the victory of the former and the overthrow of Ajitāpīḍa.[70] Considering the comparative shortness of the average Indian generation we can scarcely bring ourselves to believe that the brothers of humble origin, who at the commencement of Bṛhaspati's reign, i.e. according to Kalhaṇa, A.D. 801/2, were already strong enough to usurp the regal powers, should have been alive to fight a hard-contested battle fully half a century later. It seems far more probable that the reign of Bṛhaspati fell in reality much nearer to the middle of the ninth century which witnessed the events leading to the extinction of the Kārkoṭa dynasty and its replacement by Utpala's family.

Kalhaṇa illustrates the power and wealth attained by Utpala and his brothers during this period, by the enumeration of the splendid foundations they made. Among these we can still trace the towns built by Padma and Utpala.[71] When the rivalry of the brothers had led to the battle already mentioned, Mamma and his victorious faction replaced Ajitāpīḍa by a fresh puppet-king in the person

ANAṄGĀPĪḌA. of ANAṄGĀPĪḌA, a son of Saṁgrāmāpīḍa II.[72] When three years later Utpala died, his energetic son Sukhavarman raised a successful rebellion, and placed his

UTPALĀPĪḌA. own nominee UTPALĀPĪḌA, a son of Ajitāpīḍa, on the throne.[73]

Sukhavarman was on the point of openly assuming himself the royal dignity when two years later (A.D. 855/6) he was killed by a treacherous relative. The

[67] See BÜHLER, *Report*, pp. 42 sq.
[68] See above, §§ 65, 66; *Report*, p. 43 note.
[69] iv 703.
[70] iv. 704 sqq.
[71] See note iv. 495
[72] iv 707
[73] iv. 709.

throne, however, was secured for his family; for at this juncture the influential minister S'ūra deposed Utpalāpīḍa, and had Sukhavarman's able son Avantivarman crowned as king.[74]

SECTION IV.—THE KINGS OF BOOKS V. AND VI.

92. With the accession of AVANTIVARMAN (A.D. 855/6-883), we reach that period of Kaśmīr history for which Kalhaṇa's work presents us with a truly historical record. The use of contemporary accounts from the commencement of the Fifth Book onwards becomes evident, not only from the generally sober and matter-of-fact character of the narrative, but also from the details henceforth furnished regarding many petty events, the memory of which could not have maintained itself in popular tradition, and from the use of exact dates. The fact can scarcely be accidental that Avantivarman, the first king, the date of whose death is shown by Kalhaṇa with year, month, and day, stands at the head of a new dynastic list. It seems to indicate that records based on contemporary annals were contained among Kalhaṇa's sources only from the commencement of the Utpala dynasty onwards. AVANTIVARMAN (A.D. 855/6-883).

Avantivarman's reign appears to have brought a period of consolidation for the country which must have greatly suffered, economically as well as politically, from the internal troubles during the preceding reigns. We receive indeed no information as to Avantivarman having reasserted Kaśmīrian power abroad. On the contrary, we must conclude from the subsequent statements regarding the expeditions of S'aṁkaravarman that even the immediately adjoining hill-tracts, which like Dārvābhisāra had thrown off the Kaśmīr suzerainty during those weak reigns, remained independent also in the time of Avantivarman.[1] But, on the other hand, we have ample proof of the internal recovery of the country. It is plainly indicated by the large number of temples and endowments, the foundation of which by the pious king and his court Kalhaṇa records in great detail.[2] Foremost among these foundations were the town of *Avantipura*, the present Vānt'pōr, still preserving the king's name, and the great temples he built there.[3] Their ruins, though not equal in size to Lalitāditya's structures, yet rank among the most imposing monuments of ancient Kaśmīr architecture, and sufficiently attest the resources of their builder. Period of internal consolidation.

The minister S'ūra, to whom Avantivarman owed his crown, and who during the whole reign seems to have retained a position of exceptional influence, vied with the king in piety and great foundations. His name is preserved to the present day by Hür'pōr, the ancient *S'ūrapura*, and once a place of considerable importance.[4] The anecdote which Kalhaṇa relates of S'ūra's draconic judgment, at the Tīrtha of Bhūteśvara, in the district of Lahara, is evidently based on a real incident and possesses historical interest.[5] It fully illustrates the powerful position The minister S'ūra

[74] iv. 716.

[1] Compare iv. 712, and below, §§ 94, 95.

[2] v. 23-31, 37-46.

[3] For a detailed account, see note v 44-45.

[4] Compare for S'ūra's foundations, notes v. 37-40.

[5] See v. 48-61, and for the accurately indicated locality, note v. 55-59

of this ancient dynasty was, according to the *Indica*, deposed by his Brahman Wazir *Kallar*, who had attained great power and influence, and who ultimately secured the crown for himself and his descendants. Alberūnī names *Kamalū* as the ruler next but one after "Kallar," and this prince is undoubtedly identical with the S'āhi *Kamaluka* whom Kalhaṇa subsequently mentions as the son of Lalliya (v. 233). This close agreement makes it evident that Alberūnī's "Kallar" is nothing but a misreading, easily explained in Arabic characters, for the correct Lalliya of the Chronicle. In the same way I have proved that the "town of Udabhāṇḍa," which Kalhaṇa names as Lalliya's residence, is identical with *Waihand* (now Und), on the Indus, the historical capital of Gandhāra during the centuries preceding the Muhammadan conquest.

Kalhaṇa refers to S'aṁkaravarman's desire "to remove Lalliya from his sovereign position," but expresses himself with so much caution regarding the result as to exclude the assumption of any material success of the Kaśmīr arms in this direction. That the limits of Kaśmīr power towards the Indus were not extended by S'aṁkaravarman's expedition, is proved even more conclusively by what we read of the position of the Kaśmīr frontier-line in the Jehlam Valley at the time of the king's death (see below).

Administration under S'aṁkaravarman.

95. S'aṁkaravarman's internal rule appears to have been characterized by excessive fiscal exactions and consequent oppression. The detailed account we receive in the Chronicle of the measures by which the king endeavoured to raise the state revenues, possesses considerable historical interest.[23] It proves that the elaborate system of taxation which was maintained in Kaśmīr until quite recently, had been fully developed already in Hindu times. Certain new imposts which the king introduced and the collection of which was assigned to special revenue offices, seem to have weighed particularly heavy on temple-endowments and priestly corporations.[23] Equally oppressive for the cultivators were the excessive demands made for forced labour. S'aṁkaravarman seems to have organized them on a systematic basis and to have employed them also as a means for fiscal extortion. Used chiefly for transport purposes (*rūḍhabhārodhi*), this system of "Bēgār" has remained a characteristic feature of Kaśmīr administration up to modern days.[24] Kalhaṇa describes with much bitterness the baneful effects of this régime which favoured only the rapacious tribe of officials (*kāyastha*) and left men of learning unprovided with emoluments.[25] The stress laid upon the latter grievance may, perhaps, be taken as an indication of the source from which the Chronicler had gathered his statements.

Kalhaṇa follows up his censures of S'aṁkaravarman's short-sighted policy by an ironical reference to the fate which has overtaken his only foundation. S'aṁkarapura, the town that was to have borne his name, never rose to significance, though Parihāsapura had been plundered to supply materials, and ultimately, came to be known only by the designation of '*Paṭṭana*' (town), the modern Paṭan.[26]

Expedition towards Indus.

S'aṁkaravarman's life and reign found a violent end. In order to avenge the death of his 'Lord of the Marches' (*dvārapati*), who had fallen in a frontier-affray, he had marched down the Valley of the Vitastā, and subsequently undertaken an expedition to the hill tracts on the banks of the Indus.[27] On his march through

[22] See v. 165-181; also notes v. 167, 170, 171.

[23] v. 167-171.

[24] See v. 172-174 with note.

[25] v. 177 sqq., 204 sqq.

[26] v. 156-162, 213.

[27] v. 214 sqq.

Uraśā, the present Hazāra district, a conflict arose with the inhabitants in which the king was mortally wounded. The death of the king, which took place on the retreat to Kaśmīr, was kept secret by Queen Sugandhā and the ministers through a stratagem until the troops had in safety reached the frontier of Kaśmīr at Bolyāsaka. This locality is identical with the present Buliāsa on the right bank of the Vitastā, only four marches below Bārāmūla.[28] This distinct indication of the frontier-line shows us how little the political authority of Kaśmīr had advanced westwards beyond the natural limits of the Valley proper.

The copper coins of S'aṁkaravarman are common enough. From him onwards we find Kalhaṇa's list of kings illustrated by the evidence of an unbroken series of coins.

96. S'aṁkaravarman was succeeded by his son GOPĀLAVARMAN, who, being still a child, was during his short reign (A.D. 902-904) under the guardianship of his mother Sugandhā.[29] The minister Prabhākaradeva, who was the widow-queen's paramour, exercised the greatest influence in the state. Kalhaṇa records of him that on a victorious expedition which he led against the seat of the S'āhi power, at the town of Udabhāṇḍa, he "bestowed the kingdom of the rebellious S'āhi upon Toramāṇa, Lalliya's son, and gave him the [new] name *Kamaluka*."[30] This reference, brief and incomplete, is yet of historical value For the Toramāṇa-Kamaluka of the Chronicle is, as already stated, clearly the same ruler as the *Kamalū* of Alberūnī's list of Hindu Shāhiyas. He can also safely be identified with Kamalū, 'Rai of Hindustān,' who figures in a story of the Jāmi'u-l-Ḥikāyāt as the contemporary of 'Amru bin Lais, Governor of Khorāsān (A.D 878-901). Kalhaṇa does not give us the name of the "rebellious S'āhi" in whose defeat Kamaluka appears to have been aided by a Kaśmīrian auxiliary force. If the conjectural opinion I have expressed elsewhere is correct, we should have to recognize in this nameless S'āhi the Sāmand (Sāmanta) who appears in Alberūnī's list between "Kallar," i.e. Lalliya and Kamalū.[31] GOPĀLAVARMAN (A.D. 902-904).

After a nominal reign of two years, Gopālavarman was destroyed by the ambitious and unscrupulous minister, as Kalhaṇa alleges, through magic. SAMKAṬA, a suppositious son of S'aṁkaravarman, was then put on the throne, but died after ten days.[32] SUGANDHĀ then assumed, herself, the royal power (A.D. 904), first with the intention of securing the crown for a posthumous son of Gopālavarman. This child died soon after its birth, and the rule of the land became difficult owing to the growing turbulence of the Tantrins, a military caste of uncertain origin, who during this and the succeeding weak reigns assumed the position of true Prætorians.[33] The queen endeavoured to place on the throne Nirjitavarman, nicknamed Paṅgu, 'the Lame,' who was descended from S'ūravarman, the half-brother of Avantivarman. But the Tantrins overruled the queen's council, and by open rebellion obtained the crown for PĀRTHA, the child-son of Nirjitavarman (A.D. 906).[34] SUGANDHĀ (A.D. 904-906).

[28] See note v. 225; also *Memoir*, § 58. Vīrānaka, the place where S'aṁkaravarman's Dvārapati had been killed, lay just opposite to Bolyāsaka, compare note v. 214.

[29] v. 228 sqq.

[30] See v. 232-233 and my note.

[31] See Note *J*, v. 152-155, § 2; *Festgruss*, p. 204. Is it possible that Kalhaṇa's silence as to the name of the "rebellious S'āhi" is caused by some misapprehension on his part or on that of his authority, as to the import of the name *Sāmanta*? The word is very common in the meaning of "feudatory," but not known as a proper name except in the Shāhiya dynasty. Coins of the latter, very frequent in the Western Panjāb, show the legend *S'rī Sāmantadeva*, and thus attest the existence of a S'āhi ruler of this name.

[32] v. 242.

[33] See note v. 248.

[34] v. 251 sqq.

PĀRTHA (A.D. 906-921)

During the fifteen years of Pārtha's nominal reign the country was a prey to the Tantrins. Nirjitavarman, who acted as his son's guardian, could maintain himself only by paying heavy bribes to them.[35] In the exactions by which they oppressed the land, the soldiery were helped by unscrupulous ministers, among whom the brothers S'aṁkaravardhana and S'aṁbhuvardhana rose to prominence. The queen Sugandhā, who had been banished from the court, endeavoured in the year 914 to recover her power with the assistance of the Ekāṅgas, a body of military organization, who appear in the troubles of the period as the rivals and antagonists of the Tantrins.[36] The queen's force was defeated by the latter on the march upon the capital, and she herself made a prisoner, and subsequently executed.[37] Three years later a disastrous flood caused a terrible famine, the first event of this kind for which Kalhaṇa gives us an exact date.[38]

NIRJITAVARMAN (A.D. 921-923). CAKRAVARMAN (A.D. 923-933) S'ŪRAVARMAN I. (A.D. 933-934).

In the year 921 Pārtha was formally deposed by the Tantrins in favour of his father NIRJITAVARMAN who, however, died two years later.[39] CAKRAVARMAN, the child-son of Nirjitavarman, who succeeded, was kept on the throne under the guardianship of his mother and grandmother, until, in the year 933/4 a fresh revolution of the Tantrins raised his half-brother S'ŪRAVARMAN I. to the throne.[40] As the new king could not pay the large sums claimed by the troops he was deposed and Pārtha once more raised in his place. He enjoyed the regained royal dignity only for a short time, as the offer of great bribes induced the Tantrins to restore Cakravarman in A.D. 935.[41] As Cakravarman, too, failed in raising the promised sums, he had to flee within the same year, whereupon the Tantrins sold the crown to the minister S'AṀBHUVARDHANA.[42]

S'AṀBHUVARDHANA (A.D. 935-936).

97. The usurper was not destined to test long the doubtful support of the prætorians. Cakravarman in his banishment turned for help to the Ḍāmaras, the feudal landholders, whose interests are likely to have suffered by the prolonged predominance of the soldiery in the city. The powerful Ḍāmara Saṁgrāma took up the cause of Cakravarman, and succeeded in raising a considerable force of his class-fellows.[43] The Ḍāmaras marched upon S'rīnagar in the spring A.D. 936, and after a hotly contested battle near Padmapura defeated the Tantrins with great slaughter. Cakravarman once more entered the capital and avenged himself by the execution of S'aṁbhuvardhana, who had been captured.[44]

CAKRAVARMAN restored (A.D. 936-937).

Though the power of the Tantrins seems to have been crushed completely by Cakravarman's victory, the country profited but little by their disappearance. Cakravarman who, in the struggle for his crown, seems to have displayed personal bravery, abandoned himself, when he had recovered it, to vile cruelties and excesses. He took into his seraglio women of the despised Ḍomba caste, and raised their relatives to positions of consequence. Of one of these parasites, the Ḍomba singer Raṅga, Kalhaṇa records an amusing anecdote which has the look of being authentic.[45] The king's excesses and ungrateful conduct led to a conspiracy among the Ḍāmaras, his supporters, which brought his rule to an early close. In the summer, 937, Cakravarman was at night treacherously murdered within the arms of his Ḍomba queen.[46]

[35] v. 264 sqq.
[36] See note v. 249.
[37] v. 259-262.
[38] v. 271.
[39] v. 287.
[40] v. 292.
[41] v. 295 sqq.
[42] v. 302 sqq.
[43] v. 306 sqq.
[44] v. 336-350.
[45] v. 357 sqq.
[46] v. 405 sqq.

UNMATTĀVANTI (A.D. 937-939).

UNMATTĀVANTI ('the mad Avanti'), another son of Pārtha, who was next raised to the throne, appears to have done his best to justify his name.[47] He surpassed his predecessor in acts of senseless cruelty and wanton license. Parvagupta, an ambitious minister, who was scheming to secure the throne for himself, induced the depraved prince to destroy his own relatives. The old Pārtha, the king's father, was still living with his family at the Jayendravihāra at S'rīnagar, where the charity of the Buddhist monks supported him in his helpless poverty. Unmattāvanti first had Pārtha's young sons, his own half-brothers, carried away from there into prison, where he let them die of hunger. Subsequently Pārtha himself, by the king's order, was attacked at night in the Vihāra, which gave him shelter, and cruelly murdered.[48] The parricide king did not enjoy long the security which he had purchased by the extermination of his near relatives. He succumbed to a consumptive disease in the summer, 939.[49]

S'ŪRAVARMAN II. (A.D. 939).

S'ŪRAVARMAN II., a supposititious son whom Unmattāvanti had crowned at the approach of death, occupied the throne only for a few days. Kamalavardhana, the commander-in-chief, who desired to seize the crown and who was marching upon the city from Maḍavarājya, easily defeated the royal troops, whereupon the child-king had to flee.[50] Kamalavardhana foolishly did not at once place himself on the throne, but called an assembly of Brahmans to seek from them his election as king. The assembled wiseacres, whom Kalhaṇa describes with much humour, proved refractory and debated for several days while the Purohita-corporations collected *en masse*, and started a solemn fast to enforce a decision.[51] Ultimately the choice of the assembly fell on the Brahman YAŚASKARA, the son of Gopālavarman's treasurer, Prabhākaradeva, who had left Kaśmīr in poverty, and had just then returned to his native land with a reputation for learning and eloquence.

YAŚASKARA (A.D. 939-948).

98. During the nine years (A.D. 939-948) of Yaśaskara's mild rule the country seems to have obtained a respite from the many troubles which had oppressed it under the rapidly changing reigns following the extinction of Avantivarman's lineage. Kalhaṇa gives a very favourable account of the wisdom of Yaśaskara's administration, and illustrates the judicial sagacity of the king by two anecdotes, which are intended to show his skill in the interpretation of legal contracts.[52] A Maṭha for students from India proper and various other endowments attested his piety.[53] From other incidents, however, which are mentioned by the Chronicler, we can see that the Brahman king's record was not altogether unblemished, and that even Kaśmīrian *chronique scandaleuse* had occasion to occupy itself with his conduct.[54]

When attacked by a fatal illness, Yaśaskara had his relative Varṇaṭa consecrated as his successor, superseding his own child-son Saṁgrāmadeva whom he suspected of having been begotten in adultery. He probably also foresaw that the crown was more likely to remain with his family if his succession fell to a grown-up man and not to a mere child. Varṇaṭa, however, by his injudicious conduct, aroused the dying king's anger, and thus gave scheming ministers like Parvagupta the opportunity to obtain a change of the succession. Saṁgrāmadeva duly received

[47] v. 414 sqq.
[48] v. 428 sqq.
[49] v. 448 sqq.
[50] v. 451 sqq.
[51] v. 461 sqq.
[52] vi. 14-41, and vi. 42-67. It is quite possible that the two stories are of a far earlier date and have become attached to Yaśaskara only on account of the reputation enjoyed by him in Kaśmīr popular tradition.
[53] vi. 87 sqq.
[54] vi. 69-94.

the Abhiṣeka, while the dying Yaśaskara left the palace for his Maṭha where his protracted agony was ended through poison given by his attendants.[55] Another version which Kalhaṇa, however, refutes, attributed the king's death to magic used by a revengeful Brahman.[56]

Saṁgrāmadeva (A.D. 948-949).

Saṁgrāmadeva, 'the Crooked-footed' (*Vakrāṅghri*), occupied the throne only for a few months (A.D. 948-949).[57] The minister Parvagupta, who had had his eye fixed on the crown since the days of Unmattāvanti and whose power became supreme after Yaśaskara's death, first put his rivals out of the way and then attempted the child-king's life. When witchcraft had failed, Parvagupta, on a day of heavy snowfall, openly forced his way into the palace and killed the boy. His body bound to a stone was thrown into the Vitastā.

Parvagupta (A.D. 949-950).

Parvagupta, who was descended from a humble family of clerks, did not enjoy long the possession of the crown which he had attained with so much treachery. After oppressing the land by his rapacity he died of dropsy within a year and a half of his accession (A.D. 949-950).[58]

Kṣemagupta (A.D. 950-958).

Kṣemagupta, his son and successor, was a youth grossly sensual and addicted to many vices. A court of depraved parasites encouraged him in his excesses.[59] The building of the temple of Kṣemagauriśvara in S'rīnagar, for the benefit of which he plundered the ancient Jayendravihāra, was the only signal act of his reign (A.D. 950-958).[60]

Insignificant as Kṣemagupta was as a ruler, he was yet destined to influence materially the history of Kaśmīr during the next centuries by his marriage with Diddā, the daughter of Siṁharāja, chief of *Lohara*. This territory which has left its name to the present valley of Loh'rin, comprised, as I have elsewhere proved at length, the mountain districts immediately adjoining Kaśmīr on the south-west and now belonging to the small hill state of Pūnch.[61] Kṣemagupta's union with Diddā brought Kaśmīr under the rule of the Lohara family, which continued to hold Kaśmīr as well as its own original home down to the times of Kalhaṇa and later.

Queen Diddā.

Diddā herself has played an interesting and important part in Kaśmīr history. She was from her mother's side a grand-daughter of King Bhīma S'āhi of Udabhāṇḍa, who is mentioned in Albērūnī's list of the 'Hindu Shāhiyas of Kābul' as the successor of Kamalū and who is also known to us from his coins.[62] From the noble stock of the S'āhis, her maternal relations, Diddā appears to have inherited also much of that political capacity and energy which enabled her to maintain herself as virtual ruler of Kaśmīr for close on half a century. Her power made itself felt already during the lifetime of Kṣemagupta, whose mind she is said to have wholly engrossed. We have documentary evidence of this exceptional position in the legend of Kṣemagupta's coins where the *Di* prefixed to the king's name is undoubtedly, as already recognized by General Cunningham, intended as an abbreviation for *Diddā*. The wholly unusual procedure of thus showing the queen's name may probably be held to account for the nickname *Diddākṣema* which, according to Kalhaṇa's statement, was borne by the king.[63] It may be taken also as an indication of the prominent position attained by the young queen that Bhīma S'āhi, her powerful grandfather, built already during

[55] vi. 90-107.
[56] vi. 108 sqq.
[57] vi. 115-129.
[58] vi. 130-148.
[59] vi. 151-170.
[60] vi. 171 sqq.
[61] Compare for Lohara and its history, Note *E*, iv. 177.
[62] See for references, note vi. 177-178.
[63] See vi 177 and note.

Kṣemagupta's lifetime the richly-endowed temple called Bhīmakeśava, the remains of which have been traced by me in a Muhammadan Ziārat, near Mārtaṇḍ.[64]

99. Kṣemagupta died in the year 958 of a violent fever contracted on the occasion of a jackal-hunt.[65] His son, ABHIMANYU II., who succeeded to the crown, was still a child, and Diddā as his guardian exercised herself all royal power. The early years of the queen's regency were full of troubles and risks. She first drove into exile the prime minister Phalguṇa, with whom she had been in enmity during Kṣemagupta's lifetime. When she endeavoured to rid herself in the same way of two grandees, Mahiman and Pāṭala, who on their mothers' side were descended from Parvagupta, they raised a dangerous rebellion. Diddā could avert defeat only by bribing the rebels' chief supporters.[66] Yaśodhara, who was one of them and to whom the queen had been obliged to give the chief command of the army, aroused her suspicion by the energy he displayed in a successful expedition against Thakkana, an otherwise unknown S'āhi chief.[67] When Diddā attempted to banish him, the former league rose once more in rebellion and besieged the queen in her palace. Saved by the opportune arrival of the faithful minister Naravāhana and other supporters, Diddā took terrible vengeance by mercilessly executing all captured rebels and exterminating their families.[68] ABHIMANYU II. (A.D. 958-972).

Naravāhana, who after this event became Diddā's chief councillor, did not long enjoy the confidence of the fickle queen. When her insults had driven this faithful adherent into suicide, there arose fresh troubles with restless Ḍāmaras, which obliged Diddā to recall Phalguna.[69] At that time (A.D. 972) Abhimanyu died, he was succeeded by his young son NANDIGUPTA.[70] Sorrow over the death of her son apparently softened for a time the heart of the queen-regent. Kalhaṇa dates from this period the foundation of various temples and other buildings which were intended to perpetuate her own memory and that of her family. One of these structures, the Diddāmaṭha, has given its name to the Did'mar quarter of modern S'rīnagar.[71] NANDIGUPTA (A.D. 972-973).

The chief feature in Diddā's character, however, the lust for power, had suffered no change. One year after her son's death she destroyed Nandigupta "by witchcraft." In the same way she disposed in the year 975 of TRIBHUVANA[GUPTA], another grandson who succeeded.[72] There remained now only one more of her male issue, the child BHĪMAGUPTA. During the five years of his nominal reign Phalguṇa died, and the queen threw off all restraint in her personal conduct. Tuṅga, a Khaśa from the hills of Parnotsa or Prūnts, who had begun life as a herdsman of buffaloes and had found his way into Kaśmīr as a letter-carrier, gained the queen's favour and openly became her paramour.[73] The rapid rise of this low-born but valiant hill-man typically illustrates the history of many a foreign adventurer with whose persons and fortunes we become acquainted in the subsequent narrative. TRIBHUVANA (A.D. 973-975). BHĪMAGUPTA (A.D. 975-980/1)

Assured of her safety by Tuṅga's support, Diddā at last in the year 980/1 had Bhīmagupta put to death by torture, and then ascended the throne in her own DIDDĀ (A.D. 980/1-1003).

[64] Compare vi. 178 and note.
[65] vi. 187.
[66] vi. 211 sqq.
[67] vi. 228 sqq.
[68] vi. 238-256.
[69] vi. 260-286.
[70] vi. 289 sqq.
[71] vi. 299 sqq. and note vi. 300.
[72] vi. 311 sq.
[73] vi. 318 sqq.

name.[74] During the reign of twenty-three years which followed, Tuṅga, who had been made prime minister, maintained an undisputed predominance. Discontented factions repeatedly endeavoured to oust Tuṅga by stirring up rebellion and inducing the Brahmans to hold solemn fasts (*prāyopaveśa*) against him. But Diddā's cunning diplomacy and bribes and Tuṅga's valour each time defeated these attempts.[75] Tuṅga found an opportunity to prove his valour also abroad in an expedition undertaken against Rājapurī, the modern Rajaurī. In consequence of Tuṅga's successful attack, Pṛthivīpāla, ruler of this territory which adjoins Kaśmīr from the south, was forced to pay tribute.[76]

The statesmanlike instinct and political ability which we must ascribe to Diddā in spite of all the defects of her character, are attested by the fact that she remained to the last in peaceful possession of the Kaśmīr throne, and was able to bequeath it to her family in undisputed succession. In order to assure the latter, she had taken care to select a capable successor from among her nephews, and had bestowed in her lifetime the rank of Yuvarāja on the young Saṃgrāmarāja, son of her brother Udayarāja, the ruler of Lohara.[77] Thus when the aged queen at last in the year 1003 departed from the scene of her struggles, the rule over Kaśmīr passed without any contest or convulsion to the new dynasty, the house of Lohara.

SECTION V.—THE FIRST LOHARA DYNASTY

SAṂGRĀMARĀJA (A.D. 1003-28)

100. SAṂGRĀMARĀJA (A.D. 1003-28) is shown by Kalhaṇa's narrative to have been a prudent but personally weak ruler. During the earlier part of his reign Tuṅga's power remained unchecked, notwithstanding a dangerous revolt which rival ministers had stirred up against him through the Brahmans and temple-Purohitas.[1] Growing age did not weaken Tuṅga's predominance, but made him apparently less careful in his administrative measures; the employment of rapacious assistants increased fiscal oppression, and thus added to his own unpopularity.[2]

The period covered by Saṃgrāmarāja's reign witnessed a great upheaval in the political conditions of Northern India, which was destined to fundamentally change the course of Indian history. I refer to the Muhammadan conquest under Maḥmūd of Ghazni. The great wave of invasion which swept across the Indus Valley and along the Panjāb plains in the early decades of the eleventh century did indeed stop short of the mountain-ramparts protecting Kaśmīr. The several expeditions which we know Maḥmūd to have led in that direction never seriously threatened the independence of the Valley. Nevertheless, we find a distinct record of these events in Kalhaṇa's Chronicle, which must be appreciated all the more if we consider the narrow territorial limits to which his narrative in its truly historical portions otherwise confines itself.

[74] vi. 330 sqq.
[75] vi. 335 sqq.
[76] vi. 348 sqq.
[77] vi. 355 sqq.

[1] vii. 13 sqq.
[2] Compare vii. 38 sqq. for a curious account of Bhadreśvara, who rose from his hereditary occupation of market-gardener to the post of Tuṅga's chief revenue official.

Expedition in aid of Trilocanapāla S'āhi.

This interesting record is supplied by Kalhaṇa in his account of the expedition which was despatched under Tuṅga to the assistance of S'āhi Trilocanapāla.[3] The latter is well known to us from Albērūnī and the Muhammadan historians as the last independent prince of the 'Hindu Shāhiya dynasty,' who succumbed to Maḥmūd only after a long and heroic struggle. Maḥmūd himself has long ago been recognized in *Hammīra*, king of the 'Turuṣkas,' whom the Chronicler names as the formidable enemy of Trilocanapāla, the designation Hammīra being in fact nothing but an adaptation of the title Amīru-l-Mu'minīn of the Ghaznavide Sultāns.

Battle with Hammīra (Maḥmūd of Ghazni).

Kalhaṇa gives us a vivid description of the overbearing assurance with which Tuṅga led the large Kaśmīrian force sent to the S'āhi's support. Neglecting the cautious advice and warning of Trilocanapāla, who had grown experienced in the warfare with the 'Turuṣkas,' he refused to occupy the safe defensive position assigned to him. Crossing the Tauṣī river, Tuṅga attacked and defeated a detachment of the enemy sent on a reconnaissance. Elated by this easy success, Tuṅga found himself next morning attacked by the full force of Hammīra. The Kaśmīrian troops fled at once from the field in utter confusion, the S'āhi's force, too, was defeated after some resistance. Trilocanapāla himself, who is warmly praised by Kalhaṇa for his great personal bravery, fought his way through the mass of his opponents. When he had left, the Turuṣkas overspread the country like clouds of locusts. The Chronicler mentions the heroic efforts which the brave S'āhi subsequently made to recover his lost kingdom. But he also shows us plainly that they proved of no avail to avert the complete downfall of that once powerful dynasty.

Destruction of S'āhi kingdom.

101. It is to be regretted that Kalhaṇa has failed to inform us of the year of Tuṅga's expedition, as this omission makes it difficult to indicate with absolute certainty the particular campaign of Maḥmūd to which the record of the Chronicle refers. The Muhammadan accounts we possess of Maḥmūd's later expeditions in the Panjāb show considerable discrepancies in regard to the dates and places of the actions fought, and are still in need of critical examination. But several indications point to Maḥmūd's campaign of the year 1013 as the most likely occasion when his forces met Kaśmīrian troops as auxiliaries of Trilocanapāla. The locality of Maḥmūd's decisive victory in this campaign was in one of the valleys leading towards Kaśmīr from the neighbourhood of the present Jehlam. This agrees well with the mention made in the Chronicle of the *Tauṣī*, as the river meant is probably the Tohī of Prūnts, flowing into the Vitastā near Jehlam.[4] Chiefs on the confines of Kaśmīr are distinctly mentioned by the Muhammadan sources as having made their submission to Maḥmūd after this battle It seems to have been the last occasion on which the brave S'āhi opposed the invader within the Panjāb. The Muhammadan historians, too, in full agreement with Kalhaṇa, refer to the heroic efforts which Trilocanapāla subsequently made to retrieve the fortunes of his house. But these struggles took place far away from the territories neighbouring on Kaśmīr, and in no way affected the decisive character of the battle referred to. We see thus that Kalhaṇa is quite on historical ground when dating the final downfall of the S'āhi dominion from the event he describes.

The rapid and complete destruction of the powerful S'āhi kingdom must have deeply impressed the mind of all contemporaries. We can still feel this distinctly in the pathetic lines which Kalhaṇa devotes to the memory of the vanished great-

[3] For a detailed analysis of Kalhaṇa's record and the historical data bearing on Trilocanapāla, see note vii. 47-69.

[4] See note vii. 53.

ness of the S'āhi dynasty.[5] They reproduce faithfully the very sentiments to which Alberūnī, a witness of those great events, has given expression in his closing words on the Hindu Shāhiyas.[6]

Mahmūd's expedition against Kaśmīr.

It is unfortunately only a glimpse that Kalhaṇa gives us here of the great historical drama which was played so close to the southern borders of Kaśmīr. After referring to the subsequent "descent of the Turuṣkas on the whole surface of the earth,"[7] he takes us back again to the narrow limits of his own Valley and the petty events of its royal court. Before we follow him there, it will be useful to point out that Kalhaṇa's narrative makes no reference to a subsequent expedition of Mahmūd which brought Muhammadan invasion to the very gate of Kaśmīr. In my note on the Castle of Lohara I have shown that this mountain stronghold, situated on the southern slopes of the central Pīr Pantsāl and not far from the Tōṣ'maidān Pass, is identical with 'the fort of Lōh-kōt' which brought Mahmūd's only serious attempt at the conquest of Kaśmīr to a standstill.[8] The Muhammadan Chroniclers give various dates (A.D. 1015 and 1021) for this unsuccessful expedition, but they agree in all main points regarding the event itself. The Sultān had advanced to the very confines of Kaśmīr when his progress in the mountains was barred by the fort of Lōh-kōt, which "was remarkable on account of its height and strength." The siege of this stronghold, at which Alberūnī too was present, proved fruitless. "After a while, when the snow began to fall and the season became intensely cold, and the enemy received reinforcements from Kaśmīr," the Sultān was obliged to abandon his design and to return to Ghaznī.[9]

Kalhaṇa's silence regarding this foreign attack, probably the most serious to which Kaśmīr was exposed from the south during the period comprised in the historical part of his narrative, is all the more curious, as Lohara, as the original home and safest retreat of the dynasty ruling in his own time, plays otherwise, as we shall see, an important part in his records. The observation must warn us that any negative argument drawn from Kalhaṇa's silence on one or the other point can have little or no value even where his relation of events is apparently full and detailed.

Tuṅga murdered.

102. Tuṅga after his defeat seems to have been less able to cope with the incessant intrigues directed against him. The king himself, though afraid of Tuṅga, gave them secret support until a favourable opportunity delivered the minister unprotected into the hands of his enemies. One day on entering the palace Tuṅga and his son were treacherously murdered while their few attendants basely abandoned them.[10] After Tuṅga's death a succession of low favourites rose to power and plundered the people until the weak S'aṃgrāmarāja died in the year 1028.[11]

Harirāja (A.D. 1028).

Harirāja, his son and immediate successor, who is said to have been a youth of good disposition, died after a reign of only twenty-two days.[12] S'rīlekhā, the licentious mother of Harirāja, to whom general report attributed the death of the young king, then endeavoured to secure the crown for herself. But her design was frustrated by the royal bodyguard, and her young son Ananta was raised to the throne. Vigrharāja, a brother of S'aṃgrāmarāja and ruler of Lohara, who had already

[5] vii. 66-69.
[6] *India*, ii. p. 13.
[7] vii 70.
[8] See Note *E*, iv 177, §§ 12, 13.
[9] See Elliot, *History of India*, ii. pp. 455 466 sq.
[10] vii. 79 sqq.
[11] vii. 100-127.
[12] vii. 131 sqq.

been intriguing in the latter's reign, made a brave attempt to oust Ananta, but was killed after reaching the capital.[13]

ANANTA (A.D. 1028-63).

During the early part of Ananta's reign (A.D. 1028-1063) princes of the S'āhi family like Rudrapāla and Diddāpāla, who had found a safe refuge in Kaśmīr, exercised great power in the land. Kalhaṇa illustrates the position of these royal refugees by indicating the great subsidies paid to them.[14] Rudrapāla had married a daughter of Inducandra, 'lord of Jālaṁdhara', who is in all probability identical with the Indracandra named in the genealogical list of the Katōch Rājās of Kāngra. Subsequently King Ananta was induced to marry Sūryamatī, a younger daughter of Inducandra.[15]

A dangerous rising of Ḍāmaras under the leadership of the rebel commander-in-chief Tribhuvana was successfully defeated after a bloody contest in which Ananta displayed great personal bravery.[16] Similarly the king, with the help of Rudrapāla S'āhi, succeeded in repelling an invasion of the Dard ruler Acalamaṅgala and certain Mleccha chiefs allied with him.[17] This victory is alluded to also by the poet Bilhaṇa, Ananta's contemporary. He designates the 'Mlecchas,' who in all probability were Muhammadan tribesmen from the Indus Valley, rightly enough as 'S'akas.'[18]

Predominance of Queen Sūryamatī.

When the S'āhi princes had died, Ananta came more and more under the influence of his able queen Sūryamatī, also known by the name Subhaṭā. Her piety found visible expression in numerous endowments and sacred buildings. Prominent among these was the shrine of Sadāśiva, into the neighbourhood of which, on the left river-bank, the royal couple subsequently transferred their residence.[19] The worthy example set by the queen, however, did not prevent Ananta from indulging in great extravagance, which again caused him to become heavily involved in debt with foreign traders. Of one of the latter, who for a time held the royal diadem and throne in pawn, Kalhaṇa tells us incidentally the interesting fact that he acted also as the Kaśmīr agent to King Bhoja of Mālava, so well known for his patronage of literature.[20] The anecdote related by Kalhaṇa of King Bhoja's special regard for the Kaśmīrian sacred spring of Kapaṭeśvara, the water of which had to be supplied to him regularly in distant Mālava, is probably based on historical fact. It shows that, notwithstanding the political isolation of Kaśmīr and the Muhammadan conquest of the regions to the south, regular intercourse and trade with the Hindu kingdoms of India proper must have continued. We find the same conclusion indicated also by other incidental references in the last two books.[21]

From these financial troubles the king was freed only when Queen Sūryamatī assumed full charge of the royal affairs. Haladhara, a servant of humble origin, who by her favour rose to be prime minister, proved a strong administrator, and secured for a time prosperity and peace for the land.[22] King Ananta seems to have attempted to utilize these favourable conditions in order to assert Kaśmīr

Ananta's expeditions abroad.

[13] vii. 139 sqq.
[14] vii. 144 sqq.
[15] See note vii. 155 sqq.
[16] vii. 154 sqq.
[17] vii. 167 sqq.
[18] See *Vikram.* xviii. 34.
[19] Regarding the position of the royal palace after this transfer, compare note vii. 186-187.
[20] See vii. 190-193 and note.
[21] Compare the references to pilgrimage tours abroad, vii. 485, 897, 1007 sq., viii. 1800, 1626, 2214; also Maṅkha's mention of foreign ambassadors at the Kaśmīr court, below § 114.
[22] vii. 208 sqq.

authority in the neighbouring hill tracts. Bilhaṇa in his Vikramāṅkadevacarita speaks of Ananta's supremacy having been acknowledged in Campā, Darvābhisāra, and adjacent territories. But Kalhaṇa records only a victory over King Sāla of Campā, who is known to us by his full name of Sālavāhana from a Cambā copper plate grant.[23] Of Ananta's expeditions against the hill-states of Uraśā and Vallāpura, we are distinctly told that they ended in failure and ignominious retreat.[24]

Ananta's abdication in favour of Kalaśa (A.D. 1063-89).

103. Ananta's weakness of character made it possible for Queen Sūryamatī to obtain in the year 1063 his formal abdication in favour of his son Kalaśa.[25] Her object apparently was to put the rule of the land into stronger hands and thus to safeguard the interests of her family. Very soon after the coronation of Kalaśa the royal couple came to regret their step, and Ananta resumed charge of the regal functions, while his son's title of king was purely nominal. About this time Ananta's cousin Kṣitirāja, who ruled at Lohara, resigned worldly affairs, and being in enmity with his own son, bestowed the rule over Lohara upon Utkarṣa, the second eldest son of Kalaśa.[26] This arrangement was destined to lead subsequently, on Utkarṣa's succession in Kaśmīr, to the political union of the two territories.

Conflict between Ananta and Kalaśa (A.D. 1076)

For a number of years after Kalaśa's coronation, the arrangement which deprived him of all real power seems to have continued without difficulty. Strongly sensual by nature, the youthful Kalaśa then came under the influence of depraved companions and advisers, whose doings are painted by Kalhaṇa in truly Rabelaisian colours, and grew more and more licentious.[27] A *fracas*, in which the dissolute prince suffered open disgrace, led ultimately to a rupture between him and his parents (A.D. 1076). Instead of imprisoning Kalaśa as he intended, the weak Ananta allowed himself to be induced by his wife, who was blindly attached to her unworthy son, to retire from the capital to the sacred town of Vijayeśvara (Vij*brōr).[28] There he removed the royal treasure, and was followed also by most of the troops and nobles. Kalaśa, though at first much embarrassed by the want of stores and money, gradually availed himself of the free field left to him by this ill-advised step, and raised forces to attack his father. Sūryamatī's intervention prevented for a time the outbreak of open hostilities, but at the same time kept Ananta from forcibly deposing Kalaśa while he had still the power. He contented himself with calling to Vijayeśvara Harṣa, Kalaśa's eldest son, whom he desired to place on the throne.[29]

After a brief reconciliation Kalaśa resumed his hostile attitude, and by laying fire to the town of Vijayeśvara, deprived his parents of the great treasures and stores guarded there, which had so far helped them to retain the allegiance of their troops and court-followers.[30] The references which Kalhaṇa makes to the quantity of gold at the disposal of Ananta both before and after the burning of Vijayeśvara are of interest in view of what we know otherwise of the modest economic conditions of old Kaśmīr.[31] After this event Ananta's position became more and more untenable, and when Kalaśa insisted on sending him into exile, the old king, after a violent altercation with his wife, committed suicide in his sixty-first year (A.D. 1081).[32]

Ananta's suicide (A.D. 1081).

[23] See note vii. 218.
[24] vii. 219 sqq.
[25] vii. 233.
[26] vii. 256 sqq.
[27] vii. 273 sqq.
[28] vii. 354 sqq.
[29] vii. 390 sqq.
[30] vii. 408 sqq.
[31] See vii. 407, 414 sqq.; also Note *H* (iv. 495), §§ 33, 34.
[32] vii. 445 sqq.

Kalhaṇa describes touchingly the funeral of Ananta, at which Queen Sūryamatī atoned for the baneful results of her influence by her noble death as a Satī.[33] The death of his parents and the acquisition of full power brought about a change for the better in Kalaśa's character and conduct. After effecting a solemn reconciliation with young Harṣa, the king set about to relieve his financial straits by careful administration.[34] He was thus able in time to make some rich endowments.[35] An expedition sent in support of Saṁgrāmapāla, the rightful chief of Rājapurī, enabled Kalaśa to assert the old Kaśmīr suzerainty over that territory.[36] Assisted by capable ministers like Vāmana and the brave Kandarpa, the 'lord of the Gate' or commander of the frontier defences, Kalaśa gradually succeeded in consolidating his kingdom and making his influence felt among the surrounding small hill-states. This success of Kalaśa's foreign policy received a striking illustration in the winter of the year 1087-8, when the rulers of eight hill territories around Kaśmīr, from Uraśā in the west to Kāṣṭhavāṭa in the east, assembled at his capital.[37] Among them was Āsaṭa, the chief of Campā, whose name is found in inscriptional records as well as in the genealogical list of the Cambā Rājās.

Assembly of hill-chiefs (A.D. 1087-8).

Conspiracy of Harṣa.

The last years of Kalaśa's life were embittered by disunion and suspicion between himself and his son Harsa. The youthful prince, gifted by nature and inclined towards extravagance, felt annoyed by the scanty regard and still scantier allowances which his father bestowed upon him. Evil-minded parasites took advantage of Harsa's disposition and implicated him in a conspiracy to murder his father.[38] This was betrayed to Kalaśa, who, after vainly endeavouring to obtain from his son a repudiation of the plot, ordered his arrest. This was effected towards the close of A.D. 1088, after Harṣa had been in serious danger of losing his life at the hands of his enraged fellow-conspirators.[39] Exasperated by Harṣa's conduct, Kalaśa took again to the licentious life of his youthful days and accelerated his death by fresh excesses. He spared Harsa's life, notwithstanding the intrigues which some of his court carried on against it, but decided to deprive him of the succession. For this purpose he had Utkarṣa, his younger son, brought from Lohara in order to have him installed as ruler of Kaśmīr.[40] At the approach of death Kalaśa set out in great torments to the famous temple of Mārtāṇḍa, where he died, after vainly endeavouring to see once more the imprisoned Harṣa (A.D. 1089, Mārgaśīrṣa).[41]

Utkarṣa (A.D. 1089).

104. Utkarṣa, after being crowned, kept Harsa imprisoned and refused to grant him permission to retire abroad.[42] Harṣa, justly apprehensive of his personal safety, managed from prison to secure an ally in his younger half-brother Vijayamalla, who felt dissatisfied with Utkarsa's treatment of himself. Utkarṣa very soon alienated the sympathies of the court and the people by his injudicious and miserly conduct. Thus encouraged, Vijayamalla raised an open rebellion and attacked the king in the capital.[43] The cowardly Utkarṣa, in his straits, thought of having Harsa killed in his prison, but owing to Harṣa's presence of mind and his own vacillation, the murderous attempt failed. Kalhaṇa describes at great length

[33] vii. 461-485.
[34] vii 506 sqq
[35] vii. 524 sqq.
[36] vii. 583.
[37] vii. 587 sqq
[38] vii. 617 sqq.
[39] vii. 653 sqq.
[40] 703 sqq.
[41] 718 sqq.
[42] 737 sqq
[43] vii. 762 sqq.

how Harṣa managed to win over his guards by his adroit diplomacy, and was then set free in order to secure a compromise with Vijayamalla. Ultimately Harṣa availed himself of the confusion in the palace to seize the throne, which he could claim by right.[44] Utkarṣa, whose reign had lasted only for twenty-two days, was made a captive in the palace, and in his disgrace committed suicide by cutting his arteries. He had only reached the age of twenty-four years.[45]

Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101).

King Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101), who young as he was had attained the royal power after experiencing so many changes of fortune, is undoubtedly the most striking figure among the later Hindu rulers of Kaśmīr. His many and varied attainments and the strange contrasts in his character must have greatly exercised the mind of his contemporaries. We see these impressions duly reflected in the elaborate description which Kalhaṇa gives us of Harṣa's character, and which was no doubt based on first-hand information, such as that given by his own father Caṇpaka.[46] Kalhaṇa pictures to us King Harṣa as a youth of powerful frame and great personal beauty, courageous and fond of display. He was well versed in various sciences and a lover of music and arts. The songs which he composed were still heard with delight in Kalhaṇa's days.[47] The Chronicler in an eloquent passage emphasizes the strongly contrasting qualities of Harṣa's mind and the equally strong contrasts in his actions.[48] Cruelty and kindheartedness, liberality and greed, violent selfwilledness and reckless supineness, cunning and want of thought—these and other apparently irreconcilable features in turn display themselves in Harṣa's chequered life. Kalhaṇa has hit the keynote in Harṣa's character when he insists on the excessiveness with which all these qualities asserted themselves. A modern psychologist could easily gather from Kalhaṇa's account of Harṣa's character and reign the unmistakable indications of an unsound condition of mind, which towards the close of the king's life manifested itself in a kind of *dementia imperatoria*.

Harṣa's character.

Harṣa's early rule.

At the commencement of his rule Harṣa showed wise forbearance in retaining many of his father's officials and trusted servants, notwithstanding their former conduct towards himself.[49] It was probably due to this prudent policy that when his brother Vijayamalla became disaffected and conspired against him, no dangerous rising followed. Vijayamalla had to seek refuge across the mountains in Dard territory, where he was soon after killed by an avalanche.[50] This event seems to have consolidated Harṣa's position, and Kalhaṇa gives us a glowing account of the splendour of the Kaśmīr court during the period immediately following.[51] Harṣa introduced into the country more elaborate fashions in dress and ornaments —perhaps an indication of Western, i.e. Muhammadan influence,—and made his courtiers imitate his own taste for extravagance in personal attire. His munificence towards men of learning and poets is said to have made even Bilhaṇa, the well-known court poet of the Cālukya king Parmāḍi, regret that he had left Kaśmīr, his native land, during the reign of Kalaśa.[52] Kalhaṇa's reference to the Dekhan fashions which Harṣa copied in his amusements and also in his coinage is curiously corroborated by some extant gold coins of Harṣa, which in their type unmistakably imitate the contemporary coinage of Karṇāṭa.[53] The description

[44] vii. 776 sqq.
[45] vii. 861.
[46] See above, § 24.
[47] vii. 941 sqq.
[48] vii. 869 sqq.
[49] vii. 886 sqq.
[50] vii. 899 sqq.
[51] vii 919 sqq.
[52] See vii. 935-937 and note.
[53] See note vii. 926.

which Kalhaṇa gives of Harsa's court assemblies and their magnificence, is conventional in many points.[54] But we may all the same conclude from it and other indications like the issue of gold and silver coins, that Kaśmīr did indeed, during the early part of his reign, enjoy a period of unusual affluence and prosperity.

Expedition against Rājapurī.

105. It was about this period that Harsa succeeded also in asserting his authority outside Kaśmīr. From the mountains of the Lohara territory which since Utkarsa had become attached to Kaśmīr by a kind of 'personal union,' Harsa sent Kandarpa, the 'lord of the Gate,' on an expedition against Saṁgrāmapāla, the chief of Rājapurī.[55] Kandarpa, after a severe contest in which two hundred Kaśmīrians are said to have fallen, carried the town of Rājapurī and forced its lord to pay tribute. But the evil counsellors, with whom Harṣa had already begun to surround himself, were not long in securing the disgrace and banishment of this valiant and faithful adherent.

Conspiracies against Harṣa.

Treachery soon began to stir among those nearest to the throne. Jayarāja, a half-brother of Harsa, from a concubine of Kalaśa, engaged in a dangerous conspiracy. Harṣa, however, proved to be on his guard on this occasion. With Macchiavellian skill he made Jayarāja surrender to Dhammaṭa, a relative from another branch of the Lohara family, who had himself been concerned in the conspiracy. After cruelly executing Jayarāja in the year 1095, he then turned upon Dhammata and had him, as well as his four brave sons, killed by the sword and the hangman.[56] Similarly he put out of the way other near relatives, though they had given no cause for suspicion.

Harṣa's temple-spoliation.

Extravagant expenditure on the troops and senseless indulgence in costly pleasures gradually involved Harsa in grave financial troubles. From these he endeavoured to free himself by ruthless spoliation of sacred shrines. Kalhaṇa relates with some humour how the incidental discovery of the treasures hoarded at the temple of King Bhīma S'āhi had turned the king's attention to this method of replenishing his exchequer.[57] After the temple treasuries had been ransacked, Harsa proceeded to the still more revolutionary measure of confiscating divine images in order to possess himself of the valuable metal of which they were made.[58] Kalhaṇa records the strange fact that as a preliminary step the sacred images were systematically defiled through outcast mendicants. As Kalhaṇa is particular to specify the few metal statues of gods throughout Kaśmīr which escaped Harṣa's clutches, we cannot doubt the extent and thoroughness of Harṣa's iconoclasm. Can the latter have been instigated or encouraged somehow by the steady advance of Muhammadanism in the neighbouring territories? Kalhaṇa, when relating these shameful confiscations, gives to Harṣa the epithet "Turuṣka," i.e. Muhammadan, and later on makes a reference to Turuṣka captains being employed in his army and enjoying his favour [59]

Misrule of Harṣa.

In addition to these violent measures Harṣa found himself reduced to the necessity of imposing new and oppressive imposts. As a characteristic feature Kalhaṇa tells us that even night-soil became the object of special taxation.[60] While this misgovernment spread discontent and misery through the land, Harṣa abandoned himself more and more to excesses and follies of all kinds. Extravagant

[54] vii. 943 sqq.
[55] vii. 967 sqq.
[56] vii. 1013-67.
[57] vii. 1081 sqq.
[58] vii. 1091 sqq.
[59] See notes vii. 1095, 1149.
[60] vii. 1107.

acts recorded by Kalhaṇa show the ascendency gained over him by shameless parasites and impostors, and furnish unmistakable proof of the king's incipient insanity.[61] Equally characteristic for the latter are, perhaps, the numerous acts of incest which he committed with his own sisters and his father's widows.[62]

Disastrous expeditions.

Some enterprises which Harsa undertook in the midst of his dissipations, only served to show the progressive decay of his energy. An attempt to invade Rājapurī, personally led by Harṣa, ended with an ignominious retreat before the hill-fort of Pṛthvīgiri, the king's want of firmness adding as much to the failure as the treason of his trusted minister Sunna.[63] A subsequent expedition, undertaken for the capture of the fort of Dugdhaghāta which guarded the pass leading into the Dard territory of the Kiṣangaṅgā Valley (the present Dudᵊkhut), ended even more disastrously. An early fall of snow induced the royal forces to beat a precipitate retreat, which under the attack of the Dards ended in a complete rout.[64] It was on this occasion that Uccala and Sussala, the sons of Malla, who were descended from a side branch of the Lohara dynasty and destined to succeed Harsa, first brought themselves to notice by their personal bravery

Internal troubles

106. The year 1099 which followed this defeat, brought new calamities upon the land. While a plague was raging and robbers everywhere infesting the country, there occurred a disastrous flood which brought on a famine and universal distress.[65] The fiscal exactions of the king, however, continued unabated. It was probably with a view to stifle the unrest created by these oppressions that Harsa then proceeded to a relentless persecution of the Ḍāmaras or feudal landholders throughout the Valley, most of whom at the time seem to have belonged to the tribal division of the Lavanyas (preserved in the modern 'Krām' *Lūn*').[66] Kalhana records revolting details of the cruelties perpetrated under the king's orders, of arches and garlands made of Ḍāmara heads, etc

Flight of Uccala and Sussala.

The Ḍāmaras of the Kramarājya division had united and were offering effective resistance to their persecutors, when the king's suspicion was aroused against Uccala and Sussala as possible claimants of the crown. Learning that their murder was planned, the two brothers fled at night from S'rīnagar in the autumn of 1100 and escaped with the help of Ḍāmaras.[67] Uccala, the elder, found a refuge with Saṁgrāmapāla in Rājapurī, while Sussala betook himself to Kalha, the chief of the neighbouring hill-tract of Kālīñjara. Harsa's futile attempts to possess himself of the person of Uccala only helped to increase the latter's importance The rebellious Ḍāmaras now opened negotiations with Uccala in order to induce him to claim the crown, and Uccala readily responded His claims were based on genealogical facts, which Kalhaṇa has taken care to explain to us fully, and which will be found illustrated by the pedigree of the Lohara family shown in Appendix II.[68] We see from it that Uccala was through Jassarāja, Guṅga, and Malla, the fourth direct descendant from Kāntirāja, the brother of Diddā and uncle of King Saṁgrāmarāja of Kaśmīr

Irruption of Uccala (A.D. 1101).

Uccala, after having been joined by a small number of exiled Ḍāmaras, boldly set out for Kaśmīr, and shook off the troops with which the scheming Saṁgrāmapāla

[61] vii. 1115-38 Harṣa's pretended love for Candalā, the queen of Parmāḍi of Karṇāṭa, and his insane boasts regarding her may be mentioned as particularly striking illustrations.

[62] vii. 1147 sq

[63] vii. 1152 sqq

[64] vii. 1171 sqq.

[65] vii. 1216 sqq.

[66] vii 1227 sqq.; compare note vii 1171.

[67] vii. 1248 sqq.

[68] vii 1282 sqq.

had endeavoured to prevent his escape. Meeting with no resistance at Lohara, Uccala marched across the mountains in the month of Vaiśākha, A.D. 1101, and owing to his unexpected appearance at a season when the Tōṣ̄maidān route is ordinarily still closed by snow, easily surprised and captured the Kaśmīrian frontier guard.[69] Ḍāmaras and disaffected hill-men joined the pretender from all sides, and aided by the delay and indecision of the king's officers he succeeded in effecting his union with the assembled Ḍāmara force in Kramarājya. Uccala then successfully led his host against the governor Ānanda, who commanded in that tract and occupied a strong position on the plateau of Parihāsapura. The king, roused to activity by the near approach of danger, then attacked the pretender and obtained a victory. Uccala escaped with difficulty, while many of his followers found their death before and within the temple quadrangles of Parihāsapura.[70]

While Uccala, left unpursued by Harṣa, was engaged in again collecting the Ḍāmaras of Kramarājya in the extreme north-west of the Valley, the king's power was seriously shaken in Maḍavarājya, the eastern portion of the Valley, by the attack of Sussala. Aided by Kalha, this prince successfully fought his way through the frontier guard-station of S'ūrapura (Hürpōr), on the Pīr Pantsāl route, and drove the royal forces before him in the direction of the capital.[71] Though subsequently checked by the brave Candrarāja, Harṣa's newly-appointed commander-in-chief, Sussala's diversion had the important result of enabling Uccala to resume the offensive. Avoiding the open plain, where the king's mounted troops could assert their superiority, the Ḍāmaras under Uccala marched across the mountains into the Sind Valley or Lahara. There they won a complete victory over the king's forces, which opened to them the road to the capital; while marching upon it Uccala received the Abhiṣeka from the Brahmans of Hiraṇyapura, the present Ranyil.[72] **Attack of Sussala.**

107. While the rebel forces were thus drawing round S'rīnagar from the north, confusion and disaffection reigned in Harṣa's council. The ministers had no better advice to offer to the dispirited king than a speedy retreat to the mountain fastness of Lohara, the original home of his family. This advice the doomed king rejected in scorn, and subsequently even recalled his son Bhoja after he had already started for that safe refuge.[73] Open desertion to the pretender thinned the ranks of the troops, and treason became ripe also among the officials and royal attendants. In this critical situation the wrath of the deluded king turned upon the innocent Malla, the father of Uccala and Sussala, who, leading the life of a recluse, had peacefully remained in the city. Harṣa had him ruthlessly attacked and killed. Kalhaṇa gives a spirited account of how his widow Nandā, who had been watching from a high terrace the camp-fires of her sons gleaming far away in the north and south, burned herself after Malla's death, invoking their revenge upon the head of his murderer.[74] **Treason around Harṣa.**

The news of this crime, which took place on the 9th *vadi* of the Bhādrapada month, 1101, enraged the rebel princes and made them increase their efforts. Sussala, who was operating from the south-east, threw himself upon Vijayeśvara, and defeating the king's troops there under Candrarāja, forced the remainder to surrender. He then marched eagerly upon S'rīnagar, spurred on by the hope of securing the crown for himself. His attack, which was directed against the city **Harṣa attacked in S'rīnagar.**

[69] vii. 1290-1301.
[70] vii. 1302-39.
[71] vii. 1348 sqq.
[72] vii. 1359-85.
[73] vii. 1386-1458.
[74] vii. 1460-94.

from the south and on the left bank of the river, Bhoja, Harṣa's brave heir-apparent, managed to beat off.[75] But while he was still resting from the combat by his father's side, word came that Uccala had penetrated into the city from the north. The treachery of the town-prefect Nāga, who commanded there, had opened to the pretender the narrow passage which is left in the natural defences of the city on that side,[76] and soon the Ḍāmaras, led to the attack by the valiant Janakacandra of Lahara, set foot on the bridge leading over the river in front of the royal palace.

Burning of royal palace.

The king vainly attempted to stem the onslaught at the bridge-head. His fighting elephant was wounded, and turning back upon his own force caused a panic. Harṣa managed to retire across the bridge to the palace, but the fire which the Ḍāmaras laid to adjoining buildings, soon forced him to leave it with the mounted troops that remained around him.[77] Seventeen ladies of the royal household, among them the chief queen Vasantalekhā, who was a princess of the S'āhi house, burned themselves on a pavilion of the palace from which they had watched the approaching doom.[78] Then the palace was sacked and set on fire by plundering Ḍāmaras who were joined by the city-mob.

Desertion of Harṣa's followers.

The king was anxious to die fighting, but paralyzed by his misfortune could not nerve himself for a resolute step. As swayed by the conflicting counsels of his confidants he moved about helplessly, more and more of the remaining troops deserted. Others who were faithfully attached to him, Harṣa himself despatched to follow up his son Bhoja, who had previously fled with a few attendants. Among those sent on this futile errand was also the faithful Caṇpaka, Kalhaṇa's father, whose departure at this critical time the Chronicler has taken special care to explain to us.[79] Curiously enough Uccala, after seeing the palace burned, had retired again to the right river bank, and by this want of prompt resolve had left Harṣa another chance of escape. But the doomed king failed to make use of it. His soldiers dispersed, and after he had vainly endeavoured to find a refuge in the houses of various grandees, he found himself deserted by all but his devoted personal attendant Prayāga, and Mukta, a cook of one of Caṇpaka's followers.[80]

Harṣa's flight.

Kalhaṇa gives us a pathetic description of the unfortunate king's flight from the city by night and in pouring rain. Its interest is considerably increased by the evident fact that Kalhaṇa, as already explained above, had derived his detailed account of these closing scenes of Harṣa's life directly or indirectly from the only surviving witness, the menial of his father's household.[81] Neglecting in a fatal confusion of mind the last means of reaching a safe retreat, the king was ultimately driven to seek shelter in the miserable hut of a low-class mendicant in some locality near the right river bank below S'rīnagar.[82] While in hiding there, next day Harṣa suffered the fresh grief of hearing the news of the death of Bhoja, who had been treacherously murdered on his flight by his own servant. In utmost anguish and exhausted by hunger he then passed a second night in the mendicant's hut, constantly fearing betrayal.[83] He had not to wait long. Prayāga's efforts to obtain food in their desperate straits led to the king's refuge becoming known to a

[75] vii. 1498-1537.
[76] See *Memoir*, § 94
[77] vii. 1547-65.
[78] vii. 1570 sqq.
[79] vii 1586 sqq.
[80] vii. 1597-1623.
[81] See above, § 2
[82] The exact position of Harṣa's last refuge cannot be ascertained as the temple of Pratāpagauriśa, near which the mendicant's hut stood, is otherwise unknown
[83] vii 1650-77

supporter of Uccala. Soldiers were sent to capture or kill him. When Harṣa saw the hut surrounded, he made Mukta, the cook, leave him and prepared to sell his life dearly. Then, after a desperate resistance which redeemed the disgrace of his fall and flight, Harṣa together with Prayāga was slain fighting, on the 5th day of the bright half of Bhādrapada, A.D. 1101. He had reached the age of forty-two years.[84] His head was cut off and carried before Uccala, who had it burned, while his body, naked like that of a pauper, was cremated by a compassionate wood-dealer. Harṣa killed (A.D. 1101).

Kalhaṇa in closing his account of Harṣa's tragic end gives us the king's horoscope, and explains how it foretold that he would become a destroyer of his own family. But the birth-date of Harṣa, as recorded by Kalhaṇa himself, is not in agreement with the astrological data of the horoscope, and it is thus evident that the latter, as might *à priori* be suspected, was fabricated after the event.[85]

SECTION VI.—THE SECOND LOHARA DYNASTY.

108. Kalhaṇa's narrative of the half century of Kaśmīr history, which lies between the fall of Harṣa and the date of the composition of the Chronicle, fills not less than 3449 S'lokas and thus forms close on one-half of the whole work. We have already elsewhere endeavoured to explain the causes of this diffuseness, which neither the importance nor the intrinsic interest of the events described can justify from the point of view of the modern reader. The advantages of this lengthy treatment have also been already indicated. They lie chiefly in the authenticity and ample detail of the picture which Kalhaṇa has given us here of contemporary Kaśmīr in its political and social aspects. The object of our present abstract of the contents of Book viii. cannot be an analysis of these details, but only a synopsis of the leading events of the period and of those incidents which help us best to realize the conditions of contemporary life. We must endeavour to condense our abstract, as otherwise we should experience a difficulty in keeping sight of the main course of events and the true points of interest amidst the maze of court intrigues and petty affairs of state and war which Kalhaṇa details to us in such indiscriminate profusion.

In the race for Harṣa's crown, UCCALA, the elder of the two sons of Malla, had proved successful. But his position at the commencement of his reign was very precarious. The leaders of the Ḍāmaras, to whose rebellion he owed the throne, behaved as the true rulers in the land, and Sussala, his ambitious younger brother, was ready to rise against him. In order to secure safety from Sussala, he ceded to him the Lohara territory as an independent chiefship.[1] Against the great feudal landholders, Uccala protected himself by a dexterous use of Macchiavellian policy. By fomenting among them jealousy and mutual suspicion, he secured the murder or exile of their most influential leaders, without himself incurring the odium. Then, reassured in his own position, he openly turned upon the Ḍāmaras and forced them into disarmament and submission.[2] UCCALA (A.D. 1101-11).

[84] vii. 1717.

[85] Compare note vii. 1719-20.

[1] viii. 8 sqq.

[2] viii. 39 sqq.

Uccala's character.

Kalhaṇa's description shows Uccala, on the whole, to have been a capable and fairly energetic ruler. His considerate regard for the common people and his liberality are particularly praised.[3] It was probably with a view to securing the attachment of the lower classes as a safeguard against feudal turbulence and ambition, that he carried out a systematic persecution of officials (*kāyastha*), which Kalhaṇa describes with humour and evident relish.[4] Uccala's sense of justice and his skill in administering it are illustrated by an anecdote which, whether authentic or not, gives us a glimpse of the conditions affecting petty trade at the period.[5] Kalhaṇa does not hide from us the defects in Uccala's character, among which jealousy of personal merits in others and harshness of temper and speech seem to have been prominent.[6] The pleasure he took in forcing those who excited his jealousy into bloody combats with each other, was due as much to innate cruelty as to cunning policy.

Rise of pretenders.

Not much time passed before Uccala's throne was threatened by an invasion of Sussala, who swept down from the mountains of Lohara to oust his brother. But Uccala was on the alert, and after a short campaign Sussala was driven to take refuge in Dard territory from where he regained his own hills with difficulty.[7] The attempts of other pretenders proved even more futile. But, on the other hand, there grew up abroad a dangerous claimant to the crown in the person of Bhikṣācara, the young son of Bhoja and a grandson of Harṣa. Uccala had spared the child at the time of his usurpation, and had him brought up at his own court. Subsequently, when the boy excited his suspicion, he endeavoured to have him put out of the way. But Bhikṣācara was saved by a relative of his family and taken to the court of Naravarman, of Mālava, who gave him shelter. It is of interest to note that Naravarman, one of the later Paramāra princes, is shown by inscriptional record to have ruled Mālava in A.D. 1104/5.[8] The escape of Bhikṣācara is placed by Kalhaṇa about the same time, when Sussala had a son born, Jayasiṁha, the future king (A.D. 1105/6).[9]

Conspiracy against Uccala.

The birth of Jayasiṁha is said to have brought about a reconciliation between the two brothers. But while peace was thus secured to the land a conspiracy developed which was destined to bring Uccala's reign to a violent close. It was started by the city-prefect Chuḍḍa and his brothers, who, though born in humble circumstances, were ambitious enough to aspire to royal power. Their pretensions were based on their alleged descent from Kāmadeva, the grandfather of King Yaśaskara.[10] The conspirators secured the adherence of several high officials whom Uccala had dismissed and otherwise slighted, and laid a plot for the king's life which at last proved successful. They attacked the king at night in the palace, as unarmed and attended only by a few followers he was proceeding to the seraglio. Uccala fought with desperate bravery, but was soon overpowered by his numerous assailants and cruelly murdered (December 8th, A.D. 1111).[11]

Raḍḍa-S'aṅkhārāja, king for one night (A.D. 1111).

109. Raḍḍa, a brother of Chuḍḍa, seated himself the same night on the blood-stained throne, assuming the name of S'aṅkharāja, but held it only till the following morning.[12] Kalhaṇa's narrative, after relating Uccala's murder, shows a lacuna which does not allow us to follow exactly what happened immediately after

[3] viii 46 sqq.
[4] viii. 85 sqq.
[5] viii. 123-158.
[6] viii 162 sqq.
[7] viii. 191-208
[8] See viii. 255 sqq., and note viii 228.
[9] viii. 238.
[10] viii. 256 sqq
[11] viii. 303 sqq.
[12] viii. 342, 356.

the murder. We see, however, that Raḍḍa's and his fellow-conspirators' overthrow was effected by Gargacandra, the leading Ḍāmara of the Lahara district, who under the special favour of Uccala had gained great power.[13] Gargacandra after a short struggle overpowered the traitors and avenged his master's death in the blood of Raḍḍa and his chief followers.

As soon as Gargacandra had arranged for the burning of Uccala's queens he looked about for a successor to the crown. Finding no one fit to act as regent for Uccala's infant-son, he then quickly had SALHAṆA, a half-brother of Uccala, crowned as king.[14] Sussala, who had received news of his brother's murder, one day and a half after the occurrence, had lost no time in starting for Kaśmīr to assert his claim. He was still on the march when Gargacandra's messenger met him with the report of the subsequent events. Undismayed Sussala pushed forward, but found himself at Huṣkapura opposed by Gargacandra's troops. The small force with which Sussala had undertaken his adventurous march, proved unequal to the contest, and Sussala had to flee. He escaped with difficulty down the Vitastā Valley, and reaching the Kaśmīr frontier at Vīrānaka, regained Lohara by difficult marches across the snow-covered mountains.[15] SALHAṆA (A.D. 1111-12).

Salhaṇa, indolent and helpless, proved a mere puppet by the side of Gargacandra, 'the king-maker,' who was the true power in the land. While anarchy reigned throughout the country, Salhana, with his brother Loṭhana, indulged in low pleasures at the capital.[16] Rival grandees, with the king's connivance, openly attacked Gargacandra there, but failed to destroy his predominance. Retiring to the Sind Valley, the seat of his power, the Ḍāmara leader then opened negotiations with Sussala.[17] The latter did not fail to seize the favourable moment. He entered the Valley through Varāhamūla, and was soon joined by the troops which Salhaṇa had sent against him. After accepting two daughters of Gargacandra as brides for himself and his son Jayasiṁha, Sussala occupied the capital and proceeded to besiege Salhana in the palace. After a day passed in apprehension of treachery on the part of Gargacandra, some resolute followers of Sussala at last broke into the barricaded palace and made Salhaṇa prisoner (Vaiśākha, A.D. 1112). His reign had lasted not fully four months.[18]

SUSSALA's character is described by Kalhaṇa as resembling that of Uccala in many points.[19] But his long fruitless struggles seem to have added to his natural harshness and to have developed a leaning towards cruelty, which the Chronicler does not attempt to palliate. The end of his brother was a warning example and fully justified the suspicion with which Sussala surrounded himself. But this, as well as another safeguard he adopted—the hoarding of treasures in the family-stronghold, Lohara—naturally impaired his popularity. His rule was one long succession of internal troubles, caused by rebellions of powerful Ḍāmaras whom Sussala in vain endeavoured to subdue completely. SUSSALA (A.D. 1112-20)

Within one month of his entry into S'rīnagar Sussala had to face a dangerous rising of Gargacandra and his influential relatives who owned large estates in districts outside Lahara. The king had to carry Gargacandra's fortified seats in regular sieges before he could force this great feudal lord into submission.[20] Safe

[13] viii 43 sq.
[14] viii. 371 sqq.
[15] viii. 379-411; for *Vīrānaka*, see note v. 214.
[16] viii. 415 sqq.
[17] viii. 427 sqq.
[18] viii. 450-480.
[19] viii. 482 sqq.
[20] viii. 502 sqq.

from Gargacandra's side, he was then able to proceed to the Lohara castle, where he imprisoned Salhaṇa and Loṭhana, and renewed his alliance with the chiefs of the neighbouring hill-tracts. Sahasramaṅgala and other nobles whom Sussala had exiled, then attempted his overthrow by incursions from the Cināb Valley.[21] But their efforts soon lost importance when a serious pretender appeared on the scene in the person of Bhikṣācara, Harṣa's grandson. The young prince, whose escape to the court of Naravarman of Mālava has already been mentioned, fell in at Kurukṣetra (Thānēśvar) with a party of hill-chiefs from Campā, Vallāpura, and the adjacent valleys, who were on a pilgrimage to that Tīrtha.[22] The chiefs espoused the cause of the youthful claimant of the Kaśmīr throne, and formed marriage alliances with him. But the invasion they planned into Kaśmīr was frustrated by internal feuds, and Bhikṣācara for a time had to abandon his ambitious aim.[23]

110. Sussala seems to have utilized the short interval of comparative rest to increase his resources by a more exacting revenue administration. For this purpose he raised the Kāyastha Gauraka to the prime ministership, and allowed a free hand to his class-fellows whose oppression benefited his treasury, but also fostered discontent.[24] About the year 1117 Sussala felt himself strong enough to curb the power of Gargacandra, against whom his suspicion had been aroused by intrigues. For this purpose he raised a rival in Mallakoṣṭha, a Ḍāmara of Lahara, who was an enemy of Gargacandra. After several encounters the latter was brought to bay high up in the Sind Valley and forced to surrender.[25] When some months later his position in Lahara had become untenable owing to the aggrandizement of his rival Mallakoṣṭha, Gargacandra repaired to the royal court. Sussala then took an early opportunity of imprisoning him together with his three sons, his own brothers-in-law, and finally had them all strangled (A.D. 1118).[26]

Operations against Gargacandra

In the same year Sussala led an expedition against Somapāla, chief of Rājapurī, who had invited the pretender Bhikṣācara to his court. Though successful in the attack on Rājapurī, Sussala failed to establish there Nāgapāla, Somapāla's brother and rival, and after an occupation of seven months was obliged to retire to Kaśmīr in the spring A.D. 1119.[27] The discontent created by ill-advised measures of administration and oppressive imposts first broke out into open rebellion within the Lahara district. The imprisonment of prominent Ḍāmaras who happened to be in Sussala's power, failed to allay the general unrest. Pṛthvihara, a valiant Ḍāmara, formed a league of territorial lords in the eastern part of the Valley, and by the spring of the year 1120 the rising of the Ḍāmaras was general.[28] While the Brahmans, exasperated by these troubles, vainly held their solemn fasts, Sussala's troops suffered repeated defeats at the hands of the rebels. When their attacks threatened the capital, the enraged Sussala had the Ḍāmaras whom he held as hostages executed with provoking cruelty.[29] Mallakoṣṭha then brought Bhikṣācara, who had approached from the Cināb Valley, into Kaśmīr, and thus gave the revolt unity and a well-defined object. Sussala's injudicious conduct disheartened his officers and troops, while the populace of the capital, whose fickleness and credulity Kalhaṇa describes with much humour, was clamouring for the advent of the pretender.[30]

Rising of Ḍāmaras, A.D. 1120.

[21] viii. 584 sq.
[22] viii. 587 sqq.
[23] viii. 549 sqq.
[24] viii. 560 sqq.
[25] viii. 581-601.
[26] viii. 605 sqq.
[27] viii. 621 sqq.
[28] viii. 661.
[29] viii. 676 sqq.
[30] viii. 697-711.

Sussala besieged in S'rinagar.

A fresh victory of Pṛthvīhara induced Sussala prudently to send away his family to the safe retreat of the Lohara castle. In the month of S'rāvaṇa Bhikṣācara joined Mallakoṣṭha in the Sind Valley, and soon after the ring of the rebel forces closed around S'rīnagar.[31] During the intermittent siege which followed, Sussala defended the city with valour, and the Ḍāmaras, notwithstanding isolated successes in the environs, failed to penetrate the defences of the capital. In one engagement the loss of the rebels is put at two hundred and fifty men,[32] which leads us to suppose that the fighting must have been serious notwithstanding the long-protracted crisis. Inside the city Sussala had to contend with Brahman assemblies which, by holding solemn fasts, endeavoured to assume the direction of affairs. Treachery, too, was ripe among the troops and their leaders, and desertions to the rebels were of daily occurrence.[33] Dissensions among the latter delayed the catastrophe; but ultimately an émeute of soldiers in the city itself forced Sussala to look to his personal safety. On the 6th *vadi* of Mārgaśiras, 1120, Sussala marched out of S'rīnagar followed by some faithful troops, and after bribing dangerous opponents on the road to gain a free passage, ultimately reached Lohara with a few attendants.[34] On Sussala's departure the officials and troops in S'rīnagar made common cause with the Ḍāmaras, and Bhikṣācara was in triumph installed as king.

Sussala retires to Lohara.

Bhikṣācara (A.D. 1120-21).

111. The restoration of Harṣa's lineage was destined to be of short duration. Bhikṣācara, inexperienced and sensual by nature, was too busily engaged in tasting the pleasures of his newly-gained throne to concern himself with its safety.[35] The people throughout the land were at the mercy of Ḍāmara bands, who brooked no control, while rival ministers contended in the capital for what was left of regal power. The jealousy of the chief leaders of the Ḍāmaras, Pṛthvīhara and Mallakoṣṭha, led to violent quarrels which increased the confusion reigning in all affairs of state. Trade came to a stand-still, and money became scarce.[36] In the midst of such troubles Bimba, Bhikṣācara's prime minister, led an expedition against Lohara He secured the alliance of Somapāla, the chief of Rājapurī, and was joined also by a force of 'Turuṣkas,' i.e. Muhammadans, under Sallāra (Persian *Sālār*?) Vismaya.[37] In Vaiśākha, 1121, Sussala met the invaders at Parṇotsa, the present Pūnch, south of Lohara, and routed them completely Joined by the Kaśmīrian soldiers who quickly deserted Bimba, Sussala then started on the march to reconquer Kaśmīr. His return was eagerly awaited by the people, who had lost their illusions about Bhikṣācara's rule. Brahman assemblies, attended by numerous Purohita-corporations, held solemn fasts directed against him, and the helpless prince, who had no resources, failed to appease them.[38] On Sussala's approach many of Bhikṣācara's former partisans came over to him. Marching rapidly from Huṣkapura Sussala unexpectedly appeared before S'rīnagar, and unopposed by Bhikṣācara, once more entered his capital after an absence of little over six months (Jyaiṣṭha, 1121).[39]

Sussala restored (A.D. 1121-28).

The ousted pretender then retired under Pṛthvīhara's protection to the territory of Somapāla, where he established himself at Puṣyāṇanāḍa (the present Pusiāna), at the southern foot of the Pīr Pantsāl Pass. From this convenient place of refuge Pṛthvīhara made soon a fresh irruption, and securing the help of

[31] viii. 723 sqq.
[32] viii 749.
[33] viii. 768 sqq.
[34] viii. 807-827.
[35] viii. 849 sqq.
[36] viii. 862 sq.
[37] viii. 884 sqq.
[38] viii. 898 sqq.
[39] viii. 954.

some Ḍāmaras whom Sussala had failed to win over, attacked and defeated the royal troops at Vijayeśvara.[40] The victorious Ḍāmaras burned the famous temple of Cakradhara, in which many people of the neighbourhood had sought an asylum —an act of sacrilege which Kalhaṇa declares the turning point in Bhikṣācara's fortune.[41]

Contest with Bhikṣācara.

During the fights which followed this event, Bhikṣācara acquired military experience and displayed personal bravery. But the repeated successes he gained over Sussala's troops led to no decisive result, for his increasing energy and strength roused apprehensions among his Ḍāmara partisans, who thought their own interests best protected by a continuance of the civil war.[42] Sussala turned this disposition of the hostile Ḍāmaras to his own advantage, and ultimately forced Bhikṣācara to retreat again to Puṣyāṇanāḍa for the winter. Sussala used this respite to free himself by imprisonment or exile of those Kaśmīrian ministers and troop-leaders whose treachery he had learned to fear by experience, and replaced them by foreigners.[43] Early in 1122 Bhikṣācara returned with his adherents. Sussala, after gaining some advantages near Vijayeśvara, had to retire to S'rīnagar, and lost heavily on his passage of the Gambhīrā river.[44] A protracted siege of S'rīnagar followed during which Sussala could hold his own only owing to the devotion and courage of his Rājpūt condottieri, who seem to have come from the hill regions south of Kaśmīr and from the Panjāb.[45] A great assault which the Ḍāmaras made upon the city from the south-east, led to a defeat of Bhikṣācara on the Gopādri hill (Takht-i-Sulaimān).[46] It did not break the Ḍāmara power, but allowed Sussala once more to assume the offensive. The rest of the year passed over fights with varying fortune in different parts of the Valley.

Siege of S'rīnagar. Famine (A.D. 1123).

112. The following year, 1123, brought still greater sufferings for the exhausted country. In the spring the host of Ḍāmaras again gathered around S'rīnagar and a desperate siege ensued.[47] Its horrors were increased by a great conflagration, which laid the whole city in ashes.[48] Sussala, in this critical situation, succeeded in dispersing the besieging host, but found himself soon confronted by a fresh calamity. The fire had destroyed the great food-stores containing the rice required for the consumption of the city population.[49] As communication with the villages was blocked by the Ḍāmaras, who also seized the new produce, the capital underwent a terrible famine which cost many lives.

Sussala, disheartened by so many calamities and the death of his favourite queen Meghamañjarī which occurred at that time, was thinking of abdication. With this view he had his eldest son Jayasiṁha brought from the castle of Lohara and crowned as king on the first day of Āṣāḍha, 1123.[50] Sussala, however, changed his mind and retained the government in his own hands. Owing to the denunciations of intriguers he subsequently came to distrust his son, and even placed him under surveillance. After Jayasiṁha's formal coronation, Sussala gradually succeeded in effecting at least an outward pacification of the country.

[40] viii. 968 sqq.
[41] viii. 971-995.
[42] See viii. 1028, 1032 sq.
[43] viii. 1040 sqq.
[44] viii. 1063 sqq.
[45] For a list of such foreign soldiers of fortune, see viii. 1063-86.
[46] viii. 1104 sqq.
[47] viii. 1155 sqq.
[48] viii. 1169 sqq.
[49] For the time-honoured system under which the population of S'rīnagar was fed on the rice collected as revenue and stored in the city, see note viii. 1206.
[50] viii. 1127 sqq.

He was aided in this by the want of union among the leading Ḍāmaras, and at last subdued them in turn Bhikṣācara, however, remained at large, having found a refuge with some of his Ḍāmara supporters in the S'amālā district.[51]

In order to destroy his arch-enemy Sussala had made a secret pact with Utpala, the treacherous agent of Ṭikka, a powerful baron in the Devasarasa district. Utpala promised to kill Bhikṣācara and his own master.[52] In reality, however, he informed the latter of the king's intention and plotted for the death of Sussala. By the intimacy into which the king had allowed himself to be drawn with the scheming traitor, he himself offered the opportunity for the execution of the design. Not heeding the warnings of his trusted servants, he received without them and unattended by guards, Utpala and some other conspirators, and thus fell an easy prey to their murderous plot, on the new moon day of Phālguna, 1128.[53] Though the number of Utpala's accomplices was small, a general stampede of the royal guards and attendants ensued, which allowed the murderers not only to retreat in safety, but to carry off their victim's head as well as his body. Plot of Utpala. Sussala murdered (A.D. 1128).

It appears from Kalhaṇa's narrative that JAYASIMHA was, at the time of the murder, in the capital, but in a residence distant from the royal palace. To assure his safety he proclaimed a general amnesty, and called to his help Pañcacandra, who had succeeded to his father Gargacandra's estates in Lahara.[54] On the day following the murder, Bhikṣācara was marching on S'rīnagar, but heavy snowfall delayed him on the road, and in the meantime Pañcacandra joined the new king. His sudden attack threw Bhikṣācara's rapidly-gathered host into disorder, and their flight left Jayasiṁha in possession of the capital.[55] Trusty officers of Sussala were hurrying towards the city with their troops, and when some of these had succeeded in cutting their way through the Ḍāmara bands which infested the roads, Jayasiṁha's position became more assured.[56] JAYASIMHA (A.D. 1128-49).

When Bhikṣācara, after the melting of the snow, was marching upon the city with the collected Ḍāmara force, Sujji, the best of Sussala's foreign troop-leaders, met him on the bank of the Gambhīrā and repulsed him with great loss.[57] Other successes of the royal troops followed, and as Lakṣmaka, Jayasiṁha's chief adviser, brought over most of the influential Ḍāmaras by judicious bribes, Bhikṣācara was at last forced to retire from Kaśmīr.[58] Within four months of Sussala's murder Jayasiṁha found himself at least nominally master of the land. But Kalhaṇa justly observes that the elements of unrest, "the Ḍāmaras who were like kings," had remained uncurbed, while the resources of the people and the king alike were well-nigh exhausted by the preceding struggles.[59]

113. Kalhaṇa when attempting a description of Jayasiṁha's character, justly insists that in judging of his conduct and achievements as a ruler it is necessary to take into consideration the state of affairs which he found at the commencement of his reign.[60] Since the revolution, which had brought the family of Malla to the throne, the land-holding barons, big and small, had obtained a share of independence, which even in times of comparative peace must have seriously curtailed the king's power and authority. The fortified residences of the Ḍāmaras, frequently mentioned by the term *upaveśana*, were, like the castles of medieval feudal lords, Condition of Kaśmīr. Power of feudal lords.

[51] viii. 1259 sqq.
[52] viii. 1245 sqq.
[53] viii. 1287-1348
[54] viii 1349 sqq.
[55] viii. 1383 sqq.
[56] viii. 1402 sqq.
[57] viii. 1497 sqq.
[58] viii. 1525 sqq
[59] viii. 1544 sqq.
[60] viii. 1548

centres of territorial divisions in which, though they may have often comprised not more than a couple of villages, the king's authority could assert itself only by armed force at times of unrest. This condition of things continued for centuries after Kalhaṇa's time, far into the Muhammadan period, and its recollection still lingers in the tradition of the agricultural population of Kaśmīr.[61]

Sussala's reign of sixteen years had passed in a succession of attempts to break the power of the territorial barons by sheer force of arms. But these endeavours, notwithstanding the personal courage and the perseverance which Sussala had displayed in them, had failed in their object. Jayasiṁha had succeeded to the throne in the midst of an open rebellion, when the land was still suffering from the many wounds caused by the preceding struggles.

Jayasiṁha's policy.

If, notwithstanding these ominous predicaments, he was able to secure a footing and to maintain his rule for twenty-seven years in comparative safety, we must ascribe this result mainly to a change of policy closely connected with his personal character. This presents itself clearly enough in Kalhaṇa's detailed narrative. We see from it that what Jayasiṁha chiefly relied upon in his initial struggles and subsequent political relations was cunning diplomacy and unscrupulous intrigue Kalhaṇa has nowhere to tell us of acts of personal bravery of the king, but on the other hand gives us ample proof of his skill in plotting and of his self-possession. By the side of these qualities we note a conspicuous want of firmness and decision which accounts for the ascendency gained over the king by a succession of favourites. This moral defect, probably, also prevented him from reaping more permanent advantages from otherwise well-designed measures, and may explain some acts of striking ingratitude and treachery for which it would be difficult to assign any serious political motives.

Bhikṣācara's return.

Lakṣmaka, who was at the head of affairs during the early period of Jayasiṁha's reign, had purchased a brief interval of peace from the Ḍāmaras, during which Utpala, Sussala's murderer, was captured and killed. But in the autumn of the same year fresh troubles broke out and Bhikṣācara returned in rapid marches from the south.[62] The measures adopted by Sujji, the brave commander-in-chief, discomfited the rebels and forced the pretender once more to retire Sujji, however. himself was soon driven into exile through the jealousy of Lakṣmaka and other courtiers, and there joined in the schemes which Bhikṣācara and other refugees were preparing for the overthrow of Jayasiṁha.[63] Bhikṣācara, impatient to renew the struggle, proceeded to the Kaśmīr frontier without awaiting Sujji, and was watching for the rising of his Ḍāmara allies when the approach of a force, sent against him by Jayasiṁha, obliged him to throw himself into the castle of Bāṇaśālā held by a Khaśa chief, at the southern foot of the Bāṇahāl Pass.[64] There he was besieged by the royal troops in the spring, 1130, and ultimately betrayed by the Khaśas whom Lakṣmaka had bribed The Ḍāmaras, who had followed the royal camp with treacherous designs, were outwitted or bought off by Lakṣmaka and shamefully abandoned Bhikṣācara to his doom. Deserted by the Khaśas and his own followers, the unlucky pretender bravely faced the soldiers sent for his capture and sold his life dearly.[65]

Bhikṣācara killed (A.D. 1130).

Rebellion at Lohara.

Jayasiṁha, who had watched the issue at Vijayeśvara from a safe distance,

[61] See note viii. 1070 for *upaveśana* and the tradition about the **koṭṭarājyas* into which the land was divided.

[62] viii. 1584 sqq.

[63] viii. 1626 sqq.

[64] viii 1665 sqq.

[65] viii. 1702-75.

had scarcely received the cut-off head of his most dangerous enemy when news reached him of an unexpected catastrophe and the appearance of a new rival. Loṭhana, who had been imprisoned with his brother Salhaṇa on the accession of Sussala, had outlived his elder brother, and was still kept in captivity in the Lohara castle. A conspiracy among the officials in charge had set him free from his fetters one night while the trusted commander was by chance absent. When the latter hastened back in the morning he found Loṭhana crowned as king and in possession of all the treasure which Sussala had hoarded at Lohara.[66]

Siege of Lohara (A.D. 1130).

Jayasiṁha, realizing the danger arising from the loss of the family stronghold, despatched a considerable force under Lakṣmaka across the mountains to retake Lohara. The blockade by which the Kaśmīrian leaders endeavoured to reduce the hill-fortress, produced no result, until at last the dangerous summer fevers of the surrounding valleys and the approach of a force from Rājapurī, led by Sujji, obliged the royal troops to beat a retreat towards Kaśmīr.[67] On the difficult mountain route which they took and which, owing to Kalhaṇa's accurate description, I was still able to trace, this retreat soon developed into a complete rout.[68] During the stampede of the Kaśmīrians, whose cowardice and previous bravado are humorously described, Lakṣmaka was made a captive.[69] Of those who escaped to Kaśmīr, thousands are said to have died from fatal fevers contracted during the expedition. Lakṣmaka was subsequently ransomed from the chief of Rājapurī, and returning to Kaśmīr resumed his position as Jayasiṁha's chief adviser.

Loṭhana, ruler at Lohara.

114. Loṭhana, who thus remained in undisputed possession of Lohara, made Sujji his minister, and maintained himself with his help for a time against the intrigues by which Jayasiṁha endeavoured to regain his lost possession.[70] But already in the following winter (Phālguna, 1131) Loṭhana was deposed by a conspiracy of his former partisans in favour of Mallārjuna, a son of Sussala and half-brother of Jayasiṁha, who was kept as a prisoner in the Lohara castle.[71]

Mallārjuna ousts Loṭhana.

Mallārjuna proved a very feeble ruler and squandered in wanton extravagance the great treasures which had been deposited by Sussala at Lohara. In fear of the troops which Jayasiṁha despatched against him, Mallārjuna agreed to pay tribute.[72] His position at Lohara was again and again threatened by attacks of his uncle, the deposed Loṭhana, who had secured the support of the powerful Ḍāmara refugee Koṣṭheśvara, a son of Pṛthvīhara. The latter, profiting by these feuds between uncle and nephew, established himself practically as master in the valleys around Lohara, and made also Mallārjuna's hold on the castle precarious. Jayasiṁha then won over Koṣṭheśvara, and, seizing the favourable opportunity, sent a force under Sujji, whom he had previously recalled to Kaśmīr and reinstated in his offices, to retake Lohara. Thereupon Mallārjuna abandoned the stronghold and fled to Rājapurī territory.[73]

Lohara retaken.

Murder of Sujji (A.D. 1133).

Sujji did not long enjoy the credit of having recovered Lohara. For Jayasiṁha, whom the calumnies of his courtiers and a feeling of jealousy had rendered suspicious of Sujji, secretly encouraged intrigues against that valiant minister. When Sujji became aware of these, and was taking counter-measures, the king himself had him treacherously murdered through one of his own officers (A.D.

[66] viii. 1794 sqq.
[67] viii 1865 sqq.
[68] See Note E (iv 177), § 10
[69] viii 1879 sqq
[70] viii. 1921 sqq.
[71] viii. 1941 sqq.
[72] viii. 1947 sqq.
[73] viii. 1989-2024.

1133).[74] When the foul deed was done, Jayasiṁha, who had been anxiously awaiting the result, breathed freely again, and turning with vigour upon the relatives and adherents of Sujji, had them cruelly killed. The murderer of Sujji, Kularāja, was rewarded with the office of city-prefect, while Sañjapāla, Sujji's rival and the king's helpmate in the plot, was raised to the position of commander-in-chief.[75]

Irruption and capture of Mallārjuna (A.D. 1135).

Jayasiṁha by similar means endeavoured to rid himself of Koṣṭheśvara, the powerful Ḍāmara, who had returned to Kaśmīr. The attempt at murder failed, but after some fighting the Ḍāmara was obliged to flee abroad, where he joined Mallārjuna on the occasion of a Kurukṣetra pilgrimage.[76] The two then endeavoured to stir up a rebellion in Kaśmīr, and for this purpose betook themselves to a mountain plateau on the Pīr Pantsāl Range. When their roving inroads were checked by the royal troops posted in the neighbourhood of their fastness,[77] Koṣṭheśvara once more made peace with the king, and Mallārjuna fled southwards. On his retreat he was stopped by a loyal local chief in Lohara territory.[78] The description of the precautions taken by the envoy whom Jayasiṁha sent to secure the pretender, shows us clearly that the routes through the mountains forming the southern border of Kaśmīr were entirely at the mercy of marauding Khaśa hill-men.[79] Mallārjuna ignominiously surrendered, and was in the autumn, 1135, safely imprisoned at S'rīnagar.

Jayasiṁha next succeeded by means of a treacherous attack in securing the person of Koṣṭheśvara and his brother Catuṣka, and subsequently rid himself by murder also of another powerful Ḍāmara, Vijaya of Kalyāṇapura.[80] About this time there died Citraratha who after Sujji's death had been Jayasiṁha's most influential minister, and was succeeded by S'ṛṅgāra.[81] The latter had risen from a humble position and by doubtful means. But his administration appears to have been effective, and to this we may perhaps partly attribute the period of rest which the country enjoyed during the years immediately following.

Jayasiṁha's pious foundations.

Kalhaṇa indicates this peaceful interval by describing the various acts of piety performed by Jayasiṁha, and the numerous pious foundations made about the same period by ministers and others.[82] It is characteristic that Jayasiṁha himself is mainly praised for his restorations of ruined temples, Maṭhas, etc. This form of the king's pious activity is easily understood if we take into account on the one hand the great damages which the long civil wars and consequent neglect must have caused to sacred buildings, and on the other the limited extent of the resources which the exhausted land could furnish. Of the structures ascribed to the various ministers and other members of Jayasiṁha's court, none can be traced in ruins or in other records, and it is highly probable that notwithstanding Kalhaṇa's fulsome praise they were also of a modest description.

Foreign relations.

The friendly relations with distant foreign kingdoms which Kalhaṇa mentions in the same connection as indications of the splendour of Jayasiṁha's rule at this prosperous period, are, however, curiously attested by the description already quoted which the poet Maṅkha gives of the Sabhā held by his brother Alaṁkāra, one of Jayasiṁha's ministers. Among the

[74] viii. 2029-2152

[75] viii. 2163 sqq.

[76] It took place on occasion of a solar eclipse, probably that of the 23rd July, 1134, see note viii 2220.

[77] It is of interest that Yavanas, i.e. Muhammadans, are mentioned among Jayasiṁha's soldiers, viii 2264

[78] viii. 2276 sqq.

[79] See note viii. 2283

[80] viii 2312 sqq.

[81] viii. 2357 sqq.

[82] viii 2400-44

persons present there are introduced to us the ambassadors of Govindacandra, king of Kānyakubja or Kanauj, and of Aparāditya, the S'ilāhāra prince of the Koṅkan; both of these rulers are known to us from inscriptions.[83]

Expedition against Dards.

115. Some time before S'ṛṅgāra's death, which seems to have occurred about 1140,[84] Jayasiṁha endeavoured to profit by troubles which had broken out among his Dard neighbours in the north after the death of their king, Yaśodhara, in order to extend his power in the direction of that territory.[85] The attempt proved fruitless, but induced Viḍḍasīha, who had made himself ruler over the Dards, to stir up trouble for Jayasiṁha himself. Encouraged by the Dards Loṭhana, the old pretender, who was a refugee in a hill tract outside Kaśmīr, joined in 1143 Alaṁkāracakra, a powerful Ḍāmara in the district of Karṇāha, on the Upper Kiṣangaṅgā. Relying on the help of the neighbouring Dards, with whose chief he was connected by relationship, this cunning territorial baron rose in open rebellion, nominally for Loṭhana's cause.[86] The unrest spread from the Kiṣangaṅgā Valley into Kaśmīr proper and the danger of a general rising of the Ḍāmaras obliged Jayasiṁha to take active measures for the capture of his rival.

Irruption of Loṭhana.

Siege of S'irahśilā Castle.

Loṭhana, who was accompanied by Vigraharāja, a half-brother of Jayasiṁha, and Bhoja, a son of King Salhana, at the approach of the royal troops took refuge in S'irahśilākoṭṭa, a hill-castle of Alaṁkāracakra on the Kiṣangaṅgā.[87] In this stronghold, the position of which I succeeded in tracing, on a rocky ridge some miles below S'ardi and close to the border of the Dard portion of the Kiṣangaṅgā Valley, Loṭhana and his princely followers underwent a memorable siege which Kalhaṇa describes in great detail. When Dhanya, Jayasiṁha's minister, had overcome the serious difficulties to military operations arising from the alpine climate of the locality and the lateness of the season, the fort was closely invested.[88] Alaṁkāracakra, its owner and defender, was looking upon Loṭhana and his relatives as hostages for his own safety, and took care to prevent their escape when it might still have been possible. After the siege had continued for some time, the food supplies of the defenders became exhausted, and even their access to water difficult. Bhoja, the most active of the rebel princes, made a desperate attempt to escape, but failed in his attempt to descend the precipitous cliffs which guarded the fort towards the river, and secretly again sought its shelter. The hard-pressed Ḍāmara then agreed to purchase the raising of the siege by delivering up Loṭhana and Vigraharāja, while he retained Bhoja for future eventualities. Thus these two princes, too, came into the power of Jayasiṁha (Phālguna, 1144).[89]

Loṭhana captured (A.D. 1144)

Bhoja who, after the betrayal of his relatives, saw good reason to distrust the Ḍāmara's intentions, managed to escape from the latter's stronghold with a few followers, and after an adventurous journey across the snow-covered mountains in the depth of winter, reached the Dard territory in safety.[90] Hospitably received by Viḍḍasīha, its ruler, he then received the offer of Rājavadana, an influential and discontented officer of Jayasiṁha, to raise a rebellion in his favour. Bhoja did not hesitate to accept the pact, and soon powerful Ḍāmaras like Trillaka and Catuṣka were in open revolt.[91] While the king's ministers were attempting to suppress the

[83] See note viii. 2453 and *Report*, p. 51.

[84] Compare viii. 2481 for the interval between S'ṛṅgāra's death and the irruption of Loṭhana.

[85] viii. 2454 sqq.

[86] viii. 2481 sqq.

[87] viii. 2492 sqq.

[88] For a detailed explanation of the incidents of the siege, see Note *L*, viii. 2492.

[89] viii 2641.

[90] viii. 2704 sqq.

[91] viii. 2718 sqq.

Invasion of Bhoja.

revolted barons and disorder was rapidly spreading through the land, Bhoja approached from the north to claim the crown. He was accompanied by the Dard king, who had espoused his cause, and by allied Mleccha chiefs from the Upper Indus. Rājavadana guided the invading force, which reached unopposed the vicinity of the Volur lake.[92] An ill-advised attack of the Dards met with a check and produced confusion. When subsequent intrigues of Nāga, a personal enemy of Rājavadana, had spread distrust against the latter, Bhoja's allies turned back to their native hills, and finally left Bhoja once more in the hands of Alaṁkāracakra, the Ḍāmara.[93] These events took place in the autumn, 1144.

Rājavadana's initial success had excited the jealousy of Trillaka and other influential Ḍāmaras, who distrusted him as he was not one of their own class. They accordingly put up another leader of rebellion in Loṭhaka, a son of Sussala's old adversary, Pṛthvihara. His attack coming from the south of the Valley seriously threatened Jayasiṁha. But the efforts of the faithful minister Rilhana led to a defeat of the Ḍāmara just about the same time when the Dards retreated.[94]

Intrigues of Rājavadana.

116. That these successes were not sufficient to completely reassure the king's cause is clearly indicated by the fact that Rājavadana and the rebellious Ḍāmaras were allowed to make their peace and to retain their possessions. Rājavadana did not abandon his intrigues, and in order to levy blackmail from the king, secured the person of Bhoja and placed him in a Khaśa fort situated in the mountains west of Kramarājya.[95] The control Rājavadana thus had over a dangerous rival prevented Jayasiṁha from using any forcible means to break his ascendency. The winter, 1144-45, passed in a protracted game of diplomatic moves between the king and Rājavadana in which Bhoja formed the prize. In this Rājavadana had the best, for he not only kept hold of the pretender, but also managed to rid himself, with the direct aid of the beguiled king, of Nāga, his old adversary.[96] The murder of the latter in the royal camp caused great commotion among his Ḍāmara relatives who now flocked to Rājavadana's side. It also alarmed Bhoja, who thereupon endeavoured to assure his safety by secretly treating with Jayasiṁha for his own surrender.

Surrender of Bhoja.

Kalhaṇa's narrative, which in these concluding portions has suffered in clearness owing to the textual defects noted in a previous chapter,[97] treats us in somewhat wearisome detail to all petty incidents of the negotiations between the king and Bhoja.[98] The latter distrusting, not without good reason, Jayasiṁha's diplomacy, insisted on Kalhaṇikā, the chief-queen, mediating between them and acting as surety.[99] This rôle was accepted by the queen, who moved into camp towards the north-western frontier district to receive Bhoja on his surrender. This was not effected without much delay and mutual alarms, for the Ḍāmaras, gathering round Rājavadana, were eager for a fresh revolt and unwilling to let Bhoja slip out of their power. When the royal troops sent in advance to receive Bhoja were at last within close reach of the Ḍāmara camp, the danger of an open conflict seemed imminent. Finally, while the king's ministers were trembling for their safety, Bhoja put an end of the strained situation by open flight into the royal camp (Jyaiṣṭha, 1145).[100]

[92] viii. 2761 sqq.
[93] viii. 2844 sqq.
[94] viii. 2792-2840.
[95] viii. 2916 sqq.
[96] viii. 2969 sqq.
[97] See above, §§ 42, 43.
[98] viii. 3018 sqq.
[99] viii. 3063 sqq.
[100] viii. 3096-3179.

Jayasiṁha received his relative, who had ceased to be a dangerous rival, with kindness in the capital, presented him to the royal ladies and provided for his maintenance on a scale suited to his rank. Kalhaṇa, who throughout shows sympathy for Bhoja, very distinct from his contemptuous treatment of the other pretenders, Loṭhana and Mallārjuna, draws a very favourable picture of his subsequent conduct at Jayasiṁha's court.[101] When Bhoja had made his peace with Jayasiṁha, the incipient Ḍāmara rising collapsed. The powerful Trillaka, whom the king wished to curb, resisted at first with success the open attack made upon him by the royal troops, but was subsequently forced to humbly sue for his life. Rājavadana, who had risen in rebellion, was also defeated, but bravely continued the struggle until treacherously murdered by bravos in Jayasiṁha's employ.[102]

Subjection of Ḍāmaras.

Disposing by similar means of other Ḍāmara leaders whom he had learned to fear, Jayasiṁha seems to have secured peace for the few remaining years which are dealt with in Kalhaṇa's work. The coronation of Gulhaṇa, Jayasiṁha's eldest son, who was still a child, as ruler of Lohara, took place at this time and was probably intended to secure his succession against future risks.[103] The Chronicler then records the death of several royal servants, who had played a part in his previous narrative, and furnishes us with some curious glimpses of contemporary municipal administration in the obituary of Kularāja, the worthy city-prefect, who had gained this position by his services at the murder of Sujji.[104]

References to some pious endowments of Jayasiṁha are followed by a longer list of various religious foundations made by members of his court and their families. This list, which looks like a supplement to the one previously given, furnishes some indications as to Kalhaṇa's personal connections, and is of interest also as mentioning Maṅkha, Kalhaṇa's fellow-poet.[105] The concluding verses of Kalhaṇa's work are devoted to an encomium on Jayasiṁha's queen Raḍḍā and his children.[106] The four sons, who were born to him from Raḍḍā besides Gulhaṇa, were still in infancy The names of three of them taken from kings prominent in Kaśmīr tradition, Jayāpīḍa, Lalitāditya, Yaśaskara, must curiously remind us of the grand names of Roman history which we find revived in the last reigns of the decaying Empire. Of Jayasiṁha's daughters one, Menilā, was married to Bhūpāla, the young chief of Rājapurī. Ghaṭotkaca, the husband of Rājyaśrī, seems to have been a princeling from the neighbouring hills, and to have distinguished himself by successful raids in the direction of Uraśā or Hazāra.

Jayasiṁha's family

The brief mention of these exploits closes Kalhaṇa's account of contemporary Kaśmīr history which brings us down to the twenty-second year of Jayasiṁha's reign, A.D. 1149-50. From Jonarāja's work we learn that Jayasiṁha ruled for five years longer, during which he undertook a successful expedition against the 'Yavanas.'[107] But the later Chronicler's record is very brief and does not offer any supplement to the picture which Kalhaṇa has drawn for us of Jayasiṁha and contemporary Kaśmīr.

[101] viii. 3208-77.
[102] viii. 3278-3316.
[103] viii. 3301 sqq. Coins of Gulhaṇa are still extant.
[104] viii. 3333 sqq.
[105] See viii. 3343 sqq.; also above, § 6, for Maṅkha, compare note viii. 3354.
[106] viii 3371-3403
[107] *Jonar.* 27-38.

SECTION VII.—KAŚMĪR AFTER KALHAṆA

117. The preceding analysis of the contents of Books vii and viii must have shown how small were the events, how limited the political interests and influences of that period of Kaśmīr history for which Kalhaṇa's work furnishes the fullest and most trustworthy information. Petty as a great part of this narrative must appear to us, its value from a historical point of view does not lie merely in the truthful picture it presents of contemporary life and local conditions. It also helps us considerably to understand the subsequent course of the political destinies of the country and to realize in it some leading features of Kaśmīr history generally.

We have seen that the century and a half which passed from the accession of the Lohara dynasty to the date of Kalhaṇa's Chronicle, represent a period filled for the greatest part by a succession of rebellions and internal disturbances of all kinds. Yet notwithstanding the signs of progressive political disorganization and consequent economical decay which are so manifest in Kalhaṇa's narrative, we look in vain for an indication of the serious risks of foreign conquest to which such a chronic condition of internal disorder might be supposed to have exposed the country, particularly from the south where, in the meantime, Muhammadan power had spread irresistibly through the whole of the Indian plains.

Later Hindu rule.

Jonarāja's record shows that for nearly two centuries after Kalhaṇa's time Hindu rule maintained itself in Kaśmīr, though the princes were weak and helpless and the material prosperity of the Valley more and more fading. When at last Shāh Mīr, a powerful condottiere who had come to Kaśmīr from the south, deposed Queen Koṭā, the widow of the last Hindu ruler, and founded a Muhammadan dynasty (A.D. 1339),[1] the change marked no revolution either in the foreign relations of Kaśmīr or in its internal conditions. Islām made its way into Kaśmīr not by forcible conquest but by gradual conversion, for which the influx of foreign adventurers both from the south and from Central Asia had prepared the ground.

Introduction of Islām

118. The adoption of Islām by the great mass of the population which became an accomplished fact during the latter half of the fourteenth century but which probably began already towards the close of the Hindu rule, did neither affect the independence of the country nor at first materially change its political and cultural conditions. The administration remained as before in the hands of the traditional official class, the Brahmans, for whom a change of religion presented no advantage and who accordingly retained their inherited status together with its literary traditions.[2] The fanatical bigotry of a single Muhammadan ruler, Sikandar, who

[1] Compare for Shāh Mīr's usurpation, *Jonar.* (Bo. ed.), 339 sqq., for his origin, *ib.* 142 sqq.

[2] The conditions here indicated are illustrated by the frequent references found in Jonarāja's and Śrīvara's Chronicles to Brahmans holding high official posts under the early Sultāns. That Sanskrit remained for a considerable period after the end of Hindu rule the medium of official communication and record in Kaśmīr is shown by the Lokaprakāśa (compare for this text, below Note *H*, iv. 495, § 10, and *Memoir*, § 26). The manifold forms for official documents, reports, etc., which are contained in this remarkable hand-

earned for himself the characteristic epithet *Būtshikast*, "the Idol-breaker," helps only to put into stronger relief the tolerance—or may we say, indifference—of the princes who preceded and followed him. Under the long and exceptionally peaceful rule of his son Zainu-l-'ābidīn (A.D. 1420-70) who was a patron of Sanskrit learning and—occasionally a pilgrim to the ancient Tīrthas of the Valley,[3] Hindu traditions distinctly reasserted themselves while the country enjoyed something like a return of its old prosperity.

Mughal conquest of Kaśmīr.

A series of weak Sultāns followed. During their nominal reigns the land became again divided among rival factions of territorial barons whose intrigues and contests form the closest parallel to those of the turbulent Ḍāmaras of Kalhaṇa's time. In the midst of this period falls the first direct conquest of Kaśmīr by a foreign invader of which we have a distinct historical record. Mirzā Ḥaidar's inroad from Ladāk (A.D. 1532) which brought Kaśmīr for a time into the power of the brave Turkish leader and of which he himself has left us a graphic account,[4] was not a mere episode. It forms part of the great movement which carried the last wave of Northern conquerors, the Turks of Bābar into India. Mirẓā Ḥaidar had to leave Kaśmīr for other fields of exploit, but the Mughal empire he had helped to found, did not abandon its claim to the Valley. Mirẓā Ḥaidar himself, A.D. 1540, regained possession of Kaśmīr from the south, nominally on behalf of the fugitive Emperor Hūmāyūn, and ruled it until his death, eleven years later.[5] After his regency Kaśmīr became once more the scene of long-continued strife among the great feudal families which set up and deposed their puppet-kings in rapid succession. When the great task of consolidating the Mughal empire in Northern India had at last been accomplished, Akbar's forces crossed the mountains and finally incorporated Kaśmīr in the Mughal dominion (A.D. 1586).

119. Akbar's conquest marks the commencement of the modern history of Kaśmīr. However interesting to the historical student the subsequent period may be which saw Kaśmīr as the cherished summer residence of an imperial court ruling the whole of India, its conditions are too different to help us much in comprehending the peculiar aspects of Kaśmīr history in its earlier epochs. Though the conservative instinct of the population was bound to maintain much of the old traditions and customs, yet the close political connection with a great empire and the free intercourse with other territories subject to it necessarily transformed in many ways the political and economical situation of the country.

book of Kaśmīrian administrative routine, are drawn up in a curious Sanskrit jargon full of Persian and Arabic words which must have become current in Kaśmīr soon after the introduction of Islām. The character of these forms leaves no doubt as to their faithfully reproducing in style as well as in contents the actual official correspondence of the period intermediate between the commencement of Muhammadan rule and the adoption of Persian as the official language of Kaśmīr administration.

The continued popular use of Sanskrit even among Muhammadans is strikingly proved by the Sanskrit inscription on a tomb in the cemetery of Bahā'u-d-dīn Ṣāhib at S'rīnagar, which was put up in the reign of Sultān Muḥammad Shāh, and which bears a date corresponding to A.D. 1484 (see *Z.D.M.G.*, xl p. 9, and *Ind. Ant.*, xx. p. 153) Brief Sanskrit inscriptions, without dates, have been found by me on a number of old Muhammadan tombs at S'rinagar, near Mārtaṇḍ, and elsewhere.

[3] Compare for Zainu-l-'ābidīn's literary patronage, *Jonar.* (Bo ed.), 1047 sqq.; *S'rīv* i 464 sqq, for his visits to places of Hindu pilgrimage, *Jonar.* (Bo. ed.), 1056 sqq., 1233 sqq.; *S'rīv.* i 474 sqq

[4] See *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, pp. 423 sqq.

[5] Compare *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, pp. 483 sqq.; *ib.* Introd. pp. 18 sqq.

Continuity in historical conditions of Kaśmīr.

It is otherwise with the period which lies between the Mughal annexation and the time of Kalhaṇa. Here we see the historical conditions of Kaśmīr such as they appear to us in the later portion of the Rājataraṅgiṇī, maintained in all essential points. It is in the light of the ample and accurate information that Kalhaṇa's work supplies regarding these conditions, that we have to interpret the scanty and and often disjointed accounts that we receive of the above indicated period in the later Sanskrit Chronicles. The historical continuity which thus manifests itself is most striking in respect of the independence preserved by the country notwithstanding centuries of internal weakness, and also in respect of the social and administrative organization which even the introduction of Islām was unable to modify materially.

It is not difficult to realize the ultimate cause of this continuity with the guidance of Kalhaṇa's record. It shows us clearly that it was solely the protection offered by the great mountain ramparts which had secured to the country for so long a period, immunity from foreign aggression irrespective of the want of internal resources. The peculiarity of the geographical position which we shall have occasion to discuss elsewhere in detail,[8] explains equally that remarkable individuality which characterizes the historical development of the country and constitutes its chief interest. The results of this isolation still strike us everywhere in modern Kaśmīr after centuries of foreign dominion, and the deep traces it has left in the character and habits of the people, are not likely to be effaced for a long time to come.

[8] See below, *Memoir*, §§ 36-40.

NOTE i.—§ 6.

KALHAṆA AND THE HARṢACARITA.

The following list gives a selection from the large number of passages which by close agreement in the use of rare words and phrases and in other peculiarities of style illustrate the relation between Bāṇa's Harṣacarita and Kalhaṇa's Chronicle. The list has been prepared from materials collected for me by Paṇḍit Govind Kaul. The close lexical affinity of the Rājataraṅgiṇī, with the work of Bāṇa has been duly noticed already by Mr. Thomas, the translator of the Harṣacarita, compare *Vienna Oriental Journal*, xii p. 33, *J.R.A.S* 1899, p 485

The passages of the Harṣacarita are quoted according to the pagination of the Nirṇayasāgara Press edition, Bombay, 1892

PAGE	*Harṣacarita.*	*Rājataraṅgiṇī.*	
20	jñātivargam aganayyāpyavagaṇā	sagaṇo 'vagaṇo	viii. 2126.
50	saṁphullamallikādhavalāṭṭahāso mahākālaḥ	utphullabakulacchaviḥ ı aṭṭahāsaḥ kṛtāntasya	iv 450.
69.	kalyāṇābhiniveśī	kalyāṇābhiniveśinā	iv 467.
69.	savinayam abhāṣata āgacchata praviśata	āgacchata praviśatetyucyamāno	iii 232
77.	tejasaḥ paramāṇubhir iva kevalair nirmitam	taijasair eva sasṛje paramāṇubhiḥ	vii. 874.
79.	bhāsvadbimbādhareṇa prasannāvalokitena candramukhena kṛṣṇakeśena vapuṣā sarvadevāvatāram iva	bhāsvadbimbādharām kṛṣṇakeśīm . . sarvadevamayīm iva	iii 416
84.	kāṣṭhāmunir	kāṣṭhāmuner iva	viii. 2391.
85	caturudadhikedārakuṭumbi	mhéśaksmākedārakuṭumbinām	iii 101
119	alamkāram ahaṁkārasya	alamkāram ahamkṛteḥ	viii 1749.
127	subhaṭabhujajayastambhavilāsaśālabhañjikām	yadbhujastambho jayaśrīsālabhañjikām	ii. 64.
128.	svapne 'pyasambhāvitām	svapne 'pi yad asambhāvyam	vii. 67.
148	atikrāmati kāle	atikrāmati kāle	iii. 82.
172	°prasādavittamanoratha°	prasādavitto bhūbhartur	vii 290.
179	avandhyaprasāde	tasyāvandhyaprasādatvam	i. 78.
186	°cāmaramaruccala°	cāmaramarullola°	i. 81.
189	anumartum ivodyatāsu	anugantum ivodyatāḥ	vii 465.
190	°nirmāṇaparamāṇūn	nirmāṇaparamāṇavaḥ	vi. 274
217.	tanūnapāti pītasarpiṣi	pītasarpir iv ānalaḥ	iv. 538.
217.	namantu śirāṁsi dhanūṁṣi ca	dhanūṁṣi śirāṁsyadya namayanto	viii. 924.
217.	kṛpāṇadarpaṇeṣu	kṛpāṇamaṇidarpaṇe	iii. 96.
218.	mumocāṅgāni śayanatale	śayanīyavimuktāṅgas	viii. 832.
220	bhṛtyatām apyaparibhūtam	bhṛtyatām aparibhavām	vii. 224.
226.	aṅganavedī vasudhā	gṛhāṅganam iva kṣoṇīṁ	iii. 100.
228	kramopacīyamāna°	kramopacīyamānena	iii 151
229.	sthānapāla°	sthānapālair	viii. 811
241.	dantaviṇopadeśācāryā°	dantaviṇavādyodyame	viii. 2590
247.	°grāmagrahaṇaghasmarasya	vīragrāmaghasmaraḥ	viii. 1519.
269	asaṁtāpārhā	asaṁtāpārhatāṁ	i 41.
288.	yuktāyuktavicāraśūnyatvācca	yuktāyuktavicārabāhyamanasaḥ	vi. 208.

Compare also for close correspondence in purport and phraseology the verses found in *Harṣacar.* pp 166 (śl 1), 207, with *Rājatar.* viii 1216, 1401.

APPENDIX I.

CHRONOLOGICAL AND DYNASTIC TABLES OF KALHAṆA'S RECORD OF KAŚMĪR KINGS[1]

FIRST BOOK

Gonanda I	Accession assumed Kali Saṁvat 653 (Laukika S 628)[2]
Dāmodara I	
Yaśovatī	
Gonanda II	
Thirty-five kings 'lost'	
Lava	
Kuśa	
Khagendra	
Surendra	Aggregate length of reigns 1266 years (Laukika S. *628—1894*)[3]
Godhara	
Suvarṇa	
Janaka	
S'acīnara	
Aśoka	
Jalauka	
Dāmodara II	
Huṣka, Juṣka, Kaniṣka	
Abhimanyu I	

[1] In these tables the dates and chronological figures which are directly named by Kalhaṇa, are shown in Roman type. Those dates and figures which have been derived by calculation from other statements in the Chronicle, are printed in *Italic* type

[2] Compare *Rājat* i. 51 and note i 55-56, also above, *Introd.* § 58

[3] See i. 54 and above, § 59

GONANDĪYA DYNASTY.

	Calculated Laukika Dates of Accession	Duration of Reign. Years	Months	Days.
Gonanda III . .	*1894—0—0*	35	—	—
Vibhiṣaṇa I.	*1929—0—0*	53	6	—
Indrajit . .	*1982—6—0*	35	—	—
Rāvaṇa	*2017—6—0*	30	6	—
Vibhiṣaṇa II. . .	*2048—0—0*	35	6	-
Nara I (Kimnara)	*2083—6—0*	40	9	—
Siddha .	*2124—3—0*	60	—	—
Utpalākṣa	*2184—3—0*	30	6	—
Hiraṇyākṣa	*2214—9—0*	37	7	
Hiraṇyakula .	*2252—4—0*	60	—	—
Vasukula	*2312—4—0*	60		-
Mihirakula	*2372—4—0*	70	—	—
Baka	*2442—4—0*	63	—	13
Kṣitinanda	*2505—4—13*	30	-	
Vasunanda	*2535—4—13*	52	2	—
Nara II	*2587—6—13*	60	—	
Akṣa	*2647—6—13*	60	-	—
Gopāditya	*2707—6—13*	60		6[4]
Gokarṇa .	*2767—6—19*	57	11	—
Khiṅkhila-Narendrāditya	*2825—5—19*	36	3	10
Yudhiṣṭhira	*2861—8—29*	*34*	*3*	*1*[5]
Aggregate length of reigns		*1002*	—	-

SECOND BOOK

	Calculated Laukika Dates of Accession	Duration of Reign Years	Months	Days
Pratāpāditya I	*2896—0—0*[6]	32		—
Jalaukas .	*2928—0—0*	32	—	—
Tuñjina I	*2960—0—0*	36		—
Vijaya . .	*2996—0—0*	8	-	-
Jayendra	*3004—0—0*	37	—	—
Saṃdhimati-Āryarāja	*3041—0—0*	47	—	—
Aggregate length of reigns		*192*	—	—

[4] According to the text of A, and L; see note i 345.

[5] The duration of Yudhiṣṭhira's reign, which K. has omitted to state, has been computed from his total of 2268 years for the aggregate length of reigns from Gonanda I to Yudhiṣṭhira I; see note on colophon of Book i

[6] This date is indicated by K.'s statement i 48.

THIRD BOOK

RESTORED GONANDĪYA DYNASTY.

	Calculated Laukika Dates of Accession	Duration of Reign. Years.	Months	Days.
Meghavāhana	*3088—0—0*	34	—	—
Śreṣṭhasena-Pravarasena I (Tuñjīna II)	*3122—0—0*	30	—	—
Hiraṇya with Toramāṇa	*3152—0—0*	30	2	—
Mātṛgupta	*3182—2—0*	4	9	1
Pravarasena II	*3186—11—1*	60	—	—
Yudhiṣṭhira II	*3246—11—1*	39	3	—
Lakhana Narendrāditya	*3286—2—1*	13	—	—
Raṇāditya (Tuñjīna III)	*3299—2—1*	300		—
Vikramāditya	*3599—2—1*	42	—	—
Bālāditya	*3641—2—1*	36	8	—
Aggregate length of reigns		589	10	1

FOURTH BOOK

THE KARKOṬA DYNASTY

	Calculated Laukika Dates of Accession	Duration of Reign Years.	Months	Days
Durlabhavardhana-Prajñāditya	*3677—10—1*	36		—
Durlabhaka-Pratāpāditya II	*3713—10—1*	50	—	—
Candrāpīḍa Vajrāditya	*3763—10—1*	8	8	—
Tārāpīḍa-Udayāditya	*3772—6—1*	4	—	24
Muktāpīḍa Lalitāditya	*3776—6—2[illegible]*	36	7	11
Kuvalayāpīḍa	*3813—2—6*	1		15
Vajrāditya Bappiyaka-Lalitāditya	*3814—2—21*	7		
Pṛthivyāpīḍa	*3821—2—21*	4	1	
Saṃgrāmāpīḍa I	*3825—3—21*		—	7[illegible]
Jajja	*3825—3—28*	3		—
Jayāpīḍa-Vinayāditya	*3828—3—28*	31	—	—
Lalitāpīḍa	*3859—3—28*	12		—
Saṃgrāmāpīḍa II (Pṛthivyāpīḍa)	*3871—3—28*	7	—	—
Cippaṭajayāpīḍa-Bṛhaspati	*3878—3—28*	12		—
Ajitāpīḍa	3889*	37		—
Anaṅgāpīḍa	3926	3	—	—
Utpalāpīḍa	3929	2		—
Total length of reigns		254	[illegible]	27

[1] According to the reading of A_2 and L, see note iii. 474.

[2] According to the reading of A_1 and L adopted in text; comp. note iv. 400.

[3] The difference between the indicated date of Ajitāpīḍa's accession (Laukika S. 3889) and the one which we should get by adding the twelve years of Cippaṭajayāpīḍa's reign to the calculated date of his accession, Laukika S. 3878-3-28 is 1 year, 3 months and 28 days. This difference is due to K. having adopted a 'rough' calculation for the aggregate length of reigns in Books ii.-viii., as fully explained in *Introd.* § 58, note 15.

The doubts as to the accuracy of the date named by K. for the death of Cippaṭajayāpīḍa and the accession of Ajitāpīḍa (iv. 703) have been explained above, *Introd.* § 91.

FIFTH BOOK

THE DYNASTY OF UTPALA.

A.D.		Laukika Dates of Accession.		Duration of Reign where specified. Years.	Months.	Days.
55/6	Avantivarman	3931		—	—	—
83	S'aṁkaravarman	3959	Āṣāḍha śu 3	—	—	—
02	Gopālavarman	3977	Phālguna va 7	2	—	—
04	Saṁkaṭa	*3979*		—	—	10
04	Sugandhā	*3979*		2	—	—
06	Pārtha	*3981*		—	—	—
21	Nirjitavarman (Paṅgu)	3997	Pauṣa	—	—	—
23	Cakravarman	3998	Māgha	—	—	—
33	S'ūravarman I	4009		1	—	—
34	Pārtha (*restored*)	*4010*		—	—	—
35	Cakravarman (*restored*)	4011	Āṣāḍha	—	—	—
35	S'aṁkaravardhana	4011	Pauṣa	—	—	—
36	Cakravarman (*restored*)	4012	Caitra śu 8	—	—	—
37	Unmattāvanti	4013	Jyaiṣṭha śu 8	—	—	—
39	S'ūravarman II.	4015	Āṣāḍha	—	—	—

SIXTH BOOK.

D		Laukika Dates of Accession		Duration of Reign where specified. Years	Months.	Days.
39	Yaśaskaradeva	4015	Āṣāḍha śu [10]	9	—	—
48	Varṇaṭa	*4024*		—	—	1
48	Saṁgrāmadeva	4024	Bhādrapada va 3	—	—	—
49	Parvagupta	4024	Phālguna va 10	—	—	—
50	Kṣemagupta	4026	Āṣāḍha va 13	—	—	—
58	Abhimanyu	4034	Pauṣa śu 9	—	—	—
72	Nandigupta	4048	Kārttika śu 3	—	—	—
73	Tribhuvana[gupta]	*4049*	*Mārgaśirṣa śu 12*	—	—	—
75	Bhimagupta	4051	Mārgaśirṣa śu 5	—	—	—
80/1	Diddā	4056		—	—	—

[10] The exact date of Yaśaskaradeva's election to the throne is not indicated; it took place "five or six days" after the flight of S'ūravarman II. on the 7th of the bright half of Āṣāḍha (see v 465, sqq).

SEVENTH BOOK

FIRST LOHARA DYNASTY.

A.D.		Laukika Dates of Accession		Duration of Reign where specified.		
				Years	Months	Days.
1003	Saṃgrāmarāja	4079	Bhādrapada śu 8	—	—	—
1028	Hariraja	4104	Āṣāḍha va 1	—	—	22
1028	Ananta	4104	Āṣāḍha śu 8	—	—	—
1063	Kalaśa	4139	Kārttika śu 6	—	—	—
1089	Utkarṣa	4165	Mārgaśirṣa śu 6	—	—	22
1089	Harṣa	4165	*Pauṣa va 13*	—	—	—

EIGHTH BOOK

SECOND LOHARA DYNASTY

A.D.		Laukika Dates of Accession		Duration of Reign where specified		
				Years.	Months.	Days.
1101	Uccala	4177	Bhādrapada śu 5	—	—	—
1111	Raḍḍa-Śaṅkharāja	4187	Pauṣa śu 6	—	—	1
1111	Salhaṇa	4187	Pauṣa śu 7	—	3	27
1112	Sussala	4188	Vaiśākha śu 3	—	—	—
1120	Bhikṣācara	4196	Mārgaśirṣa va 6	—	6	12
1121	Sussala (*restored*)	4197	Jyaiṣṭha śu 3	—	—	—
1128	Jayasiṃha (Siṃhadeva)	4203	Phālguna va 15	22[11]	—	—

[11] Twenty two years of Jayasiṃha's reign had passed in Laukika S. 4225, A.D. 1149-50, when Kalhaṇa completed his work; see viii. 3404.

APPENDIX II.

GENEALOGICAL TABLES OF KAS'MĪR DYNASTIES ACCORDING TO KALHAṆA.[1]

FIRST BOOK

KINGS TAKEN FROM THE NĪLAMATAPURĀṆA.

Gonanda I
|
Dāmodara I *m* Yaśovatī
|
Gonanda II.

Thirty-five kings 'lost.'

KINGS RECORDED BY HELĀRĀJA.

Lava
|
Kuśa.
|
Khagendra.
|
Surendra

Godhara, "of another family."
|
Suvarṇa.
|
Janaka.
|
S'acinara.

[1] The names of those members of the several royal families who did *not* occupy the Kaśmīr throne, are distinguished in these tables by print in *Italics*

KINGS RECORDED BY CHAVILLĀKARA.

Aśoka, son of S'acīnara's grand-uncle and great-grandson of S'akuni.
|
Jalauka

Dāmodara II.

Huska, Juska and Kaniska.

Abhimanyu.

GONANDĪYA DYNASTY.

Gonanda III
|
Vibhīsana I
|
Indrajit
|
Rāvana.
|
Vibhīsana II
|
Nara I
|
Siddha.
|
Utpalāksa
|
Hiranyāksa
|
Hiranyakula.
|
Vasukula
|
Mihirakula
|
Baka.
|
Ksitinanda
|
Vasunanda
|
Nara II.
|
Aksa
|
Gopāditya
|
Gokarna
|
Khinkhila-Narendrāditya.
|
Yudhisthira I

SECOND BOOK.

- Pratāpāditya I, "a relative of Vikramāditya."
  - Jalaukas
    - Tuñjina I

- Vijaya
  - Jayendra

Saṃdhimati-Āryarāja.

THIRD BOOK

GONANDĪYA DYNASTY RESTORED.

- *Yudhiṣṭhira I.*
  - ....
    - ...
      - *Gopāditya*
        - Meghavāhana
          - S'reṣṭhasena-Pravarasena I (Tuñjina II.)
            - Hiraṇya
            - Toramāṇa, Yuvarāja
              - Pravarasena II.
                - Yudhiṣṭhira II
                  - Lakhhaṇa-Narendrāditya
                  - Raṇāditya-Tuñjina (III.)
                    - Vikramāditya
                    - Bālāditya
                      - *Anaṅgalekhā m Durlabhavardhana*

FOURTH BOOK

THE KĀRKOṬA DYNASTY.

- Durlabhavardhana-Prajñāditya *m* *Anaṅgalekhā*
  - *Malhaṇa*
  - Durlabhaka-Pratāpāditya II
    - Candrāpīḍa-Vajrāditya
    - Tārāpīḍa-Udayāditya
    - Muktāpīḍa-Lalitāditya
      - Kuvalayāpīḍa
      - Vajrāditya-Bappiyaka-Lalitāditya
        - *Tribhuvanāpīḍa*
          - Ajitāpīḍa
            - Utpalāpīḍa
        - Pṛthivyāpīḍa
        - Saṃgrāmāpīḍa I
        - Jayāpīḍa-Vinayāditya
          - Lalitāpīḍa
            - Cippaṭajayāpīḍa-Bṛhaspati
          - Saṃgrāmāpīḍa II -(Pṛthivyāpīḍa)
            - Anaṅgāpīḍa

FIFTH BOOK.

THE DYNASTY OF UTPALA

- *Utpala*, †853 A D.
  - *Sukhavarman*, †855 A D
    - Avantivarman, †883 A D
      - S'amkaravarman, †902 A D, *m.* Sugandhā, †914 A D
        - Gopālavarman, †904 A D
        - Samkaṭa, †904 A D
    - *S'ūravarman*
      - *Sukhaiarman*
        - Nirjitavarman (Pangu), †923 A D
          - Pārtha, †937 A.D
            - Unmattāvanti, †939 A.D
              - S'ūravarman II, deposed 939 A D
          - Cakravarman, †937 A.D.
          - S'ūravarman I, deposed 934 A.D
    - *Samara*

SIXTH BOOK.

- *Vīradeva*
  - *Kāmadeva*
    - *Prabhākaradeva*
      - Yaśaskaradeva, †948 A D
        - Saṃgrāmadeva, †949 A D
  - *Rāmadeva*
    - Varṇaṭa, deposed 948 A D

- *Abhinava*, a 'Divira'
  - *Saṃgrāmagupta*
    - Parvagupta, †950 A D
      - Kṣemagupta, †958 A D, *m* Diddā, †1003 A D
        - Abhimanyu, †972 A D
          - Nandigupta, †973 A D
          - Tribhuvana[gupta], †975 A D
          - Bhimagupta, †980/1 A D.
- *Bhimaśāhi, of Kābul*
  - . . .
    - *Siṃharāja, of Lohara, m* . .
      - Diddā, †1003 A D

THE RĀJATARANGIṆI OF KALHAṆA.

FIRST BOOK.

REVERENCE TO GANEŚA.

1 Reverence to Hara who [grants his worshippers' desires] like the tree of paradise, who is beautified by a seam of light emitted by the jewels on the hoods of the serpents adorning him, and in whom those freed [from mundane existence] find eternal rest — INTRODUCTION

2 May both the halves of the God whose cognizance is the bull, and who is united with one half of his spouse, give you glory,—the left whose forehead wears a saffron Tilaka, who near the ear displays the joyous tremour of numerous dangling earrings, the complexion of whose throat is tan like the glitter of the oceanborn [shell], and whose breast wears a faultless bodice,—the right whose forehead wears a flame of fire, who displays near his ear the gaping mouths of numerous playfully moving snakes, the beauty of whose throat is not impaired by the darkness of the oceanborn [poison], and whose chest is enveloped by the lord of snakes as by an armour

1. The two epithets *bhūṣābhogi*° and *pralīna*° apply equally to S'iva and the tree of paradise With reference to the latter they are to be rendered "which is beautified by the seam of light proceeding from the jewels [taken] from the hoods of serpents and [borne] by those blessed ones who form [that tree's] adornment, and which bears pendants of pearls"

The Kaśmirians, being S'aivas, consider S'iva to be the universal soul and expect to be absorbed by him BÜHLER

2. S'iva is invoked here, and in the introductory verses of the other Tarangas, under the form of *Ardhanārīśvara*, representing his union with Pārvatī A description of both halves is given in the first three pādas by words which apply equally to the left half (Pārvati) and to the right half (S'iva)

In the description of the left half *sambhṛtakrīḍatkuṇḍalī* is to be taken as a separate adjective qualifying *jṛmbhitam*; as applied to the right half these words form a compound.

jaladhijacchāyāchha[kaṇṭhacchaviḥ is to be dissolved in the first case, with Prof. Buhler, into *jaladhijacchāyavad accha*; in the second case I take it as *jaladhijacchāyayā accha*, whereas he explains it by *jaladhijacchāyayā cha* or *ācche*, i e *ācchādita*

In the description of S'iva *ahīna* must be dissolved into *ahīnām ina*, 'the lord of snakes,' Vāsuki, who serves S'iva instead of the Jenvi. The ocean-born poison is the Halāhala which S'iva swallowed B

INTRODUCTION

3 Worthy of praise is that power of true poets, whatever it may be, which surpasses even the stream of nectar, in as much as by it their own bodies of glory as well as those of others obtain immortality

4 Who else but poets resembling Prajāpatis [in creative power] and able to bring forth lovely productions, can place the past times before the eyes of men?

5 If the poet did not see in his mind's eye the existences which he is to reveal to all men, what other indication would there be of his possessing divine intuition?

6. Though in view of the length of the narrative diversity could not be secured by means of amplification, still there may be found in it something that will please the right-minded

7 That noble-minded [poet] is alone worthy of praise whose word, like that of a judge, keeps free from love or hatred in relating the facts of the past

8 If I narrate again the subject-matter of tales of which others have treated, still the virtuous ought not to turn their faces from me without hearing my reasons.

9-10 What is the skill required in order that men of a later time should supplement the narrative of events in the works of those who died after composing each the history of those kings whose contemporaries they were? Hence my endeavour is to give a connected account where the narrative of past events has become fragmentary in many respects

Earlier Chronicles

11 The oldest extensive works containing the royal chronicles [of Kaśmīr] have become fragmentary in consequence of [the appearance of] *Suvrata*'s composition, who condensed them in order that [their substance] might be easily remembered

3 The nectar (*sudhā*) secures immortality only to the person who drinks it

4 The Prajāpatis are fourteen in number They caused the successive creations of the world B

7 The earlier Ed read wrongly *bahiṣkṛtaḥ* for *bahiṣkṛta* This reading has induced previous interpreters to take *sthayasyeva* as *stheyasyeva* The gloss of A_1, *dṛḍha*, seems to suppose the latter interpretation

9-10 These two verses are marked as a couplet or *Yugalaka*, forming an unit in syntactical construction They contain, as already pointed out by Prof Buhler, the reasons alluded to in verse 8 The meaning of these verses I take to be as follows It requires but little skill to continue the series of chronicles of individual reigns earlier writers have left, by adding a narrative of more recent events But Kalhana has set himself an additional and more difficult task, viz that of clearing up and putting into right order the fragmentary records regarding the earlier reigns

K seems to me to allude here to historical compositions, similar in character to the subsequent continuations of his own work by Jonarāja, S'rīvara, and Prājyabhaṭṭa, which took up the narrative of events from the point where the earlier narrative had closed

For another interpretation, which, however, does not appear to take into account the real significance of the form of interrogation contained in *dakṣyam kiyad idam* (comp viii 2118), see *Report*, p lxvii

11. Prof Buhler whose translation is otherwise reproduced above, renders *chinnāḥ* by "have been lost," and adds the note: "Suvrata apparently wrote a handbook of the history of Kaśmīr, to be committed to memory in the schools which, as usual in India, caused the loss of the more ancient books on the subject" I prefer to translate *chinnāḥ* by "have become fragmentary" or "have

12. *Suvrata's* poem, though it has obtained celebrity, does not show dexterity in the exposition of the subject-matter, as it is rendered troublesome [reading] by misplaced learning

13 Owing to a certain want of care, there is not a single part in *Kṣemendra's* 'List of Kings' (*Nṛpāvali*) free from mistakes, though it is the work of a poet

14. Eleven works of former scholars containing the chronicles of the kings, I have inspected, as well as the [Purāna containing the] opinions of the sage *Nila*

15. By looking at the inscriptions recording the consecration of temples and grants by former kings, at the laudatory inscriptions and at written works, the trouble arising from many errors has been overcome.

16 Among the fifty-two rulers whom those [former scholars] do not mention,

been disturbed in their order," in view of the statement made below, i 14, as to the twelve earlier chronicles which K had himself inspected, see also the references actually made by him to earlier writers, i 17-20 We may then assume that on account of Suvrata's compilation the study of the older chronicles was discontinued, and that complete copies of these works were no longer to be found in K 's time

13. Regarding the poet and polyhistor *Kṣemendra*, also called *Vyāsadasa*, see Prof. Buhler's *Report*, p 45 sqq He lived under King Anantadeva (1029-1064 A D) and his son Kalaśa († 1089 A D) For a list of the numerous works composed by Kṣemendra, see Prof Aufrecht's *Cat Catalog* s v No copy of Kṣemendra's *Nṛpāvali* has yet been discovered, nor have I come across any other reference to the work by a Kaśmirian author

14. For an exhaustive analysis of the extant *Nilamatapurāṇa*, see Prof Buhler's *Report*, pp 37 sqq , and pp lv-lx From the Nilamata, which is an important source of information on the sacred antiquities of Kaśmir, K obtained, according to his own statement i 16, the names of the first four kings A comparison of his narrative, i 57-82, with the fragments preserved of the opening chapter of the *Nilamata* shows "that K took over some portions of his narrative almost literally from the Purāna" (*Report*, p 38)

15. In the note appended to the translation reproduced above, Prof. Buhler rightly distinguishes four kinds of records as referred to by K (i) The *pratiṣṭhāśāsana* edicts, i e inscriptions recording the erection and consecration of temples or other buildings and monuments, such as are to be found on almost all temples, religious or even profane buildings (such as palaces), on images, funeral monuments, and so forth, (ii) the *vastuśāsana* edicts, i e inscriptions recording grants of things, chiefly of land, and, perhaps, also of allowances, such as are found engraved on copper-plates , (iii) *praśastipaṭṭas*, tables containing laudatory inscriptions of persons or places, such as now are found sometimes in temples or other public buildings (regarding such inscriptions, comp now Prof Buhler's remarks in the *Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol ii p 80), (iv) the *śāstras*, the works on the various sciences, or, to use a short expression the Manuscripts of Sanskrit books, which in Kaśmir mostly give at the end some information regarding the author and the king under whom the author wrote, together with the date

Of the first class of documents only a small number of specimens has been found in Kaśmir, and none of them, except a fragmentary inscription of the time of Queen Didda in the Lahore Museum, can be ascribed with certainty to a period earlier than K For some brief undated inscriptions of this kind, seen by Prof Buhler at Khun"muh and Varahamūla, comp *Report*, pp 6, 12 Others of a similar character have been found by me at Vij"brōr, Bavan (Mārtaṇḍ) and a few other places It is likely that K obtained a portion of the ample data his work contains as to the foundation of particular temples, Maṭhas, Vihāras, and other religious buildings, from such inscriptional records

No inscription of the kind described under (ii) and (iii) has come to my knowledge in Kaśmir That inscriptions, probably on copper-plates, were used for the record of land-grants also in Kaśmir, we see from the story of Ranga related v 397 sq

16. The four rulers meant here are Gonanda I , Dāmodara I , Yaśovati, and Gonanda II In the extant text of the *Nilamata* we find references to Gonanda I Yaśovati, and Gonanda II , though only the last is mentioned by name ; see vv 6-9 The

INTRODUCTION. on account of the loss of tradition, four, viz *Gonanda* and [his successors], have been taken [by me] from the *Nīlamata* [Purāṇa].

17-18. Having read the opinion of the Pāśupata Brahman *Helārāja* who formerly composed a 'List of Kings' (*pārthivāvali*) in twelve thousand S'lokas, ***Padmamihira*** entered in his work the eight kings beginning with *Lava*, who preceded *Aśoka* and his successors

19 The five kings also, among whom *Aśoka* is the first, the illustrious *Chavillākara* has declared [to have been recovered] from the fifty-two [lost ones]. For his verse is as follows —

20 "The five [rulers] from *Aśoka* to *Abhimanyu* who have been named, were obtained by the ancients from among the fifty-two [lost ones]"

21 This narrative [of mine] which is properly arranged and which resembles a medicine, is useful where the [accounts regarding the] place and time of kings are fluctuating (*lit.*, growing and diminishing).

22 Or if [another aspect be considered], what intelligent man's heart would not be pleased by such a composition which treats of numberless events of ancient times?

23. When [the hearer] has well pondered over the sudden appearance of living beings that lasts for a moment only, then let him judge of the sentiment of resignation (*śānta*) which is to rule supreme in this work

24 Imbibe, therefore, straight with the folds of your ear-shells this 'River

fragmentary state of the text in all accessible MSS accounts for the omission of Dāmodara's name which K must have found in his own copy

17-18. I have followed Prof Buhler in translating *mahāvratin* by 'Pāśupata', regarding the use of the term for this particular sect of ascetics, see *P W* s v.

A Helārāja, who was a Kaśmirian and lived probably in the 9th or 10th century, has written a commentary on the *Vākyapadīya*, of which fragments are still extant, see Kielhorn in the *Ind Ant*, iii p 285 B

The name given in Ed with A_1 as *Pūrṇamihira*, has been corrected by A_2 into *Padmamihira* I now prefer to accept the latter form, in view of the observations recorded p. x of my edition These show that the corrections of A_2 are based on a careful collation of the original of Ratnakaṇṭha's Codex

See for the kings, from *Lava* to *Sacīnara*, i 84-100, and regarding the peculiar character of the royal names taken from Helārāja, note i 84

21 I understand K here to say that his narrative is to restore order and certainty where the statements as to the residence, extent of rule and date of various kings were previously subject to doubts Prof Buhler translates "This narrative (of mine), which is arranged (in proper order) and resembles a medicine, is useful for increasing as well as diminishing the (statements of previous writers regarding) kings, place, and time" The context does not seem to me to necessitate this interpretation, which would place an awkward and unnecessary confession in the mouth of the author However much the views and aims of a Hindu Kavi may differ from the standards of critical history, we can scarcely expect him to boast of the liberties he may have taken with the records of earlier authors

23 *S'ānta* is one of the nine *Rasas* or 'sentiments' which the Alaṁkāraśāstra distinguishes in poetic compositions K's work, dealing with so many events and containing such varied descriptions, must exhibit different Rasas But inasmuch as his narrative teaches the instability of everything human, the poet declares 'the sentiment of resignation' to be the characteristic (*pradhāna*) Rasa of the work

of Kings' (*Rājataraṅgiṇī*), which is rendered pleasant by under-currents of powerful sentiments. INTRODUCT

25. Formerly, since the beginning of the Kalpa, the land in the womb of the *Himālaya* was filled with water during the periods of the [first] six Manus [and formed] the 'Lake of Satī' (*Satīsaras*). Description of

26-27. Afterwards when the present period of the [seventh] Manu *Vaivasvata* had arrived, the Prajāpati *Kaśyapa* caused the gods led by Druhiṇa, Upendra and Rudra to descend, caused [the demon] *Jalodbhava*, who dwelt in that [lake], to be killed, and created the land known by the name of *Kaśmīr* in the space [previously occupied by] the lake

28. That [land] is protected by *Nīla*, the lord of all Nāgas, whose regal parasol is formed by the circular pond [of the Nīlakuṇḍa] with the *Vitastā's* newly rising stream as its stick.

29 There Gaurī, though she has assumed the form of the *Vitastā*, still keeps her wonted inclination [For in her river-shape] she turns her face towards the ravine (*guhā*), just as [in her godlike form] she turns it towards [her son] Kumāra (*guha*), [in her river-shape] the mouths of the Nāgas (*nāgamukha*) drink her abundant water (*āpītabhūripayāḥ*), just as [in her godlike form her] elephant-faced [son Gaṇeśa] (*nāgamukha*), drank her abundant milk (*āpītabhūripayāḥ*).

25. The *Nīlamata* gives a lengthy account of the legends relating to the *Satīsaras*, the demon *Jalodbhava* who had made it his habitation, the desiccation of the lake by the gods at the prayer of *Kaśyapa* and the demon's destruction A careful abstract of these stories, accounting for the creation of Kaśmīr, has been given by Prof BÜHLER, *Report*, pp 38 sqq

26-27 In representing Brahman, Viṣṇu and S'iva as the leaders of the gods who assisted Kaśyapa in the defeat of Jalodbhava, K follows the narrative of the *Nīlamata*

The name *Kaśmīra* is explained in the *Nīlamata* by fanciful etymologies based on the above legend; see vv 217 sq

Read *tatsarobhūmau* for *tatsaro bhūmau* of Ed.

28 The description of the Tīrthas of Kaśmīr begins with the Nīlanāga, who is placed by ancient tradition, surviving to this day, at the head of all the Nāgas or Spring-deities of the land (see *Nīlamata*, vv 69, 901) He is considered a son of Kaśyapa (ib 95) His residence is the famous fountain near the village of *Vērnāg*, situated in the Shāhābād Pargaṇa, at the foot of the Bān'hāl Pass, 75° 17' long. 33° 32' lat For a description of this magnificent spring, enclosed by the Emperor Jihāngīr in a fine stone basin, see ABU-L-FAẒL's *Āīn-i Akb*, ii p 361; FORSTER, *Journey*, ii p 4, MOORCROFT, *Travels*, ii. p 250, VIGNE, *Travels*, i p 332, INCE, *Handbook*, p 184

Near the Nīlanāga Viṣṇu is said to have first placed the ploughshare with which the Satīsaras was drained, *Nīlamata*, 331, and there Pārvatī was brought to light in the form of the river Vitastā by a stroke of S'iva's trident Comp ib 248 sqq., and the full account of the legends regarding the origin of the Vitastā given in *Haracar* xii. Hence the Tīrtha bears the threefold name of *Nīlakuṇḍa*, *Vitastā* and *S'ūlaghāta* (*Nīlamata*, 1290, and *Haracar* xii 17) The Nīlanāga is now commonly known by the name of *Vērnāg*, which is evidently derived from the old designation *Vēr* of the present Shāhābād Pargaṇa (see *Āīn-i Akb*, l c, and gloss of A_2)

The pond, which is now of an octagonal shape, must, as the use of the term *Nīlakuṇḍa* shows, also in ancient times have approached a circular form It is, therefore, compared by K to a 'royal parasol' The stream which issued from it, and which is conventionally taken as the origin of the Vitastā, is described by the poet as the stick supporting the parasol [Another tradition takes the neighbouring spring of *Vitastātra* or Vith*vutur as the source of the river; see note i 102]

29 The above translation, given by Prof.

INTRODUCTION.

30. That [country] is attended by the Nāgas *S'ankha*, *Padma* and others resplendent with various jewels, just as the town of Kubera [is attended] by the [nine] guardians of treasures [among whom are S'ankha and Padma]

31. To protect, forsooth, the Nāgas who came [to seek shelter] afraid of Garuḍa, it has stretched out its arms high above in the guise of mountain-walls.

32 There [worshippers] touching the wooden image of the husband of Umā at the Tīrtha of *Pāpasūdana*, obtain comfort [in life] and final liberation [thereafter] as their rewards

Buhler, conforms to the gloss of A_2 In the *guhā* or ravine, towards which the Vitastā turns her face, we may see with him an allusion to the mountain gorges through which the river passes on leaving Kaśmir

30 By the name of *Nāga* are designated in Kaśmīr the tutelary deities which are supposed to reside in the springs and lakes of the Valley From early times considerable importance must have been attached to their worship, as is proved by the long account given of them in the *Nīlamata*, by the numerous temples erected near the more famous springs, and the popularity and undoubtedly ancient origin of the pilgrimages directed to the latter The belief in Nāgas is fully alive also in the Muhammadan population of the Valley, which in many places has not ceased to pay a kind of superstitious respect and ill-disguised worship to these deities

The popular conception of the Nāgas, as now current, represents them under the form of snakes, living in the water of the springs or lakes protected by them That this belief is not modern, is shown, e g by *Rājat* iv 601, vii 171. They can, however, also appear in human shape (see the legend of the Nāga Suśravas and his daughters, i 203 sqq) or may take the form of clouds and hail-storms, see notes i 179, 239, iii 16 sqq Springs generally are called to this day *nāg* in Kaśmīr

The two Nāgas named in our passage do not occupy a particularly high position in the hierarchy of Kaśmīrian springs *S'ankha* is mentioned as the fourteenth in the list of Nāgas in the *Nīlamata*, 902 I have not been able to trace his name elsewhere in the Māhātmyas and similar texts Two *Padma* Nāgas are referred to in the *Nīlamata*, 904 in the twenty-sixth place, besides two *Mahāpadma* Nāgas

The *Sankha Nāga* I am unable to locate at present [The statement in P Sahibrām's *Tīrthasamgraha*, quoted by Prof Buhler, refers to a *S'ankhapāla* Nāga, which is a different spring deity , The *Padma* Nāga has been assumed by Prof Buhler to be identical with the *Mahāpadma* Nāga, which is considered the tutelary deity of the Volur lake and has actually given his name to the latter , see note iv 593

I am induced to adopt this identification, notwithstanding the difference of the names, in view of the following passages S'rīvara, i 235, speaks of a flood in Kramarājya as uniting itself with the waters of the *Padmanāgasaras*, by which only the Volur can be meant In the Fourth Chronicle, 85, the *Padmanāga* is referred to in connection with a battle which takes place near *Bhaṭṭatunga*, i e the village of *Botung* close to the W shore of the Volur in the Zainagir Pargana Finally, the *Vitastāmāhātmya*, xxiv 37, speaks of the Ratnacūḍanāga uniting itself with the Padmanāga at the village of *Aiyesa*; the latter is shown in a gloss of my Manuscript as the village of *Ālus* on the N W shore of the Volur, in the Khuyahōm Pargana

31 The *Nīlamata* relates in its initial chapter, vv 17-70 the origin of the enmity between Kadru and Vinatā, wives of Kaśyapa, and their descendants The Nāgas, children of Kadru, being persecuted by Garuḍa, son of Vinatā, flee to the *Satīsaras*, where Viṣṇu grants them an asylum

The mountain-ranges enclosing the Valley to the north and south are compared to the arms raised by the personified Kaśmīr above the heads of the suppliant Nāgas

32 At the sacred spring of *Pāpasūdana* S'iva is worshipped under the name of *Kapaṭeśvara*, having shown himself there according to the legend under the disguise (*kapaṭa*) of pieces of wood floating on the water The Tīrtha is situated close to the village of *Kōthēr* (derived from Skr *Kapaṭeśvara*, comp Ks *Jyēṭher* < Skr *Jyeṣṭheśvara*, Note C i 124) in the Pargaṇa of Kuṭ*hār, 75° 18' long 33° 40' lat It consists of a large circular tank fed by springs and enclosed by a massive stone wall, which the tradition, referred to by K in vii. 190 sqq and still locally remembered, ascribes to King Bhoja of Mālava For a

33. There the goddess *Saṃdhyā* produces on an arid hill[side] water which serves as an indication of the presence of merit and the absence of sin. INTRODUCTION.

34. There the 'Self-created Fire' (*Svayaṃbhū*), rising from the womb of the earth, receives with numerous arms of flame the offerings of the sacrificers.

detailed account of the extant remains at Kapaṭeśvara, see note vii 190

The legend of the Tīrtha is related in *Nīlamata*, vv 1150-68, and at considerable length in *Haracar* xiv., from which the extant *Kapaṭeśvaramāhātmya* is taken, comp also *S'rīkaṇṭhac.* iii. 14

ALBĒRŪNĪ had heard of the Kapaṭeśvara Tīrtha and its legend He records, *India*, ii p 181, the story told by people from Kaśmīr that pieces of wood sent by Mahādeva appear annually in "a pond called *Kūdaishahr* to the left of the source of the Vitastā, in the middle of the month Vaiśākha" کودیشهر, the form in which the name is given by the MS of the *India*, is, as my friend Prof Seybold has been kind enough to point out on my inquiry, easily accounted for as a clerical error for کودیشور, i e *Kavadeśvar, a prakritized form of the name The date given for the miracle coincides with that indicated for the pilgrimage, *Haracar* xiv 122 The indication as to the position of the Tīrtha is also approximately correct

ABU-L-FAZL, *Āīn-i Akb*, ii p 358, mentions "in the village of Kotihār, a deep spring surrounded by stone temples When its water decreases, an image of Mahādeva in sandal-wood appears" The story related by K in vii 190 sqq, together with the legend heard by me on the spot in September, 1891, as to the miraculous cure of King Mucukund (see note *l c*) seems to indicate that healing powers were once ascribed to the water of the Tīrtha

33 The goddess *Saṃdhyā* shows herself in the famous spring commonly known to Kaśmīr Brahmans as *Trisaṃdhyā* It is situated in a side valley opening to the S. of the village of *Devalgōm* in the Bring Pargana, circ 75° 22′ long 33° 32′ lat The small hamlet close to the spring takes its name *Sundᵃbrār* from the name of *Saṃdhyādevī* (Kś. *brār* < Skr *bhaṭṭārikā* 'goddess')

The spring is supposed to flow intermittently in the months of Jyaiṣṭha and Āṣāḍha, three times in the day and three times during the night, and has, on account of the analogy thus presented with the threefold recitation of the Gāyatrī (Saṃdhyā), been the object of a pilgrimage evidently since very early times It is mentioned in the *Nīlamata*, 1288, and its legendary origin and miraculous powers are described in the *Trisaṃdhyāmāhātmya*: comp also Fourth Chron. 843

Dr BERNIER, who visited the spring in May, 1665, at the desire of his patron Dānishmand Khān, in order to examine 'les merveilles,' has described the phenomenon with his usual accuracy, and has recorded a very ingenious explanation based on a close observation of the topographical features of the neighbourhood, see *Bernier's Travels*, ed Constable, pp 410 sqq, also VIGNE, *Travels*, i. 339

A curious passage from the *Dābistān*, referring to Trisaṃdhya, is quoted in full by TROYER, i p 362, comp also *Āīn-i Akb*, ii p 355

puṇyapāpānām anvayavyatirekayoḥ K. seems to allude here to the belief, still current at the present day and referred to *Haracar* iv 50, according to which the 'miracle' does not show itself if any wicked or incredulous person happens to visit the spring When Colonel Miān Singh, the Sikh Governor, came to Trisaṃdhya, the goddess remained hidden until he had subjected himself to a lengthy 'upavāsa'

34 *Svayaṃbhū*, or in the language of the villagers *Suyam*, is the name of a spot, situated half a mile to the S W of the village Nichᵃhōm, circ 74° 10′ long 34° 22′ lat., in the Machᵃpūr Pargaṇa, where volcanic phenomena are observed in a shallow hollow formed between banks of clay and sand. In certain years vapours issue here from fissures of the ground, then sufficiently hot to boil the S'rāddha offerings, which the pilgrims place there When I visited the site in September, 1892, the phenomenon was said not to have taken place for the last fifteen years But the soil of the hollow appeared even then bright red, like burned clay, and was furrowed by narrow fissures. P Govind Kaul attended a pilgrimage to Svayambhū in the year 1876, when the symptoms were noticeable for about ten months VIGNE, *Travels*, ii p. 280, mentions occurrences of the phenomenon at the beginning of the present century For an earlier reference, see *Āīn-i Akb.*, ii. p. 365. comp also LAWRENCE, *Valley*, pp 42 sq

The *Svayambhūmāhātmya* relates at length the legend how S'iva (Svayambhū) at the request of the gods who were hard pressed by the Asuras, took there the incarnation of *Kālāgnirudra*: comp. also *Nīlamata*, 1040.

INTRODUCTION

35 There the goddess *Sarasvatī* herself is seen in the form of a swan in a lake [situated] on the summit of the *Bheḍa*-hill (*Bheḍagiri*) which is sanctified by the *Gaṅgā*-source (*Gaṅgodbheda*)

36 There even to this day drops of sandal-ointment offered by the gods are to be seen at *Nandikṣetra*, the [permanent] residence of S'iva

37 There when visiting the [shrine of the] goddess *S'āradā*, one reaches at once the river *Madhumatī*, and [the river of] *Sarasvatī* worshipped by poets

A pilgrimage of King Uccala to Svayambhu is mentioned by K., viii 250

35. For an account of this long-forgotten Tīrtha, which has been traced by me at the present *Buḍ°brar* (Bheḍadevi) in the hills west of S'upiyan, see Note *A* in Appendix

36 The name *Nandikṣetra* is given by the *Nilamata*, the *Nandikṣetra* and *Haramukuṭa Māhātmyas* to a high alpine valley at the foot of the east Glaciers of the Haramukh Peaks, which contains the sacred *Kālodaka* Lake, popularly known as *Nund-Kōl* This lake, situated circ 75° long 34° 26' lat, at an altitude of about 13,000, forms one of the chief stations on the pilgrimage to the sacred Gangā Lake (*Uttaramānasa*), which lies a short distance above it According to a legend told at length in the *Nilamata*, vv 1061-1131, *Nandin*, born as son of S'ilāda, performed in the Kālodaka a great penance whereupon S'iva took up his permanent abode there by the side of his faithful attendant The inner portion of the lake, showing a deep blue colour, is supposed to mark the residence of *Kāla* or S'iva, the outer portion, of a light green colour, that of *Nandin* S'iva is worshipped there under the name of *Nandīsa*, comp *Rājat* i 113, 123 sq 130, 150 ii 170

K extends the term of *Nandikṣetra* so as to include the neighbouring site of *Bhūteśvara*, or Buth'ser, in the Kank°nai Valley below *Nund-Kol* (comp note i 107), when speaking of the erection of a temple in honour of Bhutesa at Nandiksetra, i 1?? also in vii 954, viii 77, 2365 Nandiksetra is mentioned besides in ii 170 vii 640 viii 2430 and referred to as *Nandīśakṣetra*, i 113

I have not been able to trace, either in the texts or in oral tradition, the legend alluded to by K as to the drops of '*candana*' left from a sacrifice of the gods performed at Nandikṣetra

37. The Tīrtha here referred to is the ancient shrine of S'ārada, traced by me in September, 1892, at *S'ardi* in the upper Kiṣangangā Valley, circ 74° 15 long 34° 48' lat For a detailed account of the identification and a description of the extant temple, see Note *B* in Appendix

The shrine of S'āradā is situated on a small hill, above the junction of the Kiṣangangā River with a small stream known to this day as *Madhumati*, which flows from the mountain range to the S E Almost opposite to S'ardi a large stream, coming from the snowy range towards Cilas, meets the Kisangangā from the N It is called Kankatori on the map, but designated as *Sarasvati* by the *S'āradāmāhātmya* and local tradition Our verse contains an allusion to the union of these three streams, the Kiṣangangā, which is also called simply *Gangā* or *Sindhu* in the Mahatmya, being represented by *S'āradā* a form of Parvati-Ganga

K has occasion to mention the shrine of S'arada (S'aradasthana) in connection with Jayasimha's siege of the fort of *S'irahśilā*, traced by me some miles below S'ardi, comp viii 2556, 2706, with Note *K*, viii 2492

The pilgrimage to this shrine must have enjoyed considerable renown in old days, as even ALBĒRŪNĪ heard of it "In inner Kashmir, about two or three days' journey from the capital in the direction towards the mountains of Bolor, there is a wooden idol called *S'arada* (sic) which is much venerated and frequented by pilgrims," see *India* i p 117 ABU-L-FAZL, *Āin-i Akb*, ii p 365, also mentions the shrine of S'arada, adding a story according to which the temple begins to shake on the 8th S'udi of each month

The upper Kiṣangangā Valley was practically independent territory or Yāghistān during the Moghul and Pathan rule This circumstance, in connection with the distance of S'ardi from Kasmir proper and the difficulty of the paths leading to it, explains why the Tīrtha has become practically unknown among the Brahmans of the capital It is nowadays frequented only by the Brahman families living in the neighbouring Parganas of the Kamrāz For the convenience of the worshippers a substitute of the ancient shrine of the goddess has now been provided in the close neighbourhood of S'rinagar At the time prescribed for the S'āradā pilgrimage, a Nāga called *Sāradākuṇḍa*, near the village of

38 In that [country] which *Keśava* (Viṣṇu) and *Īśāna* (S'iva) adorn as *Cakrabhṛt* and *Vijayeśa*, as well as in other [forms], there is not a space as large as a grain of sesamum without a Tīrtha.

39 That country may be conquered by the force of spiritual merits, but not by forces of soldiers. Hence its inhabitants are afraid only of the world beyond

40 There the rivers are free from dangers and aquatic monsters, provided with warm bath-houses for the winter, and furnished with comfortable embankments [for descending] into the water

41. Out of respect, as it were, the sun does not burn fiercely, during summer

Tsatsa, some four miles to the N of the Dal lake, is visited by numerous pilgrims

I am unable to trace the locality *Harel*, which the gloss of A₂ mentions as the site of S'āradā According to Prof Buhler's note, "*Hōril* is found on the Survey Map in the Pargaṇa Khuyahōm, to the north of the Vollur Lake, into which the Madhumatī falls, as marked on the native map" But the name Hōril does not occur on the maps accessible to me [The Madhumatī referred to in this note is another river of identical name which K. mentions elsewhere, see note vii 1179]

The shrine of S'āradā is indicated as the northern boundary mark of Kaśmīr in the *Deśavyavastha*, see my *Catal of Jammu MSS*, p. 307

38. The above translation follows the interpretation given by the gloss of A₂ K refers particularly to Viṣṇu-*Cakradhara* and S'iva-*Vijayeśa* as two famous images of the two gods located close to each other

Viṣṇu-*Cakradhara* had an ancient shrine on the alluvial plateau or *Udar*, which lies on the left bank of the Vitastā, one mile below the town of Vij'brōr The plateau bears to this day the name of *Tsak'dar Udar* comp regarding the site, *Report*, p 18 K mentions frequently the temple and hill of *Cakradhara*, which also served in times of trouble as a fortified position, see e g i 261, iv 191, viii 971 sqq

The *Nīlamata*, 1170, mentions Cakradhara in the first place among the forms of Viṣṇu and gives, vv 189 sqq, a fragmentary account of the legend connected with this place of worship, comp for the latter also *Haracar* viii 61 sqq For a suggestion as to the exact position of the temple, see note viii 971 The site is no longer an object of pilgrimage

The temple of S'iva *Vijayeśa* or *Vijayeśvara*, since ancient times one of the most famous shrines of the Valley, has given its name to the town in which it was situated, *Vijayeśvara*, the modern *Vij'brōr*, 75° 9' long 33° 48' lat Ks *brār* 'god,' a derivative of Skr bhaṭṭāraka, corresponds to *īśvara*, comp note ii 134, also Ks *brār* as the equivalent of Skr *deva*, note i 33. A reconstruction of the temple is mentioned by K in the reign of Aśoka, see note i 105, where some account has been given of the existing remains Different legends connected with Vijayeśvara are related at length in the *Haracar* and in the *Vijayeśvaramāhātmyas*, For an account of the modern Vij'brōr, see Vigne *Travels*, ii pp 23 sq, and Ince, *Handbook*, p 175 The name 'Bijbihara' 'Bijbiara, etc, given to the town in European books and maps is based on a faulty Panjābī pronunciation and partly on 'popular etymology']

39. Note the pun in *paralokāt*, which may also mean 'host of enemies'

40 *sasnasnānagṛhāḥ* The hot-bath rooms or Hamāms play a great part in the winter life of Kaśmīrīans of all classes They serve not only for the purpose of ablutions, but also as comfortable dwelling-rooms during the season of severe cold The poorer people, as far as they are Muhammadan, resort to the public Hamāms, which are attached to almost every larger mosque of the country In the city of S'rīnagar these Hamāms are found in particularly large numbers close to the river-bank, where they can be conveniently supplied with water A similar custom seems to have existed in K's time. This explains why reference is made to these 'warm bath-houses' in connection with the description of the rivers

sravthatīrāspadāḥ The banks of the Vitastā are to this day within S'rīnagar and other large towns lined with stone Ghāṭs, used by the whole population for bathing purposes Their Ks name, *yār'bal* ('friends' meeting place'), shows the great part these embankments play in the daily life of the people K may also think of the wooden bathing huts on the river, regarding which see note viii 706

INTRODUCTION

even, in that [country] which has been created by his father (Kaśyapa), as he knows that it ought not to be tormented

42. Learning, lofty houses, saffron, icy water and grapes: things that even in heaven are difficult to find, are common there.

43. In the three worlds the jewel-producing [earth] is to be extolled, on that the region of Kubera (the North), there [next] the mountain range, the father of Gaurī, and [lastly] the country that is enclosed by that [mountain range].

Fifty-two kings lost

44. In that [country] fifty-two rulers up to (preceding) *Gonanda* [the Third], who in the Kaliyuga were contemporaries of the *Kurus* and of the sons of *Kuntī* (Pāṇḍavas), have not been recorded

45. In those times there were assuredly in consequence of the demerit of those rulers of *Kaśyapa's* land (Kaśmīr), no poets of creative power who would produce their bodies of glory

46. We pay reverence to that naturally sublime craft of poets without whose favour even mighty kings are not remembered, though the earth, encircled by the oceans, was sheltered under the shadow of their arms as in the shade of forest-trees

47. Without thee, O brother composer of true poetry, this world does not even in its dreams know of the existence of those ornaments of the earth who once rested their feet on the temples of elephants, who possessed wealth, and in whose palaces maidens dwelt, moons of the day,—without thee the universe is blind, why [praise thee] with a hundred hymns?

Chronology

48-49. The kings *Gonanda* [the First] and his successors ruled *Kaśmīr* during twenty-two hundred and sixty-eight years in the Kaliyuga. This calculation of the duration of these [kings' reigns] has been thought wrong by some [authors] who were misled by the statement that the *Bhārata* [war] took place at the end of the Dvāpara [Yuga]

42. *vidyā veśmāni tuṅgāni.* I now prefer to read thus instead of *vidyāveśmāni t°* of Ed, as 'lofty halls of learning' are nowhere specially mentioned by K nor otherwise ascribed to the country The above was evidently also the interpretation of the glossator A_2. The abundance of excellent timber and the difference of the climate explains why ordinary dwelling-houses in Kasmir, even in villages, are constructed of far greater height than generally found in India proper

Kasmir has long been famous for its saffron, chiefly cultivated in the neighbourhood of Padmapura (Pampar), comp Fourth Chron 928 sqq, and LAWRENCE, *Valley*, p. 342 Regarding the cultivation of grapes, comp *Valley*, p 351

K refers repeatedly to the Kasmirians' delight in the cool water of their rivers, see iii 362 viii 1863

43. The father of Gaurī is the Himālaya

44 As K distinctly includes i 16 Gonanda I among the fifty-two lost kings, *ā Gonandāt* can refer only to Gonanda III., with whom the list of known rulers begins, and cannot be translated 'beginning with Gonanda' The correct interpretation is indicated by the gloss of A_2

48-49 The above translation of the Yugma conforms to the view set forth by Dr. Hultzsch in his able discussion of the passage, *Ind Ant*, xviii p 99 It also agrees with the earlier renderings of TROYER, i p. 338,

50 If the years of those kings, the duration of whose reigns is known, are added up, leaving aside the above [2268 years of Gonanda I. and his successors], no rest remains from the passed period of the Kaliyuga, as [will be seen] from the following

51 When six hundred and fifty-three years of the Kaliyuga had passed away, the *Kurus* and *Pāndavas* lived on the earth

52 At present, in the twenty fourth year of the Laukika [era], one thousand and seventy years of the S'aka era have passed

ii pp 7, 366, and of Wilson, *Essay*, p 97 K accepts the calculation of 2268 years for the aggregate of the reigns from Gonanda I. to Yudhiṣṭhira I, i.e for the reigns contained in the First Taraṅga He does not indicate its source, but uses it as one of the bases of his chronology

According to Prof BUHLER's rendering, K would declare also the calculation of 2268 years as erroneous But if this interpretation were adopted we could neither calculate the duration of the reign of Yudhiṣṭhira I, for which K does not specify the number of years, nor explain properly the meaning of the next verse K's aim in the whole argument is to prove Kali 653 as the starting point of Kasmir chronology He, therefore, *a limine*, refutes the opinion which placed Gonanda I and the Bharata war at the commencement of the Kali era

For a full discussion of K's computations, as contained in i 48–56, and their bearing on his system of chronology, comp the Introduction

50 This verse, as I understand it, gives K's reason for accepting the calculation of 2268 years for the reigns contained in the i Taranga Dr Hultzsch, *l c*, has shown that if we add up the figures given by K in Tarangas ii-viii for the reigns from the dethronement of Yudhiṣṭhira I to his own time, we get a rough total of 1328 years (the odd months and days in the totals of the reigns of the ii and iii. Tarangas being disregarded) If to this total are added the 2268 years for the i Taranga, and the result deducted from the 4249 years which had elapsed of the Kali era at the time of K's composition (see verse 52 below), there remain 653 years This is exactly the number of years which had elapsed according to the statement accepted by K (i 51) between the commencement of the Kaliyuga and the date of the Bhārata war, i e Gonanda I Thus the whole period of the Kali era up to the author's time is accounted for, and 'no rest remains' The equation of K, as indicated in this verse, is therefore :—

A		B	
		Reigns of kings from Gonanda I to Yudhiṣṭhira I (i 48)	2268
Years of the Kaliyuga elapsed in 1070 S'aka	= 1070	Reigns of kings mentioned in Taraṅgas ii-viii, up to S'aka 1070 .	1328
	+ 3179	Kali years passed up to Gonanda I	653
	4249		4249

Prof Buhler's rendering differs partly on account of his interpretation of i 48, 49, and partly owing to the reading *tadnvarjitāt* adopted by him This reading, which Prof. B seems to have taken from the former editions, is found also in L, and deserves, therefore, consideration If it were adopted, *tad* would have to be taken as referring to *Bhāratam* in i 49 As this construction seems harsh and as the translation given above better satisfies the context, I prefer to adhere to the reading *tadmvarjitān* as found in A

evam refers to the statement of the next verse, by which K corrects the error indicated in i 49 as to the date of the Bhārata war, comp the similar use of *evaṁ* in v 55.

52. Regarding the *Laukika* or *Saptarṣi* era, which has remained in current use among the Brahman population of Kaśmir to the present day, comp. the remarks of Prof BUHLER, *Report*, pp. 59 sq He was the first to bring the initial date of this era, viz. *Caitra sudi* 1 of Kalisamvat 25 (expired) or the year 3076-75 B C, to the notice of European scholars and to account for the equation given in our verse

The following calculation shows that the year in which K wrote his introduction, was Laukikasamvat 4224 —

Distance between Kali 25 (initial date of Laukika era) and the initial date of the S'aka era . . .	3154
Distance between S'akasamvat 1 and Kalhaṇa's time . .	1070
Total of Saptarṣi years . .	4224

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53. On the whole, at this time two thousand three hundred and thirty years have passed since [the accession of] *Gonanda* the Third

54 Twelve hundred and sixty-six years are believed [to be comprised] in the sum of the reigns of those fifty-two [lost] kings

55 On this [point] a decision is furnished by the [words of the] author of the [*Bṛhat*]*saṃhitā* who [with reference to the fact] that the Great Bear moves from one Nakṣatra to the other in a hundred years, has thus [indicated] its course

56 "When King *Yudhiṣṭhira* ruled the earth, the Munis (the Great Bear) stood in the [Nakṣatra] *Maghāḥ*. The date of his reign was 2526 years [before] the S'aka era"

GONANDA I

57 The glorious king of *Kaśmīr Gonanda* was worshipped by the [Northern] region which *Kailāsa* lights up [with its dazzling snow], and which the tossing *Gangā* clothes with a soft garment

58 The earth, afraid, as it were, of the infusion of *S'eṣa's* poison, left the body of the serpent, and took up a resting-place in the king's arm that was adorned by the jewel sacred to Garuda

The omission of the centuries in giving Laukika dates is an ancient custom, as shown by the dates recorded in this era in inscriptions and MSS For a full discussion of the facts connected with the Laukika cycle and its use in the hill regions neighbouring on Kaśmīr, see CUNNINGHAM, *Indian Eras*, pp 6-17

53. The expression *prāyaḥ* seems to indicate a 'rough' calculation such as assumed in note i 50 If we add to the rough total of 1328 years for the reigns of the Taraṅgas ii-viii the 1002 years which remain for the reigns of Gonanda III-Yudhiṣṭhira I, after deducting from the total figure 2268 for the i Taraṅga (i 48) the 1266 years of the fifty-two 'lost' kings, we obtain as result the above aggregate of 2330 years for the reigns from Gonanda III to Kalhaṇa's time

54. The expression *mata* seems to be used in order to show that the figure 1266 for the aggregate of the reigns of the 'lost' kings was deduced by K himself by means of a computation based on the traditional figure given in i 48 and the rough sum of 2330 years (i 53)

55-56 K gives by the quotation from Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, xiii 3, the evidence for his statement (i 51) regarding the date of the Kuru-Pandavas and Gonanda I The year 2526 before S'aka corresponds to 653 Kali

This date of Yudhiṣṭhira's coronation is taken by K also as the first year of Gonanda I, and consequently as the starting point of his chronological calculations

The statement (i 82) which makes Gonanda II, the grandson of Gonanda I, a contemporary of the Great War, is not in contradiction herewith (see *Report*, p lxxv note), as some time is supposed to have elapsed between Yudhiṣṭhira's *abhiṣeka* and the commencement of the war

Regarding the theory which makes the Great Bear move within each lunar mansion for one century, see *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* xiii 4, ALBERUNI *India* i pp 391 393, and CUNNINGHAM, *Indian Eras* p 11

57 Under the name of *Gangā* the *Sindhu* or *Sind* River is referred to The Sind River, which drains the mountain ranges to the north of the Valley from Dras to the Haramukh and is the greatest tributary of the Vitastā within Kaśmīr, is distinctly identified with the *Gangā* by the *Nīlamata*, vv 297 sqq (*Gangā Sindhus tu vijñeyā Vitastā Yamunā tathā*) See also *Jonar* 864 (where the construction of a canal from the Sind into the Mānasbal Lake is meant), *Haracar* xii 10, and *Vitastāmāhātmya*, xx 17 The source of this Sindhu-Gangā is placed by ancient tradition in the sacred Gang Lake (Gangabal) below the N E glaciers of the Haramukh Peaks, see note i 36 and the *Haramukuṭagangā* and *Nandikṣetra Māhātmyas*

Numerous springs and rivulets in Kaśmīr are considered by local tradition as manifestations of the Gangā, but are too unimportant to be alluded to in our passage

58 The jewel sacred to Garuda, the destroyer of serpents, is the emerald B

The faulty reading *deśam* of the earlier edd. (instead of *dehaṃ*) is found already in L

59. Called for help by his relative *Jarāsaṁdha*, he besieged with large forces *Mathurā*, [the town] of the enemy of *Kaṁsa* (Kṛṣṇa) GONANDA I.

60. When he pitched his camp on the bank of the *Kālindī* (Yamunā), the fame of the [hostile] warriors disappeared, together with the smiles of the women of *Yadu's* race.

61. Once he whose ensign is the plough (Balabhadra), engaged that warrior in battle, in order to save his utterly shattered forces

62 While the combat of these two [warriors] of equal strength [continued] with doubtful issue, the triumphal wreath of the goddess of victory faded, since it remained long in her hand

63. Finally, on the field of battle, with limbs wounded by [each other's] weapons, the king of *Kaśmīr* embraced the earth and the scion of *Yadu* the goddess of victory.

64 When that good warrior had gone the road which great heroes easily find, his son, the illustrious *Dāmodara*, ruled the earth DĀMODARA I.

65. That proud prince, though he had obtained a kingdom which offered in profusion the means of enjoyments, did not find peace as he brooded over his father's death.

66. He whose arm, [strong] like a tree, was burning with pride, heard that the *Vṛṣṇis* (Yādavas) had been invited by the *Gāndhāras* on the banks of the Indus to an approaching Svayaṁvara and had come

67 Then, when they were near, he led against them, [impelled] by excessive wrath, an expedition obscuring the sky with the dust that the horses of his army raised

68 In that battle the maiden who was impatient for the wedding and about to choose herself a husband, became dependent [on one who would choose her], while [instead of her] the celestial maidens chose husbands in *Gandhāra*-land

69 Then the valiant ruler of the earth-disc, attacking in the battle with the

59 *Jarāsaṁdha*, king of Magadha, was the father-in-law of Kaṁsa, whom Kṛṣṇa slew

62 I have followed the reading of A₁ *kiṁ jayasrag*, as the particle *kiṁ* seems required to bring out the Utprekṣālaṁkāra of the verse The v. l. entered by A₂, *varanasrag*, is found also in L

64. The road to Svarga is meant B.

66. Regarding the country of the Gāndhāras, in the valley of the lower Kābul River, see CUNNINGHAM, *Anc. Geography*, pp 47 sqq , LASSEN, *Ind. Alt.*, i pp. 502 sq ; ii pp. 150, *Si-yu-ki*, i pp 97 sqq.

68. The reading *nighnati* of A₁ has been doubted (also by myself in Ed) without sufficient reason, it has since been confirmed by L and admits, as shown above, of a satisfactory explanation The first half of the verse contains a *virodhābhāsa* She who was expecting to choose from among many wooers, found after the battle no one to choose, and became dependent (*nighna*) on the choice of others *nighnati* comes from a denominative √*nighna* (*nighnībhavati*) The v l recorded by A₂, *nighnyate*, is evidently a lectio levior, due to the conjecture of some puzzled reader.

The 'celestial maidens' are the Apsaras who receive the brave men fallen in battle

69. The numerous puns on the word *cakra*, disc, make this verse dear to the Paṇḍit

DÂMODARA I

god whose weapon is the war-disc, the disc-like array of his enemies, went to heaven by the road of the edge of the battle-disc.

YAŚOVATĪ

70 Then *Kṛṣṇa*, the descendant of *Yadu*, had the [king's] pregnant widow *Yaśovatī* installed on the throne by the Brahmans

71 When his advisers at that time were grumbling [at the coronation of a woman], the slayer of Madhu (Kṛṣṇa) appeased them by reciting this verse from the [Nīlamata-]Purāṇa.

72 "*Kaśmīr*-land is *Pārvatī*, know that its king is a portion of *Śiva*. Though he be wicked, a wise man who desires [his own] prosperity, will not despise him."

73 The eyes of men which [before] showed no respect for women as [being only] objects of enjoyment, looked [after Kṛṣṇa's words] upon her (Yaśovatī) as the mother of her subjects and like a goddess

74 Then in the proper month that queen bore a son distinguished by divine marks, a new sprout of the family tree which had been consumed by fire

GONANDA II

75 For this [son] the Brahmans performed the coronation and kindred rites in conjunction with his Jātakarman and other ceremonies

76 The infant king received in due course, together with his regal dignity, the name of his grandfather *Gonanda*

77 Two nurses were engaged in bringing up the child, the one gave him her milk, the other all her wealth

78 The ministers of his father, who took care that his being pleased should not remain without results, bestowed wealth upon his attendants even when he smiled without cause

cakradhārādhvanā, 'by the road of the edge of the battle-disc', may also be dissolved, *cakradhārah kṛṣṇah, sa eva panthas, tena*, and be translated 'the road (being opened to him by) Kṛṣṇa, the bearer of the war disc' To be slain by a person as holy as Kṛṣṇa would, of course, ensure heaven to the victim Perhaps, Kalhaṇa intended it to be taken both ways B

70. K.'s words appear here to contain a reminiscence of the corresponding passage of the *Nīlamata*, vv 7-8, *antarvatnīṁ tasya patnīṁ Vāsudevo 'bhyaṣecayat* || *bhaviṣyatputrarājyārthaṁ tasya deśasya yaśavat* | The extant text of the Nīlamata does not contain the name of *Yaśovatī* The latter form of the name is confirmed by L against A₁. *Yaśomatī*, comp. viii. 3308

71 For *mayavarvarat*, comp the gloss of A., *iśamayam asu*, and K.'s use of the expression, viii 777.

72 The verse is not found in this form in the present text of the Nīlamata but it can scarcely be anything else but a reference to, or free quotation of, the passage which now reads, ślo 237 *Kaśmīrāyāṁ tathā rāja tvayā jñeyo harāṁśajah* | *tasyājñā na kartavyā satataṁ bhūtim icchatā* The verse is quoted, in the form given by K., *Jonar.* 134

76. The *nāmakarman* here referred to follows, according to the present Acāra of the Kaśmīrians, one day after the *jātakarman*

77 The second nurse meant is the earth (*dhātrī*) The reading of A_3. *prasavini*, for *prasravini* A, L, deserves consideration, a kind of *anuprāsa* being, perhaps, intended with the following *vasusampat'prasūh*

78 It is the custom and duty of kings to give presents whenever they are pleased The ministers watched lest the custom should be neglected in the case of the infant king, and gave presents whenever he smiled B

79. When his officers, unable to understand the child's indistinct [words], did not carry out his orders, they considered themselves guilty of a crime. GONANDA II.

80. When the infant king ascended his father's throne, he, with his legs dangling in the air, could not remove (i.e. fulfil) the desire of the footstool [to bear his feet].

81. The ministers placed him whose locks were moved by the wind from the Chowries, on the royal throne, and attended [in his presence] to the legal and religious disputes of his subjects.

82. Thus [it came about that] the king of *Kaśmīr*, being an infant, was taken neither by the *Kurus* nor by the *Pāṇḍavas* to assist them in their war.

83. Thirty-five kings who followed after him, have been immersed in the ocean of oblivion, their names and deeds having perished through the destruction of the records. Thirty-five kings forgotten.

84. After them *Lava*, an ornament of the earth, a favourite of Victory that wears the flowing robe of fame, became king. LAVA.

85. The roar of his army which kept away sleep from the universe, sent—O wonder—his enemies to their long slumber.

86. Constructing eighty-four lakhs of stone-buildings, he founded the town of *Lolora*.

87. After bestowing on a community of Brahmans the Agrahāra of *Levāra* on the *Ledarī*, this valiant [king], the glory of whose heroism was blameless, ascended to heaven.

80. The verse, as I take it, is intended to describe that the child-king, though he sat on his throne, was unable yet to make use of its necessary adjunct, the royal footstool.

For another interpretation, see *Report*, p. lxxviii.

82. Comp. in the *Nīlamata* the question of Janamejaya, śl. 4, *katham Kāśmīriko rāja nāyātas tatra kīrtaya | Pāṇḍavair Dhārtarāṣṭraiśca na vṛtaḥ sa katham nṛpaḥ ||*; and the last line of the fragmentary answer of Vaiśampāyana, śl. 10: *bālabhārāt Pāṇḍusutair nānītaḥ Kauravair na vā.*

86. I am unable to indicate on the map the real or supposed position of this magnificent town. Nor have I been able to trace a local name resembling *Lolora*. It is, however, noteworthy that a tradition of some antiquity and extant to this day, has connected the name of King *Lava* and of the town founded by him with that of the Lōlau (Lōlāb) Pargaṇa, in Kamrāz. This tradition can be traced in the gloss (probably to be read *Lolava*), written in A by an old hand; in the remark of ABU-L-FAZL (*Āin-i Akb.*, ii. p. 381) and the notes of the Persian Chronicles of Rafī'-ud-dīn and Muḥammad 'Aẓim (Wilson, *Essay*, p. 17); comp. also *Report*, p. lxxix. The old Skr. name of the Lōlau district is, however, *Laulāha* (see vii. 1241), the form *Lalaraka* of the Lokapr. ii. and P. Sāhibrām's *Lalava* being clearly modern adaptations.

Dr. Hultzsch has already called attention to the evident fact that the connection of certain local names with *Lava* and the other seven kings whose names K. took from Padmamihira (i. 18), is based on popular etymology, see *Ind. Ant.*, xviii. p. 69. The tendency to explain local names by their apparent relation to names of kings, real or imaginary, continues to influence popular tradition in Kaśmīr to the present day. This fact supports Dr. Hultzsch's conclusion as to the unhistorical character of Padmamihira's list.

87. The *Ledarī* is the modern *Lid^ar*, one of the principal tributaries of the Vitastā; it drains the mountains south of the upper Sind Valley, and flows into the Vitastā between *Anantanāg* and *Vijᵉbrōr*. The Ledarī is mentioned *Śrīv.* 221; *Jonar.* 106, 118.

KUŚA.

88. After him followed his son *Kuśa*, lotus-eyed and expert in [deeds of] prowess, who granted the Agrahāra of *Kuruhāra*

KHAGENDRA

89 After him his son, the illustrious *Khagendra*, obtained the throne, the destroyer of the elephant array of his foes, a leader [of men], an abode of valour.

90. He established the two chief Agrahāras, *Khāgi* and *Khonamuṣa*, and then ascended to that world [above] which he had purchased by deeds bright like [the glitter of] Śiva's [teeth in] smiling.

SURENDRA

91 Then ruled his son *Surendra*, possessed of priceless greatness, who was far removed from sinfulness (*or*, whose state resembled that of Indra, though lacking its continuity), and whose deeds astonished the world

92 The lord of the gods (*surendra*) could not be compared to this *Surendra*, [since he bears the epithets] *śatamanyu*, 'the harbourer of a hundred grudges,' and *gotrabhid*, 'the shatterer of the mountains,' [while King *Surendra* deserved to be called] *śāntamanyu*, 'he whose anger is appeased,' and *gotrarakṣin*, 'the protector of the Gotra (*or*, of the mountains).'

Agrahāra is the regular term used by K for designating a 'Jāgīr' village or piece of land, the revenue of which is assigned to an individual, corporation or religious institution For Agrahāras granted to corporations or individual Brahmans, see i 307, 311, 314, 341, iii. 8, 316, 481, 689, v 403, 442, vi 89 336, vii 180, viii 898 sqq etc (comp Index), for the Agrahara of a non-Brahman, see v 397

Regarding the grant of Agrahāras for the maintenance of sacred shrines, comp notes ii 132; v. 168 sqq

The custom of bestowing 'Jāgīrs has continued in Kaśmīr through the times of the Muhammadan and Sikh rules to the present day, the condition of tenure being manifold

Levāra can be identified with the modern village of *Liv*ᵉ*r*, situated on the right bank of the *Lid*ᵉ*r* in the *Dachunpor* Pargaṇa, 75° 18' long 33° 58' lat Passing through the village in September, 1891, I was not able to trace in or near it any remains of antiquity

88 The gloss of A₁ identifies *Kuruhāra* with the modern *Kular*, which is probably correct. Kular is a fair-sized village on the western side of the Lidᵉr Valley, some four miles to the N of Livᵉr

89 *ripunāgakulāntakah* admits of a double interpretation, according as *Khagendra* is taken as the king's name or as that of *Garuda*, 'the lord of birds' and the destroyer of the Nāgas

Khāgi must be identified with the modern *Khāg*, a considerable village situated in the Biru Pargaṇa, 73° 36' long 34° lat It is mentioned again, i 340, as an Agrahāra of Gopāditya under the name of *Khāgikā* [The identification with *Kākᵉpor*, on the Vitastā above Pāmpar, found in the Chronicles of Haidar Malik, Narayan Kōl, etc, is not supported by any evidence]

Khonamuṣa is well-known as the modern village of *Khunᵉmoh*, situated about three miles to the N N W of Pāmpar (Pampoor of Map), 75° 1' long 34° 3' lat It is famous for its saffron cultivation, and is the birth-place of the poet Bilhaṇa who has described it in his *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, xviii 70-72 Gen. CUNNINGHAM first identified the place, *Anc Geogr*, p 98 For a very accurate and full account of the village and its antiquities, see Prof BÜHLER's *Report*, pp 4 sqq

91 *dirghamagharattābahiṣkṛtah*, of which a double translation has been given, may be taken as two words, *dirgham* and *agharattābahiṣkṛtah*, or as a compound *dirghamagharattā-bahiṣkṛtah* The author, like a good Kavi, loves his pun dearly, and intends it to be taken both ways. B

In regard to the second meaning I have been obliged to depart from B.'s rendering 'who far surpassed Indra's state,' in view of the ordinary meaning of *bahiṣkṛta*: see *P W.* s v

92 Indra's ancient epithet *gotrabhid*, which in Vedic mythology refers to the opening of the Gotra or pen of the cows (the waters liberated by Indra), is in post-vedic literature connected with the story of the cutting of the mountains' wings, comp the passages quoted *P W* s v In the case of the Kaśmirian Surendra the epithet *gotrarakṣin*

93. That illustrious [king] founded in the neighbourhood of the *Darad* country a town called *Soraka*, and built the Vihāra called *Narendrabhavana*. SURENDRA.

94. In his own kingdom that [ruler] of great fame and of pious works, established a Vihāra called *Saurasa*, which was distinguished by religious merit.

95. When this king had died without issue, *Godhara*, the scion of another family, protected the earth, together with the finest of mountains. GODHARA.

96. This noble-minded, pious king went to heaven after bestowing on Brahmans the Agrahāra of *Godharā-Hastiśālā*.

97. After him his son *Suvarṇa* was a giver of gold (*suvarṇa*) to the needy, he who brought to *Karāla* the canal (*kulyā*) called *Suvarṇamaṇi*. SUVARṆA.

may refer either to the protection of his family or to the rule over the mountains (*gotra*), i.e. Kaśmīr.

93. Neither the town nor the Vihāra mentioned here can be traced with certainty. From the reference made to the country of the Dards and the expression *svamaṇḍale* used in contrast in the following verse, it appears that *Soraka* should be looked for outside Kaśmīr proper. The term *bhavana* 'residence' is found in the designations of other Kaśmīr Vihāras; comp. *Amṛtabhavana*, iii. 9, *Skandabhavana*, vi. 137, *Morākabhavana*, iii. 356; also *Notes on Ou-K'ong*, p. 9.

For *Sorakākhyaṁ* L reads *Saurakā*°. Regarding the *Darads*, see note i. 312.

94. The Vihāra *Saurasa* may, perhaps, as suggested by P. Govind Kaul, be located at the modern village of *Surar*, situated on the Sangsafēd (Chatskan') River in the Nāgām Pargaṇa, 74° 45' long. 33° 54' lat. It is evident that the attribution of the localities *Soraka* and *Saurasa* to a king Surendra rests on popular etymology; see note i. 86.

96. The Agrahāra here named has hitherto remained unidentified owing to the faulty text of the previous Edd., which read *Godharo Hastiśālākhyam* (thus also L). The gloss of A₂, *Godhar Astihil*, in conformity with the text of A, shows that the Agrahāra bore a compound name and was called after two localities, *Godharā* and *Hastiśālā*. These I was able to identify on my tour of September, 1891, with the modern villages of *Gudar* and *Ast'hēl* in the Div^ssar Pargaṇa. *Gudar*, a village of about twenty houses, is situated on the right bank of the Viśokā (Vesau) River, 75° 1' long. 33° 36' lat. Close to the W. of the village the Viśokā is joined by the sacred rivulet *Godāvari*, which forms a well-known Tīrtha. The *Godāvarīmāhātmya* mentions the village of Gudar under the name *Godara*, and connects this name with the legend relating to the appearance of the Godāvarī: *yasmin girau mahādevi Gautamena mahātmanā | gaur vā vidāritā prokto Godaro girisattamaḥ || yasmin grāme Godaro vai parvataḥ sampratiṣṭhitaḥ | sa grāmaḥ prathito 'dyāpi Godarākhyo maheśvari || gaur vai vidāritā yatrotthitā Gaṅgājalokṣitā | sā vai Godāvarī nāma Gaṅgā paramapāvanī ||*.

A local tradition communicated to me by the Purohita and the Miān Jāgīrdār of the place, tells of a town 'founded on this site by a King Gudar.' No old remains, however, could be shown to me, and the locality is far too confined for a larger settlement.

Hastiśālā, the *Astihil* of the gloss, is represented by the hamlet of *Ast'hēl* situated about one mile to the N.E. of Gudar, on a sandy island of the Viśokā.

It is possible that in the above local tradition we have the very legend which gave rise to Helarāja's notice regarding a king *Godhara*, copied by Padmamihira and Kalhaṇa. The legend itself is evidently based on popular etymology. The village name, whether taken as *Godharā*, 'the land of the cow,' or *Godara*, 'the [place of the] cow-slaughter,' shows an unmistakable connection with the story of the Godāvarī. The variation of the Sanskrit form is explained by the fact that the Kś. pronunciation makes no distinction between Skr. *d* and *dh*; comp. note viii. 1861.

97. The position of *Karāla* is clearly indicated by *Jonar* 861-2, and *Śrīv.* iii. 194, where mention is made of the foundation of the town *Jainapurī* by Sultān Zain-ul-'ābidīn in the *Karāla viṣaya* (Pargaṇa). Jainapurī is the modern *Zain^apōr* which has given its name to the tract of the Ād^vin Pargaṇa situated on the alluvial plateau to the S. of the Rembyār^a River. The identification of Karāla with this tract is confirmed by the gloss of A₂, which places *Karāla* in *Ārdhavane*, i.e. Ād^vin. The latter locality is also mentioned by Haidar Malik in connection with the works of King Suvarṇa.

Suvarṇamaṇikulyā is explained by A₂ as

JANAKA.

98 His son *Janaka*, comparable to a father (*janaka*) of his subjects, established the Vihāra and Agrahāra of *Jālora*.

S'ACINARA.

99 Then his son the illustrious *S'acīnara*, who was like an earthly Indra (*śacīpati*), protected the earth; he was of a forgiving disposition, and his orders were never broken.

100 This king founded the Agrahāras of *S'amāṅgāsā* and *S'anāra*; [dying] without male issue, he obtained one half of Indra's seat [in heaven].

Suvarṇamaṇi nādo On a visit paid to Zain°por-Ād°vin in September, 1895, I ascertained that the name *Suv°man' Kul*, the exact derivative of *Suvarṇamaṇikulyā*, is borne to this day by a large irrigation canal (*nor*) which leaves the Viśokā (Vesau) River above the village shown as 'Largoo' on the map, at a point circ 74° 57' 30" long 33° 38' 30" lat The *Suv°man' Kul* flows along the east scarp of the Zain°por plateau through the villages marked Nilloo, Pargama, Koojroo, and after a course of about twenty miles rejoins the Viśokā a short distance above the village of Ad°vin (Arwin of map)

98 P Govind Kaul identifies *Jālora* with the village of *Zolur*, shown on the map as Zohlur, in the Zain°gir Pargana, 74° 24' long 34° 23' lat I have not been able to visit the site or to obtain other evidence supporting this identification apart from the similarity of the names Haidar Malik places '*Zalūrah* in the district of '*Vihu*, i e Vihi

99 K, in his list of kings, viii 3411, names *S'aci* as the mother of *S'acīnara*

100 *S'amāṅgāsāśanārayoḥ* A₄, who in this instance has rewritten older glosses, probably of A, renders the two names by *S'rangas* and *S'nar* The first locality can be identified without hesitation with the modern S'angas, a large village situated on the left bank of the Ar°path River in the Kut°hār Pargana 75° 2' long 33° 42' lat

It is more difficult to account for the position of the second Agrahāra Considering that the names of the localities, the foundation of which is attributed to the eight kings taken from Helarāja's Pārthivāvali, show invariably the same initial consonant as the corresponding royal names, the second name in the compound must be taken as *S'anāra*, not as *Āśanāra*, as hitherto supposed The division is clearly indicated by the *daṇḍa* placed by A₁ after S'amāṅgāsā

The old gloss on this name is written *S'nār* by A₄, but reproduced in R as *Cnar*, two forms which can scarcely be kept distinct in S'āradā characters. Neither of them have I been able to trace as the actual name of a locality An examination, however, of the phonetic peculiarities of the old names and their more recent equivalents as given by the glosses, leads to a satisfactory identification

The form *S'rāṅgas* or modern *S'angas* for *S'amāṅgāsa* shows the initial palatal sibilant preserved which, under a general phonetic law, is regularly replaced in Kś by *h*, comp e g *Hur°por* for *S'urapura*, *Hār°parvat* for *S'ārikāparvata*, *Hamal* for *S'amāla*, etc A similar preservation of the initial *ś*, as *s* or *ch*, is found elsewhere only in cases where the initial consonant was protected by immediate contact with a following consonant Thus we have *S'rīnagar* for *S'rīnagara*, *śrāvan* (name of month, used by all classes of Kaśmīrīs) for *śrāvaṇa*, *Chrath* for *S'rīrāṣṭra* (name of a Pargana), *Chamba*, near Lohara, for *S'arambara*, see note viii 1870 These analogies make it probable that we have to assume a contracted form, *S'māṅgāsā, in which the vowel of the first syllable has been eliminated under the influence of the stress accent placed on the penultimate The phonetic history of the name may thus be represented *S'amāṅgās* (Rajat) > **S'māṅgāsa* > *S'rangas* (gloss) > *S'angas* (modern)

By the same process of phonetic conversion we should have to expect for the old name *S'anāra* a modern form *S'ar*, through *S'anāra* (Rajat) > **S'nāra* > *S'nar* (gloss) > *S'ar* This form *S'ar* is actually found as the name of a village in the Vihi Pargana 75° 1' long 34° 1' lat, and with the latter I accordingly propose to identify the second Agrahāra mentioned in our verse

When this identification first suggested itself to me I was unaware of its being also indicated by traditional authority Haidar Malik notices of King 'Sacinar' that he built the town of 'Shamalkas' in the Kut°hār district and *Sharar* in Vihi There can be no doubt that we have got here the modern name of S'ar imperfectly rendered in the Persian MS

Regarding *S'ār*, which was once the seat of an iron industry, and is still a considerable village, see INCE, *Handbook*, p 172, and VIGNE, *Travels*, ii p 37 When visiting it in September, 1891, I found ancient slabs of

101 Then the son of that king's grand-uncle and great-grandson of *S'akuni*, the faithful *Aśoka*, reigned over the earth. **Aśoka.**

102 This king who had freed himself from sins and had embraced the doctrine of Jina, covered *S'uṣkaletra* and *Vitastātra* with numerous Stūpas.

103 At the town of *Vitastātra* there stood within the precincts of the *Dharmāranya* Vihāra a Caitya built by him, the height of which could not be reached by the eye.

104 That illustrious king built the town of *S'rīnagarī*, which was most important on account of its ninety-six lakhs of houses resplendent with wealth.

great size built into the Ziārat, which stands in the centre of the village, and in a Nāga close by some sculptured Stelēs like those described *Report*, p. 5.

For an account of S'āngas, which is a large and prosperous place, see VIGNE, *Travels*, i. p. 319, and INCE, *Handbook*, p. 182. Though it is traditionally believed to be an old site, I was unable to discover, during a rapid visit paid in September, 1891, any traces of antiquity, except some large sculptured slabs built into a Ziārat erected about 1580 A.D.

S'amāngasā is mentioned again, viii. 651; comp. also note i. 340.

101. The names of *Aśoka* and the next four kings were taken by K. from Chavillākara; see i. 19 sq. The survival of the name of Asoka in Kaśmīr tradition may be taken as an indication that the sovereign power of the historical Asoka was acknowledged also by Kaśmīr. Regarding Asoka's connection with Kaśmīr in Buddhist tradition, see *Si-yu-ki*, i. p. 150 sq.; *Notes on Ou-K'ong*, p. 22.

102. *Suṣkaletra* can be identified on the basis of the gloss of A_3, *Hukhaletro*, with the modern village of *Hukh*ᵃ*litᵉr* (map Hakhitr) in the Dunts Pargaṇa, 74° 42′ long. 34° lat.; comp. also i. 170. The place was visited in 1891 on my behalf by P. Kāśī Rām, who, however, failed to trace antiquarian remains in or near the village.

Vitastātra, which the gloss of A_2 on the following verse renders by *Vithavatro*, is the modern *Vith*ᵉ*vutur*, a small village situated about one mile to the N.W. of the famous Vērnāg spring (see i. 28) in the Shāhābād Pargaṇa, 75° 16′ long. 33° 33′ lat. A large spring which issues in a pond close to the village, forms the object of a local pilgrimage, and is traditionally considered the main source of the Vitastā: comp. VIGNE, i. 335. In the *Vitastāmāhātmya*, ii. 40, it is referred to under the name of *Vitastāvartikā*.

Of the Stūpas and the great Caitya which Aśoka is said to have erected here, I have not been able to trace any remains above ground. *Vith*ᵉ*vutur*, though scarcely a site for a large town on account of the confined nature of the valley, must have always derived some importance from its position at the foot of the Bānᵃhāl Pass on the route to the eastern Panjāb. *Vitastātrapura* is mentioned in the time of Anantadeva, vii. 364; comp. also note viii. 1073.

The faulty reading °*vitastadrau* of the earlier Edd. is found already in L, and is due to a mistake in transcription.

104. Gen. CUNNINGHAM, *Anc. Geogr.*, p. 95, has proposed to locate Asoka's *S'rīnagarī* at the site of the present village of *Pāndrē-than*, Kalhaṇa's *Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna*, on the right bank of the Vitastā, some three miles above the modern S'rīnagar (comp. note iii. 99). His proposal is based on i. 124, where K. relates the foundation by Jalauka of the shrine of Jyeṣṭharudra at S'rīnagarī. This shrine Gen. CUNNINGHAM identified with the existing temple on the top of the Takht-i-Sulaimān Hill, below which, at a distance of about two miles to the S.E., Pandrēṭhan is situated. Though the genuineness of the tradition by which Gen. CUNNINGHAM supported his identification, has rightly been questioned by Prof. BÜHLER, *Report*, p. 17, and though the real date of the temple on the Takht is subject to great doubt (comp. FERGUSSON'S *History of Indian Architecture*, p. 282), yet the evidence recorded below in note C, i. 124, proves that Jalauka's Jyeṣṭharudra must be looked for either on the very hill or in its close proximity.

In this neighbourhood we must accordingly place Asoka's S'rīnagarī. Whether at Pandrē-than or elsewhere, is a question which our available materials do not permit us to decide with absolute certainty, however tempting the proposed identification is in view of the significance of the name *Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna*, 'the ancient capital.' The general conclusion here indicated receives further confirmation

AŚOKA.

105. This sinless [prince], after removing the old stuccoed enclosure of the shrine of *Vijayeśvara*, built [in its stead] a new one of stone.

106. He who had overcome [all] lassitude, erected within the enclosure of *Vijayeśa*, and near it, two temples which were called *Aśokeśvara*.

107. As the country was overrun by Mlecchas, the pious [king] obtained from [S'iva] *Bhūteśa*, whom he had pleased by his austerities, a son in order to exterminate them.

by the evidence given in note C, i 124, regarding the position of the *Sodara* spring near S'rinagari.

The transfer of the old name S'rinagari to the new capital built by Pravarasena II on the site of the present S'rinagar, and properly called *Pravarapura* (see note iii 339 sqq.), has been satisfactorily accounted for by CUNNINGHAM (*l.c.*, p 97), who justly refers to the analogies furnished by the history of other Indian capitals.

S'rinagara (neuter) is in the Rājat. as well as in other Kaśmīrian texts by far the most common form of the name for this new capital, and has as such remained in general use to the present day. But the form *S'rinagari* is by no means unknown, comp. iv 6, *Jonar.* 81, Fourth Chron. 240, *Mahādevamāhātmya*, iii 8.

In the face of the arguments recorded above it still deserves to be noted that the Persian Chroniclers, Haidar Malik, Muḥammad 'Aẓim, etc., place Aśoka's capital at *Sir*, on the left bank of the Lid*r in the Khāvuṇpor Pargaṇa. To this tradition refers probably Prof. Bühler's remark: 'Some Pandits think it lay near Islāmābād.'

105. The famous old shrine of S'iva *Vijayeśvara* has given its name to the surrounding town, the modern *Vij*bror* (see note i 38). The ancient temple occupied, according to the tradition of the local Purohitas, a site about a hundred yards from the left river bank and opposite to the bridge over the Vitastā. From there Mahārāja Raṇbir Singh obtained stone materials for his new temple, built some thirty years ago. The old site, which lies considerably below the level of the surrounding houses, showed on the occasion of my first visit, in 1889, only a few broken slabs and shapeless *débris*. It has since been partly built over. Some sculptures of apparently late workmanship, which were found here, are now placed in front of the new temple, built some distance higher up the river. The temple of Vijayeśa was burned down under King Anantadeva and restored by his successor, Kalaśa, see vii 524 sq.

The *Prākāras*, or quadrangular enclosures which form a very striking feature in the architecture of most Kaśmīrian temples, have been discussed in detail by CUNNINGHAM, *J.A.S.B.*, 1848, pp. 310 sqq.

The old *Prākāra*, which is called here *sudhāmaya*, may be supposed to have been built of brick or rough stones, and covered with 'chunnam,' the material so largely affected by Indian architects of all periods.

106. No trace or tradition survives of these structures at Vij*bror. Repairs effected at these buildings in K.'s own time are probably referred to in viii 3391, see note. Gen. CUNNINGHAM's remark (*Anc. Geogr.*, p. 96) that certain insignificant ruins found at Pānd*chyuk, some two miles above Pāndrēthan, "are said to be the remains of the two Asokesvara temples," must be based on some misunderstanding.

Aśokeśvara must be explained as a *madhyamapadalopa* compound, by *Aśokena nirmita īśvara*, 'the (temple of) S'iva, built by Aśoka.' The same remark applies to the numerous names of temples ending in *Īśvara* (or *Īśa*), and beginning with the name of a person, which occur further on. B.

For further information on the nomenclature of Kaśmīr temples, see my *Notes on Ou-k'ong*, p. 5.

107. The worship of S'iva *Bhūteśa*, 'the lord of the beings,' localized near the sacred sites of Mount Haramukuṭa, has played an important part in the ancient religion of Kaśmīr. The legend relating how S'iva came to take up his residence in that neighbourhood in the form of Bhūteśa, is given in the *Nīlamata*, vv. 1049 sqq., and is closely connected with the story of Nandin, as indicated in note i 36. The tradition, recorded in the *Nandikṣetra* and *Haramukuṭagaṅgā Māhātmyas*, and still current among Kaśmīrians, has located S'iva Bhūteśa's residence on the mountain spur which stretches south-east from the Haramukh Peaks. This spur bears to the present day the name of *Buth'sēr*, i.e. *Bhūteśvara*.

In the narrow gorge of the Kānk*nai River (Kanakavāhinī) which flows past the south foot of this spur, and some two miles above

108 Then this [son] called *Jalauka* became king, an Indra of the earthly regions, who by the [white] stucco of his fame made spotless the universe. JALAUKA.

109. Verily the tales of his divine power, since they reached the ears of the gods, kept them [ever] bound in astonishment

110 He was, forsooth, able to fill the void of the mundane egg with his presents of gold, having obtained a magic substance which could permeate (transform) crores [of less precious metals]

111 He entered the lakes of the Nāgas by arresting the waters and gave charm to his youth by intercourse with the Nāga-maidens.

112 His instructor in the doctrines was the saint *Avadhūta*, the vanquisher of crowds of Bauddha controversialists, who at that time were powerful and flushed [with success].

113 That truth-speaking king had made a vow that he would ever worship [S'iva] *Vijayeśvara* and *Jyestheśa* [residing] at *Nandīśakṣetra*

the hamlet of Vāngath (Vasiṣṭhāśrama), 75° 2′ long 34° 21′ lat, are found the ruins of some seventeen temples of various age and dimension These ruins, which are now almost hidden by the luxuriant vegetation of the forest, have been described by Bishop COWIE, *J A S B*, 1866, pp. 101 sqq, and Major COLE, *Ancient Buildings in Kashmir*, pp 11 sqq, under the name of 'Temples near Wangat' Their identity with the buildings which Kaśmirian kings had at different periods raised in honour of S'iva Bhūteśa and of the neighbouring Liṅga of S'iva Jyeṣṭheśa (comp note i 113), was ascertained by me on a visit paid to the site in August, 1891 For an attempt to identify the principal ruins of Buth'śēr see note v 55-59

Jalauka, Aśoka's son, is said, i 148, to have erected to Bhūteśa a stone temple with rich endowments Gifts at the sacred site are recorded of Narendrāditya, i 347, and Lalitāditya, iv 189 Avantivarman also appears as a benefactor of Bhūteśvara, v 46, and one of his visits was the occasion of the interesting episode related v 48-61 In the disturbed reigns of the later period Bhūteśvara shared the calamities of other Kaśmirian shrines Under Samgrāmadeva its treasury was plundered by a powerful minister, vii 106 Bhūteśvara seems to have escaped the sacrilegious confiscations of King Harṣa, but under his successor Uccala it suffered greatly by a conflagration, viii. 77, 110 During the rebellions under Jayasiṁha the temples were sacked by marauding hillmen, viii 2756 The last mention of Bh in the Rājat, viii 3356, records the building of a Maṭha there

Of the later fate of the shrine no record is left in the Chronicles. ABU-L-FAZL does not refer to it, but HAIDAR MALIK, in reproducing our passage, correctly renders *Bhūteśa* by *Bhūtisar*, i e Buth'śēr The pilgrims' route on their return from the sacred lakes on the Haramukuṭa still leads past the site But no attention is paid to the temples, which, to judge from their condition, must have long ceased to be places of worship

The fine spring now called Nārān Nāg, which lies at the N E. corner of the ruins, and which forms now the final stage of the Haramukuṭa pilgrimage, is the *Sodara* Tirtha of Kalhaṇa, comp below note i 123

It has been assumed that the Mlecchas here referred to are, perhaps, the Greeks, see LASSEN, *Ind Alt*, ii p 285

109 I have followed above A, *āścaryacaryatām*, which appears to give a better sense than *aścaryācaryatām* of A_1 and L

110 *koṭivedhini rase* The philosopher's stone is meant The gold-producing *rasa* is referred to also in Lalitāditya's story, iv 246 sq, 363, and under Sikandar (Būtshikast), *Jonar* 578 sqq'

112 *Avadhūta*, which designates 'one who has thrown off all worldly fetters,' may possibly not be a proper name here *prrddha* must be explained as *prakarṣeṇa iddha*; comp the similar use of √*jval*, i. 294; iii 509, etc

113 *Jyeṣṭheśa* A careful examination of all passages in Kaśmirian texts in which S'iva Jyeṣṭheśa is mentioned, shows that the god was once worshipped under this name, or its equivalents *Jyeṣṭheśvara* and *Jyeṣṭharudra*, in three distinct localities of Kaśmir, viz (i) below Mount Haramukuṭa in the

JALAUKA.

114. A Nāga out of kindness would not allow him to ride [in stages] with horses kept ready from village to village, but carried him always himself

115 He who was endowed with mighty courage, expelled the *Mlecchas* who oppressed the land, and conquered in victorious expeditions the earth up to the encircling oceans

116 The place where the Mlecchas who occupied the land, were routed (*ujjhaṭitās*) by him, is called by the people even at the present day *Ujjhaṭaḍimba*

117 Having conquered the earth, including *Kanyakubja* and other [countries], he settled from that region people of all four castes in his own land and [particularly] righteous men acquainted with legal procedure.

118-119 Up to that time there existed in this land, which had not yet reached its proper development in legal administration, wealth and other [respects], a government like in most countries There were [only] seven main state-officials the judge, the revenue superintendent, the treasurer, the commander of the army, the envoy, the Purohita, and the astrologer

120. By establishing eighteen offices (*karmasthāna*) in accordance with traditional usage, the king created from that time onwards a condition of things as under Yudhisthira

sacred territory called *Nandisakṣetra* or *Nandikṣetra*, see note i 36 (ii) near *Tripureśvara*, the modern *Triphar*, see v 123, and (iii) in the close neighbourhood of S'rinagar, see i 124

By prefixing *Nandīśakṣetra* to the name *Jyeṣṭheśa*, K makes it quite clear that he means the god worshipped in the first-named locality In the same way he takes care to designate the second *Jyeṣṭheśa* as *Tripureśadrumstha*, residing below the hill of Tripureśa' when first referring to him in v 123 To the Jyeṣṭheśa of Nandikṣetra refers the *Nīlamata*, vv 1131-36 There we read, in connection with the story of S'iva and Nandin (see note i 36), of an ancient Linga known as Jyeṣṭheśa, which was situated at the residence of S'iva Bhūteśvara i e at Buth'sēr (see note i 107) In the same way the old Nandikṣetramāhātmya, vv 116 sqq, speaks of Jyeṣṭheśvara or Jyeṣṭhanātha as worshipped in the close vicinity of *Nandīśa* and *Bhūteśvara*

To this Jyeṣṭheśa relates the passage i 151, where K mentions *Jyeṣṭharudra* (the equivalent of Jyeṣṭheśa) in evident connection with the sacred sites of Nandikṣetra Still more clear is the reference in iv 190, where the erection of a temple in honour of Jyeṣṭharudra is distinctly said to take place at *Bhūteśa* In viii 2430, too, it is evident from the allusion to Vaṅgaṣṭha, whom the *Nīlamata* and the Māhātmyas make reside at *Vāngath* (Vaṅgaṣṭhasrama) close to Buth'ser that the Jyeṣṭheśa of Nandikṣetra is intended

The expression used in the last-named passage *svayambhūḥ ... Jyeṣṭharudro* shows that the Linga worshipped under that name was a natural stone, and not a sculptured symbol of the god Such *svayambhu* Lingas are still to this day worshipped at several Tirthas e g on the S'arikāparvata in S'rinagar at Sureśvarī, etc

For an account of the temple ruins at Buth'ser above Vāngath see note i 107 From the evidence indicated in note v 55-59, it will be seen that of the two separate temple groups which are found in that locality, the first or western one was probably dedicated to the worship of S'iva Jyeṣṭheśa

114 A legendary explanation how the king could regularly attend every day to the worship of Tirthas so distant from each other. The journey from Vijayeśvara to Jyeṣṭheśa in Nandikṣetra may be put at fully four daily marches

116 The position of this locality I have not been able to trace To the name *Ujjhaṭaḍimba* would correspond phonetically a Ks *Ujjaḍ-ḍemb* *ujjaḍ* means in modern Ks 'an uninhabited desolate place', *ḍēmb* found frequently at the end of local names 'moor,' 'bog'

120 Prof JOLLY, *Weber-Festgabe*, p 84,

121. With the wealth which his courage and vigour had obtained for him, that high-minded [king] established the Agrahāra of *Vārabāla* and others.

122. His noble queen *Īśānadevī* placed 'circles sacred to the Mothers' (*mātṛcakra*) which were distinguished by their spiritual power, at the 'Gates' [of Kaśmīr] and other places.

123. The king having heard the *Nandipurāṇa* [recited] by some pupil of *Vyāsa*, frequented *Sodara* and other [sacred springs] as vying [in holiness] with *Nandīśa*.

points out that these eighteen offices evidently correspond to the 'eighteen Tirthas,' or court officials mentioned in *Mahābh* II v 38; comp. below IV 141

121 *Vārabāla* can be safely identified in view of the close agreement of the names with the modern hamlet of *Bāravul*, situated on the right bank of the Kānk^enai River, about a mile above its confluence with the Sind, 74° 57′ long 34° 17′ lat This identification has already been made by the glossator of R, who transcribes the name by *Bāravalo*

When passing through the hamlet on my way to Bhūtesvara in August, 1891, I found close to the path a sculptured linga-base or *bhadrapītha* of considerable dimensions, and was shown, on further inquiries, another large carved slab lying in the fields below the houses According to the statement of the aged Muqaddam, Bāravul had formed for a long time the Jāgir or Agrahāra of a Pirzada family of S'rinagar, until it was resumed by Mahārāja Gulāb Singh [Bāravul is not marked on the Survey Maps, unless its name is hidden under that of 'Ballaikallar,' shown in a corresponding position The latter name is quite unknown on the spot]

The special mention of this unpretending Agrahāra by K may, perhaps, be due to its position on the route to the shrine of Bhūtesvara We know that Caṇpaka, Kalhaṇa's father, was a regular visitor of the latter (see VII 954) It is, therefore, probable that Kalhaṇa himself has passed more than once the site of Bāravul

122 *dvārādiṣu pradeśeṣu* It is very probable that K refers here to one or several of the main passes which give access to the Valley of Kaśmīr These entrances have always played an important part in Kaśmīr history, and have until quite modern times been specially guarded by watch-stations The general use of the term *dvāra* for these localities is proved by the passages quoted below, and by the employment in the Rājat of the title *dvārādhipati*, *dvāreśa*, or *dvārādhikārin* The high officials thus designated were entrusted as 'Lords of the Marches' with the guardianship of these frontier passes (see note V 214).

The best known and by its position most important of these stations was situated in the narrow gorge of the Vitastā below Varahamūla This is mentioned repeatedly in the Chronicle, see e g VIII 413, 451, and is referred to also by ALBĒRŪNĪ, I p 207, under the very name of '*Dvāra*', comp also *Life of Hiuen-Tsiang*, p 68, and *Notes on Ou-k'ong*, pp 22 sq —In I 302 Dvāra means the Pīr Pantsāl Pass, in VIII. 140 the watch-station at the foot of the Tosamaidān Pass, marked to this day by the village of *Drang* For the terms *dranga*, *ḍhakka*, synonymous with Dvāra, see note III 227 For further information regarding these 'Gates,' comp my *Notes on the Pīr Pantsāl Route*, *J A S B*, 1895, p 382

I am unable to account for the gloss of A_3 *Hastiśālādiṣu* The only locality known to me under the name of *Hastiśālā* is the one discussed above, I 96, the modern *Ast'hēl* in the Dīv^esar Pargana This does not lie on any of the routes over the mountains, and would be a most unlikely place for a frontier-station

Mātṛcakras are mentioned by K I 335, 348, III 99, V 55, in the last two passages in connection with temples In I 333 the term *devīcakra* is used as an equivalent. The mystical diagrams may be supposed to have been carved in stone like the *S'rīcakras* and *Rājñīcakras*, which are prepared and worshipped to this day in Kaśmīr according to the rules of the Tantraśāstra, both in private houses and temples Of supposed natural ('svābhāvika') Cakras of this kind the S'rīcakra on the S'ārikāparvata in S'rinagar and the Jvālāmukhīcakra on the rocky hill above Uyen (Skr Ovana) in the Vihi Pargaṇa receive special reverence

The worship of the 'Mothers,' which is identical with that of the S'aktis, plays a great part in the Tantra ritual flourishing in Kaśmīr from ancient times

123 For the identification of the *Sodara* spring, the miraculous reappearance of which near S'rīnagarī is the subject of the legend

JALAUKA.

Legend of Sodara spring.

124. While engaged in erecting a [shrine of] *Jyeṣṭharudra* at *S'rīnagarī*, he recognized that without the *Sodara* [spring] it could not rival *Nandīśa*.

125-126 When once he had forgotten his daily observance in the distraction of business, and [accordingly] felt dismayed at not being able to take his bath in the waters of the far-off *Sodara* spring, he noticed that from a waterless spot a spring was suddenly breaking forth, which was alike to *Sodara* in colour, taste, and other respects

127 Then when he had bathed in that newly appeared Tīrtha, that earnest-minded [king] felt satisfied in his desire to equal *Nandirudra* (Nandīśa).

here related, we have to rely on a few passages of the *Nīlamata* and the *Nandikṣetramāhātmya* In a fragmentary passage, vv 1137 sq, of the first named text, the *Sodaranāga* is mentioned in connection with the shrine of *Bhūteśvara* (Buth'śēr) and the Kanakavāhinī River (see notes i 107 and i 150) In śl 1148 ablutions in the Sodara spring are recommended to the pilgrim visiting the Tīrthas of Bhūteśvara, Jyeṣṭheśa and Nandin In śl 1334 again the pilgrimage to Sodara is prescribed along with that to the *Saṁgama* of the Kanakavāhinī River Finally, we find in the following verse of the Nandikṣetramāhātmya Bhūteśvara distinctly placed at Sodara *uttīrya Nandikuṇḍāt tu svayaṁ mat-Sodare sthitah | Bhūteśvara iti khyātah kṛtsnapāpapranodanah ||*

These references make it clear that *Sodara* is but the ancient name of the sacred spring now called *Naran Nāg*, which has been mentioned in note i 107 as situated in close proximity to the temple ruins of Bhūteśvara The old name of the spring has been entirely lost in the tradition of the Purohitas But the late P Sāhibrām was evidently aware of it, as he says in his notes on the Haramukuṭagangā pilgrimage in the *Tīrthas tatah* (the Haramukuṭagangā Lake) *pratyāvṛtya Vangaṭākhyapradeśe* (Vangath) *prathamam Bhūteśvarapūjām vidhāya Sodaranāge yaṣṭiṁ* (viz the long stick used on the mountain pilgrimage) *kṣiptvā tīrtham pratyāyāt*

The conclusion drawn from the above passages is fully confirmed by K s reference, ii 169, to the *Sodarāmbutīrtham Nandīśādhyuṣitam*

Nandīśa is the designation of the S'iva worshipped in the Nund-Kol Lake But by a more extended use the term, like that of Nandikṣetra and Nandīśakṣetra (see note i 36), is applied to the whole sacred territory from the lakes on the Haramukuṭa down to Bhūteśvara

124 Regarding the position of the *Jyeṣṭharudra* at *S'rīnagarī*, see Note C

125-126 In order to give full sanctity to the new Jyeṣṭharudra which Jalauka had established near S'rīnagarī, the presence of the *Sodara* spring was also needed The Tīrtha which the legend represents as an Avatāra of the latter, must, after what has been said regarding the position of Jalauka's Jyeṣṭharudra (Note C), be looked for in the vicinity of the present S'rīnagar I have, therefore, no hesitation in connecting the name *Sudar*, which appears in the designation of a portion of Dal, called *Sudarᵃkhun*, and in the name of the neighbouring village *Sudarᵃbal*, with this legend The Sudarᵃkhun (*khun* from Skr *koṇa*) is a narrow inlet on the west side of the Dal, stretching between the suburban villages of Arampōr and Sudarᵃbal It is apparently the deepest portion of the lake

On visiting *Sudarᵃbal* in June, 1895, I was shown on the very shore of the *Sudarᵃkhun*, and close to the village Masjid, two small pools which were then covered by the water of the lake, but according to the uniform statement of the villagers, are fed by two perennial springs A tradition, which I gathered from the old men of the village, relates that "many hundred years ago" Brahmans were in the habit of making pilgrimages to these springs. The name *Baṭṭᵃpōr*, which survives to this day as the name of a now deserted part of the village area, was pointed out to me as evidence of the former habitation of *Baṭṭas*, i e Purohitas (Skr *bhaṭṭa*) No ancient remains can now be traced near the springs, but large carved slabs are said to have been carried away from that site to serve as building material for the new temple erected by Mahārāja Raṇbīr Singh at *Rāṇ'vōr* in S'rīnagar

I cannot find any reference to the Sodara spring of S'rīnagar in the texts accessible to me, nor can I trace any tradition relating to it among the Brahmans of the capital The marginal gloss of A₂ (*Sodarabal Gagaribal*), however, indicates that the same identification, as proposed above, has already been made by some modern reader of the Rājat

JALAUKA.

128. Once in order to test [the identity of the two springs], he threw into the *Sodara* [spring] an empty golden cup closed at its mouth with a lid

129 When this cup appeared after two and a half days in the spring rising at *S'rinagari*, it removed the doubts of the king.

130. It seems that the king was *Nandīśa* himself, who had descended in an Avatāra to enjoy the pleasures [of the earth]. Not otherwise could such a miraculous event take place before [men's] very eyes.

Story of the *Kṛtyā*

131 Once upon a time, when the king was proceeding to *Vijayeśvara*, a woman [whom he met] midway on the road, begged food from him.

132. When he had promised to give her such food as she should desire, she changed her form and disclosed a desire for human flesh.

133 When he who had renounced the killing of living beings, gave her permission to please herself with flesh from his own body, she thus addressed him

134 "O king, you must be a Bodhisattva, whose observance of vows is supported by absolute goodness (*sattva*), since you show, O high-minded one, such deep compassion with living creatures."

135 The king, who being a worshipper of S'iva did not understand the Bauddhas' ways of expression, asked her "O fair one, who is the Bodhisattva for whom you know me?"

136. Again she spoke to the king: "Listen to my case I have been sent forth by the Bauddhas whom in your anger you have injured"

137 "We witches (*kṛtyakāh*) living by the side of Mount *Lokāloka* (which divides light and darkness), belong to the darkness (sin) Putting our whole trust in the Bodhisattvas we long for liberation from the darkness"

138. "Know that Bodhisattvas are certain beings, who since [the coming of] the blessed 'Lord of the Worlds' (Buddha) have freed themselves in this world from the [five] afflictions"

139. "They being bent on supporting all beings, do not feel anger even towards the sinner, but in patience render him kindness and are bound to bring about their own final enlightenment (*bodhi*)"

129 The distance from Bhūteśvara (Sodara) to S'rinagar, roughly calculated about thirty-two miles, is put nowadays, too, at two and a half marches of the customary length

131 The legend contained in vv 131-147 has been discussed by me in *Notes on Ou-k'ong*, pp 13 48 It was probably a local legend attaching to the *Kṛtyāśrama Vihāra*, see note i. 147, and bears an unmistakably Buddhist colouring

137 Verse 147 shows that *kṛttikā[h]* of the MSS is but an old mistake, caused by graphic error or mispronunciation, for *kṛtyakā[h]* Retaining the reading *kṛttikāḥ*, 'the Pleiades,' it cannot be explained why the Bauddhas should send as their avenger one of the stars forming that constellation, and why the latter should be called *tāmasyah* (i.e *tamo-guṇamayah*)

138 The five *kleśas* meant are *avidyā*, *asmitā*, *rāga*, *dveṣa*, and *abhiniveśa*

139. The above translation follows A and L. If the text of A₁ is adopted, the third pāda has to be rendered "and do not desire their own benefit"

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140-144. "When you had lately been kept from sleep by the noise of the music of a Vihāra, you had at the instigation of wicked persons caused in your anger the destruction of the Vihāra. The excited Bauddhas thought of me and sent me forth to kill you. But then the Bodhisattvas called me and gave me the following directions: 'That king is a great S'ākya (Mahāśākya). You cannot hurt him; but in his presence, O good one, you will obtain liberation from darkness (sin). In our name you shall exhort him who has been led into guilt by wicked people, to give up his hoarded gold and to build a Vihāra. If he does so, no misfortune shall befall him in consequence of the destruction of the Vihāra, and atonement shall thus be made for him and his instigators.'"

145. "Therefore, I have tested in that [former] disguise your abundant goodness. To-day I have been freed from sin. Farewell! I depart."

146. After she had made the king promise to build a Vihāra, the divine sorceress (*kṛtyā*) disappeared with eyes beaming with joy.

147. Thereupon the king built the *Kṛtyāśrama* Vihāra, and worshipped there the divine sorceress who had been freed from the darkness.

140-144. These verses form a *Kulaka*. This form is found in Kaśmirian MSS. after five or more S'lokas connected in syntactical construction; comp. *Mankhakośa*: *kulakaṃ ślokasaṃhatiḥ*.

141. I prefer the reading *mahāśākyaḥ*, as corr. from A₁ *°śākyaḥ* (also L) by a later hand, to A₁ *mahāsattvaḥ* because of the Yamaka formed with the following *śākya*. *S'ākya* stands for *S'ākyamuni*, i.e. Buddha; comp. *P. W.*, s.v. *mahāśākya*.

147. The correct reading *°vandayat* is supplied by L. A₁ has *°sandhayat*, A₂ *°bandhayat*. *Kṛtyāśrame* of Ed. is a misprint for *kṛtyāśramam*.

In my *Notes on Ou-K'ong's Account of Kaśmīr* I have shown that the Vihāra of *Kṛtyāśrama* is identical with the 'monastère du mont *Ki-tche*,' which the Chinese pilgrim mentions among the Vihāras he had seen during his visit to Kaśmīr, A.D. 759-763 (see *l'Itinéraire d'Ou-K'ong*, transl. by Messrs. LÉVI and CHAVANNES in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1895, vol. vi. p. 354).

The name *Kṛtyāśrama*, lit. meaning 'the abode of the witch (*kṛtyā*),' survives in that of the present village of *Kitsᵘhōm*, situated near the left bank of the Vitastā, about five miles below Varāhamūla (Bārāmula) and circ. 74° 30′ 30″ long. 34° 10′ 40″ lat. This identification is proved beyond doubt by a passage of the Fourth Chron. 240, which speaks of *Kṛtyāśrama* as a village in the vicinity of Varāhamūla, the same locality being referred to under its more recent name as *Kicāśrama* in vv. 234, 384. The latter form is a sanskritized reproduction of the modern *Kitsᵘhōm*, which is the direct phonetic derivative of Skr. *Kṛtyāśrama* (> Pr. **Kiccāśsama* > **Kiccāsama* > Ks. *Kitsᵘhōm*, in obl. cases *Kitsᵘhām*). Ks. *-hōm*, very frequent at the end of Kaśmīr local names, is the regular representative of Skr. *āśrama*, as shown *loc. cit.* Ou-k'ong reproduces the first part of the name which in his time must have already sounded **kiccā* or *Kica*, by *Ki-tche*, and renders the second part by a Chinese word meaning 'hill.'

Ou-k'ong's designation of the Vihāra as the 'monastery of the *Ki-tche* (or Kṛtyā) hill,' is accounted for by the situation of *Kitsᵘhōm*. The village lies on a small plateau between the river and the foot of a high wooded spur. On a short visit I paid to the village in May, 1896, I could trace sculptured remains near the two village Mosques, and a little to the N. of the village what appeared to be the basement of a rough quadrangular enclosure, about 115 yards square. In the centre of this enclosure there is a raised mound known as the *gaddi* or 'throne,' and outside its S.E. corner a smaller one about fifteen feet high, which might be the remains of a Stūpa. The absence of more conspicuous remains is easily explained. The valley was closed here in Pathān times by a stone wall which stretched across the level ground about a quarter of a mile to the east of *Kitsᵘhōm*. This wall, the ruins of which were considerable enough in 1835 to attract the attention of Baron Hügel, travelling on the other side of the river, was

148 This king erected a stone temple at *Nandikṣetra* for [S'iva] *Bhūteśa*, and offered [to the god] a sacrifice of precious stones together with [other] treasures. JALAUKA

149-150 The pious king passed many a night in ascetic exercises at the Tīrtha of *Cīramocana*, taking up the position adapted for meditation, with his body motionless in contemplation, and thus slowly relaxed his desire of touching *Nandīśa* on account [of the presence] of the *Kanakavāhinī* River.

certainly built with stones taken from the *Kitsᵉhōm* plateau. The mounds of the latter have also supplied ample materials for the new carriage road when under construction some ten years ago.

It is very probable that the legend related by K. of Jalauka and the *Kṛtyā* owed its origin to a popular explanation of the name of the village, *Kṛtyāśrama*. This locality we must assume on Kalhaṇa's and Ou-k'ong's joint evidence to have been the site of an ancient Vihāra, traditionally attributed to Aśoka's son. And to this Vihāra belong in all probability the scanty remains still extant at *Kitsᵘhōm*.

148. Regarding the employ of the term Nandikṣetra for *Bhūteśvara-Buth'sēr*, see note i. 36. It is probable that the temple of Bhūteśa, which the tradition here recorded ascribed to Jalauka, is identical with the principal temple of the eastern group of ruins at Buth'sēr; see note v. 55-59.

The offering of flowers made of precious metals and stones is mentioned in various S'aiva Paddhatis still in use in Kaśmīr.

149-150. The second line of the couplet is ambiguous, and would permit also of the following rendering: 'The pious king [by means of his ascetic practices] made the *Kanakavāhinī* River slowly relax its desire of touching *Nandīśa*.'

In both translations I adhere to the reading of A₁ *Kanakavāhinyaḥ* against L °*vāhinyā*, taking the former in the first case as Abl. s., in the second as Gen. s.

The *Kanakavāhinī* can be identified with certainty, on the clear evidence of viii. 3356, with the stream flowing past Bhūteśvara (Buth'sēr), which at present is called *Kānkᵃnai* (or Kānkᵃnāz). It is fed by the waters of the valleys which lie to the E. and S.E. of the Haramukh, and below the watershed towards the Kiṣangaṅgā. The meeting of the Kanakavāhinī with the Sind River is referred to in the *Nīlamata*, 1334. Another passage mentions the Kanakavāhinī as flowing to the south of the Sodaratīrtha. The Kanakavāhinī receives the stream which issues from the sacred Nund-Kōl and Gangā Lakes on the Haramukuṭa, and is therefore described in the *Nandikṣetramāhātmya* as bearing first the name of *Kālodaka* before it is called *Kanakavāhinī*.

The only passage of the *Nīlamata* (vv. 1331 sqq.) in which the Tīrtha of *Cīramocana* is referred to seems to place it in proximity to the Kanakavāhinī. Its name is there derived from the bark-clothes (cīrāṇi) which the Seven Ṛṣis left there when ascending to heaven. The Nandikṣetramāhātmya, vv. 133 sqq., indicates the same legend, and distinctly connects the *Kanakavāhinī* with the Tīrtha of *Cīramocana*. The latter name is no longer known to the Purohitas of the Haramukuṭa pilgrimage, but the position of the Tīrtha can yet be ascertained with great probability.

The *Haramukuṭagaṅgāmāhātmya*, which is the manual at present in use at this pilgrimage, knows the Kanakavāhinī by the name of *Karaṅkanadī* or *Karaṅkā*. The place where the *Karaṅka* stream flows into the Vitastā, is designated by the Māh. as the *Karaṅkatīrtha*, "near the village of *Kāraṅkā*," and the visit to it is prescribed previous to the ascent to the Haramukuṭa lakes. Inquiries among the local Purohitas have shown me that the Tīrtha meant is below the village of *Prang* on the right bank of the Sind River, circ. 74° 55′ 30″ long. 34° 16′ 45″ lat. (close to the hamlet marked Lārī on map). Just below the few houses of Prang a small stream, which has branched off from the Kanakavāhinī-Kankᵃnai River near Baravul (see note i. 12?), falls into the Sind. It is at this 'Saṁgama' that the ablutions prescribed for the Karaṅkatīrtha are performed, and it is highly probable that we have to place there the *Cīramocanatīrtha* of the older texts.

The comparatively recent date of the extant Haramukuṭamāhātmya is amply proved by the modern names it gives to various sites of the pilgrimage (*Budheśvara* for Bhūteśvara, *Ambhonukhaśana* for Amareśvara, the present Ambur'hēr, etc.). Just as the Kanakavāhinī has been turned into Karaṅkanadī (an evident adaptation of Kankᵃnai), so the old name of *Cīramocana* has been replaced by Karaṅka. It speaks strongly for our identification that the Nīlamata, the Nandikṣetramāh., and the

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151 A hundred among the ladies of his seraglio, who had risen to dance [in honour of the god] at the time fixed for dancing and singing, he gave out of joy to *Jyeṣṭharudra*.

152 After enjoying supreme power, the king at the end of his life repaired to *Cīramocana*, and along with his queen obtained communion with the husband of Pārvatī.

DĀMODARA II

153 Then a king named *Dāmodara* [II.] who was descended from *Aśoka's* race, or belonged to some other family, ruled the earth.

154 Of the power of this [king], who was the S'iva-worshippers' crest-jewel illuminated by good fortune, one hears [stories] to this day as of a wonder of the world.

155 Vaiśravaṇa (Kubera) himself kept friendship with this fortunate [ruler] who was the recipient of S'iva's favours and wholly given up to a life of virtue.

156 The Guhyakas obeyed this leader of kings like Kubera himself, and directing them he constructed the long [dam called] *Guddasetu*.

Rājat., which mention the *Cīramocanatīrtha* in connection with the Kanakavāhinī know nothing of Karanka, whereas the Haramukuṭamāh., which does not know the name Cīramocana, mentions instead the Karanka tīrtha along with the Kank°nai River.

The position thus ascertained for the Cīramocanatīrtha explains the double meaning of verse 150 as above indicated. K. either wishes to say that the opportunity of bathing in the Kanakavāhinī, which receives the water of the Nund-Kol Lake or Nandīśa, made the king abandon his desire of worshipping at that more distant Tīrtha. Or the meaning intended may be that owing to the great spiritual merits of the king's austerities at Cīramocana, the Kanakavāhinī became even more anxious to bathe him than to flow past *Nandīśa*. With reference to this second interpretation it should be noted that K. has already above, i. 130, alluded to the king as an Avatāra of S'iva Nandīśa.

151. *Maḍoḍayat* can be taken either as referring to the king or the dancers. Regarding *Jyeṣṭharudra*, see note i. 113.

156. *Guddasetu*, *Suda Dāmodarīya*. The legends related here of King Dāmodara cluster to this day, as in K.'s times, round an arid alluvial plateau to the south of S'rīnagar, which has preserved the name of the king—or perhaps, furnished the starting point for the stories concerning him.

This plateau, called '*Dāmodara's Suda*' by K., and now known as *Dām°dar Udar*, resembles in its natural features the other numerous alluvial plateaus of the Valley designated by the Ks. term *Udar*, or the Persian *Karewa* (see VIGNE ii. p. 39, DREW *Jummoo*, pp. 167 sqq.). It lies in the Yech Pargaṇa, and stretches from the large village of *Vah°tor* about seven miles due S. of S'rīnagar in a north-westerly direction. Its length is about six miles, with a breadth varying between two and three miles. Being entirely devoid of water this plateau is cultivated only in patches with meagre crops of Indian corn. Otherwise it is a dry and barren waste, a haunt of jackals as in the days when King Kṣemagupta hunted over the '*Dāmodarāraṇya*,' vi. 183. In viii. 1613, K. refers to it simply as *Dāmodara*.

The small village of *Gud°suth*, 74° 50' long. 33° 58' lat., K.'s *Guddasetu* and the *Gudasutha* of the glossator, is situated at the south foot of the plateau. Just there the latter shows its greatest relative elevation, and rises in a precipitous bank to a height of over one hundred feet above the fertile valley irrigated by the Yechara River.

It was possibly this wall-like appearance of the cliff which gave rise to the story regarding an attempt of King Dāmodara to bring water to the plateau from the rising ground to the south by means of a *setu* or embankment. No trace of an artificial dam which could serve such a purpose could be found by me when visiting the site in October 1891. It must also be borne in mind that the name *Gud suth* which K. sanskritizes by *Guddasetu* signifies in Ks. 'the first (*gud*) dam,' and might have eventually formed itself through popular etymology the basis of the above story.

157. By means of this dam (*setu*) he wished to bring water into the town which he had himself built on the *Dāmodara-Sūda*. **Dāmodara II.** **Legend of Dāmodara Sūda**

158. When a high-minded man wishes to execute some beneficial work of an extraordinary character, there arise, alas! obstacles, owing to the deficiency of men's spiritual merits [from former births].

159. He, indeed, endeavoured to get long stone-lined dykes built in his country by the Yakṣas, in order to guard against inundations.

160. Beyond conception is the power which austerities gain for those mighty Brahmans, who are capable of reversing the fortune of even such great [rulers].

161. One has seen the royal fortune when it had been lost through the power of [rival] heirs and others, restored again; but [when once lost] in consequence of disrespect shown to Brahmans, it never returns.

162. Once hungry Brahmans asked the king, when he had risen to bathe on account of a S'rāddha, to give them food before taking his bath.

163. When he refused this in his eagerness to enter [the waters of] the *Vitastā*, they brought by their spiritual power the river before him.

164. They said to him: "Here is the *Vitastā*. Having it before your eyes give us [now] food." Yet even then he thought that the river brought [before him] was [mere] jugglery.

165. "I do not give food till I have bathed. Brahmans, take yourselves off (*sarpata*) at once." When he thus spoke to them, they cursed him: "Be you a snake (*sarpa*)."

166. When implored for mercy, they spoke: "When you will hear the whole *Rāmāyana* [recited] in a single day, then our curse will cease."

The legend of King Dāmodara's transformation into a snake haunting the Dām°dar Uḍar still lives all through Kaśmīr in popular tradition, and had been already recorded from the latter by VIGNE, i. p. 41. The story of the *setu* commenced by the king is, on the other hand, known only to those who are acquainted with the Rājat. or its abstracts. The illiterate villagers, both Brahman and Muhammadan, examined by me at Gud°suth and the neighbouring hamlets, knew it not. *Sat°rās Tēng*, a waste spot high up on the Uḍar, about a mile to the N. of Gud°suth, was named by them as the site of Dāmodara's palace. A *Dāmodar Nāg* in the adjoining hamlet of Lalgām is pointed out as the place where the king performed his ablutions.

The *Guhyakas* are a class of demigods who are in attendance on Kubera like the Yakṣas.

157. The gloss of A₃ (*Dāndur oḍar*) rightly takes *sūda* as the equivalent of Kś. *uḍar*. Maṅkha's *Kośa* distinctly gives to the word *sūda* the meaning 'place where the soil is barren.' The commentator illustrates this meaning by quoting the fragment of a verse which contains the name of the *Dāmodariya Sūda*, and evidently relates to the same legend as recorded in the Rājat. (*Sūde Dāmodarīye hi viprakāpād udanyayā*).

Artificial irrigation channels of ancient date are found on other 'alluvial plateaus,' thus on the Uḍars of Mārtaṇḍ and Zain°pōr (see note i. 97). For another method used by Lalitāditya for raising water to the Uḍar of Tsak°dar (Cakradhara), see iv. 191, where the same expression '*ambhaḥpratāraṇa*' is employed as in our passage.

166. The popular legend, as at present current in Kaśmīr, has rendered the unfortunate king's deliverance even more difficult

Dāmodara II

167 Even to this day people recognize him by the steam of his breath, which the curse has made hot, as he rushes about in search of water far and wide on the *Dāmodara-Sūda*.

Huṣka, Juṣka, Kaniṣka

168 Then there were in this land three kings called *Huṣka*, *Juṣka* and *Kaniṣka*, who built three towns named after them [Huṣkapura, Juṣkapura, Kaniṣkapura].

169 That wise king *Juṣka*, who built *Juṣkapura* with its Vihāra, was also the founder of *Jayasvāmipura*.

He is not to leave his snake-form until some charitable Brahman recites to him the whole Rāmāyaṇa during the single *night* of the *Śivarātri* festival (Phālguna vadi 14) on the snow-covered plain of the Dām°dar Udar.

167 Misfortune makes the breath hot, luck makes it cold; comp. e.g. iv. 316, 364; v. 11, etc.

168 From Chavillākara's verse quoted i. 19, and from K.'s own expression viii. 3412, it follows that the three Turuṣka kings are supposed to have ruled simultaneously. The order in which their names are given can therefore not be intended to indicate an order of succession. The Kaniṣka of the Rājat. was recognized already in 1833 by Prinsep as the KANHPKI of the coins, and identified with Kaniṣka famous in Buddhist tradition. The Huṣka of the Rājat., too, has long ago been identified with Kaniṣka's successor, the *Huviṣka* of the inscriptions, and the OOHPKI of the coins; but it is only recently that Prof. Bühler has actually discovered *Huṣka* as the equivalent of *Huviṣka* in an inscription from Mathurā; comp. *Epigr. Ind.*, ii. p. 206.

The second name *Juṣka* has not yet found any confirmation from other sources. For recent notices of the historical data relating to these earliest Indo-Scythian rulers comp. Von Gutschmid, in *Encycl. Brit.*, xviii. p. 606; Drouin, *Les Rois Indo-Scythes*, pp. 16 sqq. Buddhist tradition connects Kaśmīr specially with the rule of Kaniṣka by placing there the third great Council held by that king; comp. e.g. *Si-yu-ki*, i. pp. 151 sqq. It may be noted that the copper coinage of Kaniṣka and his immediate successor is found to this day in abundance in Kaśmīr.

Huṣkapura, Juṣkapura, Kaniṣkapura. The town called after *Huṣka* has been rightly located by Gen. Cunningham, *Anc. Geogr.*, pp. 99 sq., at the modern *Uṣkür*, a small village about two miles to the S.E. of Varāhamūla on the left bank of the Vitastā (74° 26′ long. 34° 12′ lat.). This identification, which is already indicated by the glosses of A₂ *Uṣkūra* in our passage, and *Varāhamūla*, v. 214, is put beyond doubt by K.'s own words, vi. 186, which place *Huṣkapura* clearly in *Varāhakṣetra*. For other passages fully supporting this location see vii. 1311, viii. 390, 718, 822, 944. For the Vihāra and Stūpa built there by Lalitāditya, and their remains, comp. note iv. 188. Hiuen-tsiang stopped at *Hu-se-kia-lo* (read *Hushkara* by Julien) after passing "the stone gates, the western entrance of the kingdom," i.e. the ancient *dvāra* of Varāhamūla; see *Life of Hiuen-tsiang*, p. 68, and above note i. 122. Albērūnī also notices *Uṣkāra* as lying opposite 'Baramūlā,' *India*, i. p. 207.

For *Juṣkapura* Gen. Cunningham was referred by his Brahman informants to the modern *Zukur*, a large village to the N. of Srīnagar, about four miles from the *Hāri-parvat*. This identification is intended, too, by the gloss of A₂ *Jukura*. Gen. Cunningham in 1847 traced the remains of ancient buildings in the materials used for Muhammadan tombs and mosques. These remains were seen also by me in considerable number.

Finally, *Kaniṣkapura* I prefer to identify on the basis of the gloss of A₂ *Kanīṣpur*, and of the forms by which the name is rendered in the Persian Chronicles, with the village of *Kanispor* (74° 28′ long. 34° 14′ lat.) situated between the Vitastā and the high road leading from Varāhamūla to Srīnagar. Under the name of Kaniṣkapura the village is mentioned by P. Sāhibrām in his Tīrthas. According to the information collected for me by P. Kāśīrām in 1891, the tradition of the local Brahmans ascribes the foundation of the place to a king called *Kaniṣkarāja*. An old mound near the village from which carved stones and ancient coins are occasionally extracted is believed to mark the site of his residence. Gen. Cunningham's proposed identification of Kaniṣkapura with 'Kāmpur,' on the road from Srīnagar to Supiyan, must be abandoned. The name of that place is in reality *Khāmpor*.

169 Read *saṁharaṇya* in Ed. for *sa ṇ°*. The position of *Jayasvāmipura*, which the

170 These kings who were given to acts of piety, though descended from the *Turuṣka* race, built at *S'uṣkaletra* and other places Maṭhas, Caityas and similar [structures] HUṢKA, JUṢKA, KANIṢKA.

171 During the powerful reign of these [kings] the land of *Kaśmīr* was, to a great extent, in the possession of the Bauddhas, who by [practising] the law of religious mendicancy (*pravrajyā*) had acquired great renown

172 At that time one hundred and fifty years had passed in this terrestrial world since the blessed *S'ākyasiṃha* (Buddha) had obtained complete beatitude (Nirvāna).

173 And a Bodhisattva lived [then] in this country as the sole lord of the land, namely the glorious *Nāgārjuna*, who resided at *Ṣaḍarhadvana*

174 Then the fearless *Abhimanyu*, who knew no foes (*kaṇṭaka*), and was like a second Indra (*S'atamanyu*), became king. He was the donor of the Agrahāra of *Kaṇṭakotsa* ABHIMANYU I.

175 That illustrious king founded [the town of] *Abhimanyupura*, which abounded in wealth, calling it after his own name and giving it a [temple of] S'iva as its crest-ornament

176 Under his instructions *Candrācārya* and others brought the *Mahābhāṣya*,

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gloss of A_2 renders by *Jihāsapura*, I am unable to trace

170 The recollection of the Turkish descent of Kaniṣka and his Hinduized successors has long survived in popular tradition, comp Albērūnī's *India*, ii p 10 sq, and my paper *Zur Geschichte der Çāhis von Kābul*, passim

Regarding *S'uṣkaletra*, see note i 102

171 The tradition of the patronage bestowed by Kaniṣka on the Buddhist church, still lived in Gandhāra at the time of the Chinese pilgrims Fahian, Sung-yun and Hiuen-tsiang, see *Si-yu-ki*, i pp xxxii, ciii, 117, 151, etc There are coins of KANHÞKI exhibiting the figure of BOΔΔO, but far more frequent are representations of divinities from the Zoroastrian and Hindu Pantheon, see GARDNER, *Catalogue of Greek and Scythic Kings in India*, pp 130 sqq, and my notes, *Ind Ant*, xvii pp 89 sqq

172 *mahilokadhātau* K seems to avail himself here of an expression proper to Buddhist literature, comp *P W*, s v *loka-dhātu*

173 According to a passage quoted by Dr Hultzsch from Schiefner's *Tibetische Lebensbeschreibung S'ākyamuni's*, p 310, Nāgārjuna, who figures in Buddhist tradition as the thirteenth patriarch, was born in the time of Kaniṣka This agrees with K's mention of Nāgarjuna in connection with the Turuṣka kings

As the tradition of the northern Buddhists, as recorded by Hiuen-tsiang (*Si-yu-ki*, i pp 99, 151), places the commencement of Kaniṣka's rule four hundred years after Buddha's Nirvāna, the date assigned here to Nāgārjuna is rather curious

Ṣaḍarhadvana, 'the wood of the six Saints,' if rightly identified by the glossator A_2 (*Hārvan grame*), is the modern village *Hārvan*, situated about one and a half miles to the N W of the gardens of Shalimar near S'rinagar On the hill-side to the south of Hārvan ancient remains have come to light in the shape of highly ornamented brick pavements, which were dug up in the course of excavations conducted at the site in connection with the new S'rinagar waterworks (See *Proc. A S B*, 1895, p 2)

174. *Kaṇṭakotsa* is identified by the glossator A_2 with *Kanḍor*, i e the village now called *Kandur*, situated in the Biru Pargaṇa, 74° 38′ long 33° 59′ lat., not far from Hukhalitar

175 *Abhimanyupura* is, perhaps to be located at the present village of *Bimyun*, situated in marshy ground about four miles to the S.W of S'rinagar, 34° 4′ lat 74° 49′ long For another *Abhimanyupura* founded by Queen Diddā, see vi 299

176 This verse has been much discussed

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which was at that time difficult of access [for study], into general use, and [also] composed their own grammar

177 At that period the Bauddhas, whom the wise Bodhisattva *Nāgārjuna* protected, obtained preponderance in the land

178 After defeating in disputation all learned opponents, these enemies of tradition brought to an end the [observance of the] rites prescribed in the *Nīla*[*mata*]*purāṇa*

179 When the traditional customs were broken in the land, the Nāgas, who had lost their [accustomed] oblations, sent down excessive snow and thus destroyed the people

180 As deep snow was falling every year to cause distress to the Bauddhas, the king resided for six months in the cold season in *Dārvābhisāra* and in other [neighbouring regions]

on account of its supposed bearing on the history of the Mahābhāṣya, but its interpretation is not certain In the above translation I have followed the reading *labdhvādeśaṁ tasmāt*, as corrected in A by A_1 or A_2, and evidently found in the original of that codex It is also given by L *tadāgamam* must be resolved into *tadā agamam*, the latter word being used in the sense of *agamya*, see *P W*, s v *gamya*, and *N P W*, s v *agama* The reading *labdhvā deśāt tasmāt*, which is found as a correction of A_2, is in all probability, as suggested by Prof BÜHLER, *Report*, p 70, a conjectural emendation It may have been made by some reader who took *tad agamam* as the object of *labdhvā*, and hence found it difficult to account for the accusative *adeśam* The passage, as I understand it, is intended to say that Candra and other grammarians under Abhimanyu's instructions set again on foot the study of the Mahābhāṣya, which, owing to the absence of competent teachers or a correct text, had become difficult and disused K refers to a similar restoration of the study of Patañjali's great grammatical work under Jayāpīḍa in iv 488, where the expression *vicchinnam* corresponds to the *agamam* of our passage There the means adopted for that purpose, the calling-in of competent expositors from abroad, is also clearly indicated

Prof KIELHORN, who has analyzed the passage in *Ind Ant*, iv p 107, proposed to emend *labdhvā deśāntarāt* and to translate "Candrācārya and others brought into use the Mahābhāṣya, having obtained its traditional interpretation (*āgama*) from another country, and composed their own grammar" This emendation in support of which K's similar expression, iv 488, was adduced, has been accepted also by Prof BÜHLER, *loc. cit* I miss in the text thus corrected an indication of the connection between the labours of Candrācārya and the rule of King Abhimanyu

Prof Kern has proposed to read *labdhvādeśaṁ tadāgamam*; see *Mélanges Asiatiques de l'Académie de St Pétersbourg*, vii p 472

Regarding the grammarian *Candra*, whose full name is *Candragomin*, see AUFRECHT, *Cat Catalog* p 180, for the *Candravyākaraṇa*, which has survived, comp ib p 181, and EGGELING'S *Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in the India Office Library*, p 193.

179 Oblations (*bali*) to the Nāgas generally, and to particular Nāgas on specific festivals, are frequently described in the *Nīlamata*; comp e g vv 214 sq , 465 sqq

Regarding Nāgas taking the form of clouds, comp i 239, iii 21, *Si-yu-ki*, i p 122, etc

180 The combined names of the *Dārvas* and *Abhisaras* are mentioned in various ethnographical lists, furnished by the Mahābhārata, the Purāṇas and Bṛhatsaṁhitā, along with those of tribes belonging to the Panjāb The position of their country was first correctly ascertained by WILSON, *Essay*, pp 116 sq Comp also LASSEN, *Ind Alt*, ii p 147; *P W* s v , LASSEN, *Pentapot Ind* p 18, V. DE SAINT-MARTIN, *Mém de l'Académie des Inscr*, Sav Étrang, I série, v pp 299 sq ; *Ind Ant* xiv pp 321 sqq

From the evidence available it appears that *Dārvābhisāra* as a geographical term comprised the whole tract of the lower and middle hills lying between the Vitastā and Candrabhāgā [The Candrabhāgā seems to mark the eastern limit of the territory in the

181 At that time there manifested itself some miraculous power through which the Brahmans, who offered oblations and sacrifices, escaped destruction, while the Bauddhas perished. Abhimanyu I.

182 Then a Brahman named *Candradeva*, who was descended from *Kaśyapa*, practised austerities to please *Nīla*, the lord of the [Kaśmīr] Nāgas, and protector of the land

183 *Nīla* having manifested himself to him, removed the affliction of excessive snowfall, and revealed anew the rites prescribed in his own Purāṇa

184 As the first *Candradeva* had stopped the plague of the Yakṣas, thus the second brought to an end in this land the intolerable plague of the Bhikṣus

185 King *Gonanda* the Third, who ascended the throne at that time, reintroduced the pilgrimages, sacrifices, and other [worship] in honour of the Nāgas, as they had been before Gonanda III.

186 When the rites originating from *Nīla* had been re-established by this king, the Bhikṣus and snow calamities ceased altogether [to give trouble].

187 From time to time there arise on account of the merits of the subjects kings who reconstruct the kingdom when it has gone far [on the road] to ruin

188 Those kings whose only object is to oppress their subjects, perish together with their descendants, whereas royal fortune attends the race of those who will repair what has been destroyed

passage of the *Viṣṇupur.*, iv p 223] From Rājat viii 1531 and the topographical point discussed in note viii 1861, it is clear that the hill-state of *Rājapurī* (Rajauri) was included in Darvābhisāra

It must, however, be noted that the gloss of A_2 on our passage, *Bhembher Dānagale deśe*, would restrict the application of the term to the lower hills between the limits above indicated Bhimbhar, the first locality named by the glossator, lies at the foot of the outer hills, in the centre of the tract between the Vitastā and the Cinab, and was the centre of a little hill-state; see CUNNINGHAM, *Anc Geogr*, p 134 The name Dānagal appears to survive in that of an old Ghakkar fort in the lower hills near the Vitastā I have, however, been able to obtain only oral information regarding this place

The passage iv 712 seems to show Darvābhisāra as subject to Kaśmīr in the time of Utpalāpīḍa But S'amkaravarman has again to conquer this territory before he proceeds against *Gūrjara*, the modern *Gujrāt*, to the south of Bhimbhar, comp v 141 sqq, also v 208. During the weak reigns which followed, this acquisition was certainly soon lost again

For a curious passage throwing light on the character of the inhabitants, see viii 1531

184 K refers here to the legend told in the *Nīlamata* (vv. 325 sqq) regarding the liberation of the land from the Piśācas The latter, for whom K curiously enough substitutes the *Yakṣas*, occupied Kaśmīr under a sentence of Kaśyapa during the six months of winter, while men lived there for the remaining six months only, and emigrated each year before the month of Āśvayuja The deliverance of the country from the Piśācas and excessive cold was effected after four Yugas through the observance of the rites which *Candradeva*, an old Brahman, descended from Kaśyapa, had learned from the *Nīla Nāga*. For an account of this legend see *Report*, p 40

The story told by K. in i 178-184 is obviously in all particulars a mere rechauffé of the ancient legend The charitable comparison between Piśācas and Bauddhas leaves no doubt as to the source from which K borrowed it

185. L *tṛtīyagonandaḥ prāptarājyas°*, as corrected in A.

GONANDA III

189 Wise men who have observed this distinctive feature of every [king's] story in this land, will foresee the fortune or misfortune of future kings.

190. Thus after this [king] had reconstructed the kingdom, the land remained long in the possession of his descendants *Pravarasena* [I] and the rest, who possessed supernatural powers, and did pious works.

191 This king, who was the first of the *Gonanda* race, just as *Raghu* was of the race of the *Raghus*, ruled the land for thirty-five years.

VIBHĪṢAṆA I

192 *Gonanda's* son *Vibhīṣaṇa* [I] protected the earth during sixty years diminished by six years and six months.

INDRAJIT RĀVAṆA

193 Then ruled in succession *Indrajit* and *Rāvaṇa*, father and son, for thirty-five years and for thirty years and a half.

194 The Liṅga called *Vaṭeśvara* which served for *Rāvaṇa's* worship, is [still] shining brightly, and the light [to be observed] in its dots and lines foretells future events.

195 To the *Vaṭeśvara* [Liṅga] which he had placed within a Maṭha forming a quadrangle, the king vowed the whole land of *Kaśmīr*.

VIBHĪṢAṆA II

196 *Vibhīṣaṇa* the Second, the strong-armed son of King *Rāvaṇa*, ruled then the earth for thirty-five and a half years.

NARA

197 Then *Vibhīṣaṇa's* son *Nara*, who also bore the name of *Kiṃnara*, and whose prowess was sung by the Kiṃnaras, became king.

198 Though this king followed the right customs, still when the fortune of his subjects turned, he brought about a series of great calamities under the baneful influence of sensuality.

199 A Buddhist ascetic (*śramaṇa*) who was living alone in a Vihāra, situated at *Kiṃnaragrāma*, seduced the [king's] wife through magic power.

200 In his wrath over this the king burned thousands of Vihāras, and granted the villages which had belonged to them, to Brahmans residing in *Madhyamaṭha*.

201-202 On the sandy bank of the *Vitastā* he built a town where the markets were kept full of supplies by the highroads [leading to it], and where the coming and going of ships gave splendour to the river. With its gardens

194 I am unable to trace any other reference to this miraculous Liṅga or the Maṭha built around it. Figures formed by the natural veins of the marble are to this day considered as features of beauty in Liṅgas.

199 The position of *Kiṃnaragrāma* is doubtful. The gloss of A$_1$ identifies it with the modern village of *Kanir*, in the Nāgām Pargaṇa, circ. 74° 46' long. 33° 56' lat. (shown on map as Kanil).

200 *Madhyamaṭha* is clearly the name of a locality, but no certain identification can be proposed for it. Skr. *maṭha* > Kś. *mar* is frequently found at the end of Kaśmīr local names, particularly in designations of city quarters; comp. e.g. *Diddāmaṭha*, the present *Did^ımar*, vi. 300; *Bhaṭṭārakamaṭha*, *Brad^ımar*, vi. 240; *Āhlādamaṭha*, the present *Ahal^ımar*.

201-202 The position of the town founded by Nara which is called *Kiṃnara-*

full of swelling flowers and fruits it was, as it were, a synonym for 'heaven,' and it surpassed even Kubera's town by the riches amassed [there] through the conquest of the world

NARA.

203 There in a grove was a pond of limpid and sweet water, the habitation of a Nâga called *Suśravas*

Legend of the Nâga *Suśravas*.

204 Once upon a time a young Brahman, *Visâkha* by name, who was fatigued by a long march, went at midday to the bank of that pond to seek the shade

205 When he had been refreshed by the breezes at the foot of a shady tree, and had bathed his limbs, he slowly proceeded to eat his porridge

206 Just when he was taking it in his hand he heard the sound of foot-rings, which had already before been noticed by the swans disporting themselves on the banks.

207-209 Then he saw before him two sweet-eyed maids wearing blue cloaks, who had stepped forth from a grove of creepers. The corners of their eyes were captivating, and illuminated by a very thin line of antimony, which appeared to play the part of the stem to the ruby-lotuses of their ear-ornaments, to their shoulder-pairs were attached their faces, as it were, like flags, of which their fascinating eyes appeared to be the ends floating in the light swing of the breeze

210 When he saw the two moon-faced maidens slowly approaching him, he stopped commencing his dinner, and became again and again benumbed with confusion

pura, i 274, and *Narapura*, i 244, is fixed in the immediate vicinity of Vijayeśvara or Vij^e^brōr by K's references to the neighbouring shrine of *Cakradhara*, i 261, 270 (see also viii 991), as well as by the actually surviving popular legend The small alluvial plateau or *Udar*, one mile below Vij^a^brōr, which bears to this day the name of *Tsak^a^dar*, has already been indicated in note i 38 as the site of the *Cakradhara* temple It is correctly marked in the larger Survey map as occupying the base of the small peninsula formed here by the Vitastâ Close below the S E. corner of this plateau a dry depression in the ground was pointed out to me, on the occasion of my visits in 1889 and 1895, as the original habitation of the 'Suśram Nâg,' the Suśravas Nâga of our narrative

The main features of the legend, as told by K, still live in the tradition of the inhabitants of the neighbourhood All look upon the barren plain between the mound of Tsak^a^dar and Vij^e^brōr as the site of the old town burned by the Naga Ancient coins reaching back to Greek and Indo-Scythian rule are found in considerable quantities on this ground, and particularly near the river These finds leave no doubt as to the antiquity of the site. The latter is liable to annual inundation from the river It is, therefore, possible that excavations below the alluvial surface might yet bring to light some of the ruins which, judging from i 270, appear to have been still visible in K's times, and which, perhaps, formed the starting point of the legend related here

203 The '*Suśrava Nâga*' is mentioned in the vicinity of the Vijayeśvara Tirtha in *Haracar* x 248, and in *Nilamata*, 912 No reference is made to our legend in either place

207-209 These three verses form a *Tilaka*, being connected in syntactical construction (comp *Mankhakośa trilokyām tilakam*) The shoulders are compared to the flagstaff, the face is the flag, and the eyes the ends of the flag.

NARA.

211. Then again taking a furtive glance he saw in front the lotus-eyed ones eating the pods of the *kacchagaccha* [grass].

212. "O shame, such food for such beauty." Thus he thought, and moved by pity he invited them and made them partake of his porridge.

213. And fetching the pure and cold water of the fountain in leaves which he made to form a cornet, he brought it for them to drink.

214. When they had sipped in water after the [meal], and thus cleansed had taken their seats, he fanned them with fans made of leaves, and thus spoke to them

215. "Your humble servant who had obtained the sight [of you] through some good works done in a previous [birth], wishes with the indiscretion not unusual in a Brahman to question you"

216. "Which happy family is adorned by you lovely ones, and where did you fall into such misfortune that you eat this tasteless [grass]?"

217. One of them answered him "Know that we are the daughters of [the Nāga] *Suśravas*. Not having got anything pleasant to eat, why should we not take to such food?"

218. "I am *Irāvatī*, who am promised by my father to the lord of the Vidyādharas, and this is *Candralekhā*, his younger daughter"

219. Again spoke the Brahman "Whence then your wretched poverty?" They answered "Our father knows here the reason Him you should ask."

220. "When he comes to visit the *Takṣaka* [Nāga] on the twelfth day of the dark half of Jyaiṣṭha, you will recognize him straight by his hair-tuft dripping with water"

211 According to the gloss of A_2 (*kacchaghānye kima iti bhāṣayā*) *kacchagaccha* is the name of a grass called in Kś *kach'dan'* It grows plentifully on the meadows of the Valley Kś *him* (plur *him'*) < Skr *śimbi* 'pod'

213 The rare word *caṭaṇa*, which is not found in the dictionaries accessible to me is well explained in a note of A_2 as *kumbhādyabhāve kṛtrimam udakotkṣepanabhāṇḍam* I am unable to identify the passage quoted in evidence of this interpretation from some Kāvya or Drama

220 The *Takṣaka Nāga* is worshipped to this day in the large pool of limpid water situated close to the village of *Zevan* (or *Jayavana*, see vii 607) in the Vihi Parganā, 74° 58′ long 34° 3′ lat, comp *Report*, p 5 It is happily described by the poet Bilhaṇa, who was born in the neighbouring village of Khonamuṣa (Khunᵃmoh), in his *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, xviii 70 (as translated by Prof Bühler) "At a distance of a *gavyūti* and a half from *Pravarapura* (S'rinagar) lies a place with high-rising monuments called *Jayavana* (Zevan), where a pool filled with pure water, and sacred to *Takṣaka*, lord of snakes, cuts like a war-disc the head of Kali bent on the destruction of Dharma"

From the Takṣaka Nāga the cultivation of the saffron flowers which flourishes in this neighbourhood, is supposed to have originated, comp Fourth Chron , v 931 sqq , *Tirthas.* The *Ain-i Akb*, ii p 358, mentions a pilgrimage to the spring at the commencement of the saffron cultivation, i e in Jyaiṣṭha The Mahātmya of the neighbouring *Harṣeśvara* Tirtha, śl 80, mentions the Takṣaka Nāga and indicates Jyaiṣṭha Pūrṇimā as the day on which he is to be visited in connection with the Harṣeśvara pilgrimage. The references to the Takṣaka Nāga, below iv 216 and *Nīlamata*, 904, supply no particulars

221 "At that time you will also see us two standing near him." After these words the Nâga-maids suddenly disappeared. NARA.

222. Then in due time came on the great festival of the [Takṣaka] pilgrimage, frequented by dancers and strolling players, and thronged by crowds of spectators

223 The Brahman too was attracted there by curiosity, and was hastily moving about among the crowd of onlookers, when he came face to face with the Nâga, whom he recognized by the sign which the maids had indicated.

224 The prince of Nâgas then offered greeting to the Brahman whom his daughters standing by his side had previously announced [to him]

225 Then in the middle of their discourse, when the Brahman had asked him somehow about the cause of his misfortunes, the Nâga related to him in confidence [the following].

226 "For people who have self-respect and know how to distinguish between proper and improper, it does not seem right to expose misfortunes which must needs be borne"

227 "A truly noble-minded man when he hears of the misery of another person without being able to alleviate it, feels pained in his heart"

228 "A common person [again] when he hears of misfortune, makes much of his own sustenance, puts pain into the heart by his words of consolation, openly questions the [other's] fitness while praising himself, though of weak intellect; advises recourse to improper expedients, represents the calamity to be permanent, and [thus only] aggravates the heartrending pain"

229 "Hence wise men let their fortune and misfortune be consumed in the end by their funeral pyre, after digesting it in their own mind while life lasts"

230 "Who would notice outside the misfortune of naturally discreet persons if children and servants would not expose it?"

231 "Since then this matter has come to light through the childish ways of these two [girls], it would not be proper for me either to make a secret of it before you, O worthy one"

232 "So may you too, O noble one, who are honest by nature, make some small effort to help us if you can."

233. "That ascetic there whom you see seated at the foot of the tree, with his head shaved and carrying only one tuft of hair, that is the field-guard who drives us to despair."

234. "As long as the fresh crop is not touched by those [who watch the fields] with their spells (*māntrika*), the Nâgas too may not touch it. That one there does not eat it, and under that rule we are ruined."

NARA.

235. "As long as he guards the fields, we cannot eat the rich produce though it is before our eyes, as the ghosts [cannot drink] the water from the river."

236. "Now you bring it about that this [ascetic] who has vowed abstinence for ever [from fresh produce], should break his observance. We, too, know how to reward fitly our benefactors."

237. The Brahman promised this to the Nāga, and full of eager zeal thought day and night of how he might outwit the field-guard.

238. Then while the latter was keeping inside his hut out on the fields, he secretly dropped fresh corn into his food-dish which was cooking outside.

239. As soon as the field-guard took the food, the Nāga lord at once carried off the abundant rich harvest by sending down hail and heavy rain.

240. Freed from misery, he took on the next day the Brahman who had helped him, and who had come [again] to the pond, into his own place.

241. Honoured there by the two maids at their father's bidding, he enjoyed day for day the pleasures which are easily obtained [only] by the immortals.

242. Then after some time when he had taken leave from all, and was ready to return to his own land, he asked *Candralekhā* from the Nāga who had promised him a boon.

243. The Naga obeying the commands of gratitude, bestowed his daughter and wealth on the Brahman, though he was not entitled to this [matrimonial] alliance.

Construction of Narapura.

244. The Brahman who had thus obtained fortune through the boon [granted to him] by the Nāga, passed a long time at *Narapura* in manifold never-ceasing festivities.

245. The Nāga daughter, too, possessed of infinite beauty, made as a devoted wife her husband happy by her noble character, exemplary conduct and other virtues.

246. Once, at a time while she was standing on the top of her mansion, a loose horse was eating the rice which had been left outside the courtyard to dry in the sun.

247. As the servants whom she called to keep the horse off, were not in the house, she came down herself, jingling with her graceful anklets.

235. The souls of the wicked are driven about by eternal thirst, which they cannot quench with water; comp. e.g. *Padmapur.*, v. xxvii. 18.

239. That the Nagas were supposed to take the form of hailstorms, and to obtain food by destroying the crops, is seen from the story told in 16 sqq. For the storm-producing powers of Nagas, see also the end of the tale, i. 259; *Si-yu-ki*, i. pp. 64, 122 sq.

240. According to *Nīlamata*, 222, the permanent residence of all Nāgas is the town of *Bhogavatī*, conceived as a part of the underworld; comp. *P. W.* s.v.

246. *Dhānya* means in the Chronicle everywhere 'rice,' the staple produce of the Valley, Ks. *dāny*.

248. Holding with one hand the end of her head-dress, which in the hurry had slipped off, she ran up and slapped the horse with her lotus-hand. NARA.

249. When the horse, after being touched by the Nāga lady, left the food and moved away, there appeared on its body the golden imprint of her hand.

250. At that time there arose love [in the heart] of the king who had heard already before through his spies of the Brahman's beautiful-eyed wife.

251 When his passion broke away like an elephant in rut, no fear of reproach could hook-like hold it back by force.

252 Upon the rising flames of the king's love the story of the horse acted again like a furious storm

253 The golden mark of her hand showing the beauty of her straight fingers, made him overstep the moral limits, just as the moon makes the sea [overstep its limits]

254 Throwing off the fetters of shame he then alarmed the fair lady by trying to seduce her through messengers who intimated his wishes.

255. As she was not to be gained by all ar ces, he in his covetous passion asked her even from her husband, the Brahman. Whence should shame [come] to those who are blinded by love?

256 When the king had more than once been repulsed also by the Brahman, he sent soldiers to carry her off by force

257 While those attacked the house in front, the Brahman left it with his wife by another way and fled for protection to the Nāga's habitation.

258 The lord of the Nāgas thereupon, when those two had approached him and had told their story, rose blind with fury from his pool

259 Casting about dense darkness by thundering clouds of sinister look, he burned the king with his town in a rain of fearful thunderbolts

260 The *Vitastā* which carried the marrow, blood and fat flowing from the bodies of the burned men, looked as if adorned with the eyes of peacocks' tails

261 Thousands of terrified people who had fled for protection before [the image of Visnu] *Cakradhara*, were burned in a moment

262 Just as of yore the fat of the [demons] Madhu and Kaitabha had covered the 'Bearer of the Disc' (*Cakrin*) on his thighs, so then his whole body was covered by the fat of the burned human beings.

261. Regarding the temple of Viṣṇu *Cakradhara*, see notes i 38, 201, comp also viii 990 sqq.

262. Retaining A, *tattattadā*, one *tat* must be referred to *medas*, the other to *sarvāṅgam* The *v.l* of A, *taṁ tu tadā*, would also permit of a satisfactory explanation.

According to a well-known tale of the Purāṇas, Viṣṇu (*Cakrin-Cakradhara*) smashed the two demons named in the text on his

NARA.

Story of Ramaṇyā

263. Then the sister of *Suśravas*, the Nāgī *Ramaṇyā*, came forth to assist him from the depth of the mountains carrying along masses of stones.

264. When she learned from afar [at a place] where more than one Yojana yet remained of her way [to Narapura], that her brother had accomplished his work, she left that hail of stones among the villages

265 For five Yojanas from that place the village-land became a waste buried under mighty boulders, and known to this very day as the *Ramaṇyāṭavi* ('the forest of Ramaṇyā').

266 After completing this frightful carnage the Nāga, pained also by remorse and wearied by the reproaches of the people, left at daybreak that habitation of his and moved away.

267. The lake of dazzling whiteness [resembling] a sea of milk, which he created [for himself as residence] on a far-off mountain, is to the present day seen by the people on the pilgrimage to *Amareśvara*.

thighs, which were alone stained with their blood

263-265 The legend told here of the Nāga's sister *Ramaṇyā* refers to the *Rembyār*ᵘ River, whose modern name is derived from Skr *Ramaṇyāṭam*, i 265 For Kś *r* < Skr *ṭ* comp note in 11

The Rembyārᵘ unites the streams coming from the mountains between the Pīr Pantsāl and Rūpri Passes, and flows past *Hurᵉpōr* and *Supiyan* to the N E It joins the Vitastā at Gambhīrasaṃgama, some three miles below Tsakᵘdar (Cakradhara) From *Hurᵉpōr* (Hirpur of the maps) it flows divided in many small channels within a gradually widening bed of rubble and boulders, which for the most part is dry, except in times of flood After attaining near Tsuran a width of over two miles, this bed contracts above the village of *Litᵉr* For the remainder of its course the Rembyārᵘ flows in a single narrow channel deeply cut in the alluvial soil In the stony waste above Litᵉr I recognize the place where, according to our verse, the Ramaṇyā is supposed to have dropped her stones The distance between it and Tsakᵘdar is about eight miles, which corresponds exactly to the expression of the text (*yojanādhike śeṣe mārgasya*)

The 'five Yojanas' which the next verse mentions as the length of the ground laid waste by the Ramaṇyāṭavi, seem a less accurate measurement. From above Hurᵉpōr to the locality near Litᵉr above indicated the map shows only a distance of about twenty-two miles, which is considerably less than the five Yojanas, or twenty *Krośas* of verse 265 The modern *Kruh* (Kōs) of Kaśmīr is about one and a half miles, and to judge from the evidence of vii 393, and of Bilhaṇa's measurement, *Vikram* xviii. 70, the ancient Krośa in Kaśmīr could not have been less

Similar stories explaining the origin of stone-wastes, 'Murren,' and other peculiar features of alpine orography, abound in the folklore of Switzerland, the Tyrol, Transylvania, etc , comp e g VERNALEKEN, *Alpensagen*, p 89 sqq

267 The mountain lake in which the legend locates the Nāga *Suśravas* after his migration, is situated near one of the sources of the Lidᵉr River at 75° 34′ long 34° 5′ lat It is popularly known by the name of *S'eṣanāga*, and forms one of the stations of the great Amareśvara pilgrimage, comp VIGNE, ii p 10, and INCE, *Handbook*, p. 193 The legend told in chapter vi of the *Amareśvaramāhātmya*, it is true, identifies the lake with the serpent S'esanāga But in the same chapter the lake is also designated by the name of *Suśrama* Nāga, which evidently reproduces the older form *Suśravas* in its Kś. pronunciation of '*Suśram*' As 'Suśram Nāg' the lake is still known among the older Purohitas of Amareśvara, and under this name it is also referred to in the appropriate gloss which A₂ gives on our passage The white colour of the lake's water is noticeable, and is possibly due to the surrounding limestone rocks

A narrow inlet of the lake opening to the south towards the glacier of the Kohenhār Peak, is popularly known by the name of *Zāmaturᵘ Nāg*, 'the son-in-law's Nāga,' and corresponds to the *Jāmātṛsaras* of our narrative It is mentioned as Jāmātṛnāga along with the Suśramanāga in the route directory

268. And in that locality there is also another lake well-known as the *Jāmātṛsaras* ('the son-in-law's lake'), [the habitation] of the Brahman who by his father-in-law's favour had been transformed into a Nāga. NARA.

269. There appear at times without apparent cause such gods of death who, under the pretext of protecting their subjects, bring about their unexpected destruction.

270. To this day that tale is remembered by the people when they behold close to *Cakradhara* that town destroyed by fire and that pond which has become a [dry] hollow.

271. How small a fault is love-passion in kings according to the view of people of narrow perception? Yet by that [love] of this [king] was brought about what had not happened to any other anywhere.

272. Verily we learn from every story that the destruction of the universe even [may be caused] by the wrath of even a single virtuous woman, deity or Brahman.

273. After enjoying the earth for forty-one years less three months, this king perished through his evil conduct.

274. That [town of] *Kimnarapura*, after having been visible for a short time with its encircling walls and battlements, became similar to the town of the Gandharvas (i.e. a mirage).

275. One son, however, of the king, had in the wondrous course of events been [previously] taken by his nurse to *Vijayakṣetra* (Vijayeśvara), and thus did not lose his life.

276. This king called *Siddha* then revived the thoroughly exhausted nation as the cloud [revives] the mountain which has been parched by a forest fire. SIDDHA.

277 The astonishing story of his father, as [told] above, served for this thoughtful [king] as a guide to a pious life by teaching him the vanity of mundane existence.

of the Amareśvara-pilgrimage as given in the *Tirthas*.

The *Amareśvara-yātrā* is directed to the famous cave of Amarnāth (*Kś. Amburnāth*) situated at a considerable altitude, 75° 33′ long. 34° 13′ lat. In it S'iva Amareśvara is believed to have manifested himself to the gods who entreated him for protection against death. The god is worshipped in a linga-shaped ice-block. For a description of the locality and the route leading to it, see VIGNE and INCE, *ll. cc.*

This pilgrimage, notwithstanding its hardships, now ranks amongst the most popular in Kaśmir, and attracts in great numbers pilgrims from other parts of India. In old times, however, this Tirtha can scarcely have claimed such importance, if we may judge from the scanty reference made to it in the *Nilamata* (śl. 1324), and in the Rājat. [The passages vii. 183, 185, probably relate to *Amareśvara-Amburhēr*, see note vii 183.] For a brief but accurate description, comp Fourth Chron 875

275. *Vijayakṣetra* is an abbreviation for Vijayeśvarakṣetra, and a frequent designation of the sacred site around the temple of Vijayeśvara, including the town of Vij'brōr; comp. e.g. vii. 336 sqq., 431, 524, etc For *Vijayeśvarakṣetra*, see e g. *Haracar* x. 191

SIDDHA.

278. As the moon reflected in the slough [remains] untarnished, so he, though standing in the midst of enjoyments, could not be led into sin by their influence.

279. Amidst kings who were consumed by the fever of pride, he alone recovered full health by thinking day and night of Him who carries the crescent of the moon as his diadem (S'iva).

280. This virtuous [prince] cast away his jewels as if they were grass, and found the perfect adornment in the worship of S'iva.

281. This king alone was followed to the other world by royal fortune, because he had cunningly attached her to himself by unfailing righteousness.

282. After he had ruled the earth for sixty years, he ascended bodily to the worlds of S'iva together with his near attendants.

283. The servants who had attended *Nara*, found a deplorable end; those on the other hand who attached themselves to his son as their lord, became objects of praise in the world.

284. A dependant follows the way taken by his master, be it blamed by the world or praised by all people. A string of grass if used in working a well, goes down, if wound round flowers it is raised to the heads of the gods.

285. "Here is *Siddha* who has obtained the state of a demigod (*siddha*) in his own body" this announcement the gods proclaimed in heaven, beating the drums for seven days.

UTPALĀKṢA.

286. His son, who received the name of *Utpalākṣa* ('lotus-eyed') on account of his beautiful eyes, ruled the earth for thirty and a half years.

HIRAṆYĀKṢA.

287. His son *Hiraṇyākṣa* founded a town named after himself and ruled the earth for thirty-seven years and seven months.

279. L has *nirdhyāyato bhramm*

285. The reading of A, *prāghoṣayaṁstā*°, received into the text is, perhaps, only an attempt to eliminate the augmentless form *'*prodghoṣayaṁsta'*, which, on the evidence of A, *prodghoṣayantā*° and L *prodghoṣayaṁtā*°, may be accepted as the original reading. For augmentless forms compare notes ii 150; viii 2200.

287. The gloss of A, places the town founded by *Hiraṇyākṣa* at *Ranyil*, a village situated circ 74° 52′ long 34° 12′ lat, close to the high road which leads from S'rinagar to Gānd^arbal and the Sind Valley. A Nāga near this village, which is visited by the pilgrims proceeding to the Haramukuṭa Tīrthas, is referred to in the *Tīrthas* and the Sureśvarimāhātmya as *Hiraṇyākṣanāga*, and in the Haramukuṭamāhātmya, ii 7, as *Hiraṇyagaṅgā*. More conclusive evidence in favour of the above identification is furnished by the two passages in which K directly mentions this place under the name of *Hiraṇyapura*.

While Bhikṣācara is encamped at *Mayagrāma*, the modern *Man'gām*, not far from the mouth of the Sind Valley, the rebels from Lahara (Lār) who support him, defeat at Hiraṇyapura the royal forces, viii 729 sqq. As the quarters of the latter are said to be at *Amareśvara*, i e *Amburhēr*, about two and a half miles to the south of *Ranyil*, it is clear that this last named place is meant by *Hiraṇyapura*. Similarly, vii. 1386, when Uccala marches from *Lahara*, i e the Sind Valley, to the siege of the capital, he has his *abhiṣeka* ceremony performed *en route* by the Brahmans of Hiraṇyapura.

WILSON, *Essay*, p 27, has already pointed out that Hiraṇyākṣa figures in the Kathāsaritsāgara as the hero of a fairy tale, see

288. His son *Hiraṇyakula*, the founder of *Hiraṇyotsa*, ruled for sixty years, and the son of the latter, *Vasukula*, also for sixty years. HIRAṆYAKULA. VASUKULA.

289. Then his son *Mihirakula*, a man of violent acts and resembling Kāla (Death), ruled in the land which was overrun by hordes of *Mlecchas*. MIHIRAKULA.

290. In him the northern region brought forth, as it were, another god of death, bent in rivalry to surpass the southern region which has Yama [as its guardian].

291. The people knew his approach by noticing the vultures, crows and other [birds] which were flying ahead eager to feed on those who were being slain within his armies' [reach].

292. This royal Vetāla was day and night surrounded by thousands of murdered human beings, even in his pleasure-houses.

293. This terrible enemy of mankind had no pity for children, no compassion for women, no respect for the aged

lxv. 215 sqq His father *Kanakākṣa* is there called king of Kaśmir, and said to reside in *Hiraṇyapura*, the capital of the country

288 The position of *Hiraṇyotsa* is unknown.

The name of *Hiraṇyakula* has been read by Gen. Cunningham on coins closely resembling some of the issues of *Mihirakula;* comp *Later Indo-Scythians*, p. 114, and pl. VIII. figs. 9, 10

289 Kalhaṇa's Mihirakula is undoubtedly identical with the great ruler of the White Huns or Ephthalites, who calls himself Mihirakula or Mihiragula on his coins, and whom Kosmas Indikopleustes mentions under the name of Gollas To Mr. FLEET belongs the merit of having placed our knowledge of the historical facts connected with Mihirakula's rule on a safe basis by combining the evidence of the inscriptions of Ērān and Mandasōr with the data furnished by Kalhaṇa, Hiuen-tsiang (*Si-yu-ki*, i. pp. 167 sqq.), Sung-yun and the coins; see *Ind. Ant*, xv. pp. 245 sqq. (where also a translation of Rājat. i. 289-324 is given) and *Corpus Inscr. Ind.*, iii. pp 10 sqq.

The main points which may be accepted as certain, are that Mihirakula succeeded about A.D. 515 to his father *Toramāṇa* in the rule of the territories conquered by the White Huns from Kābul to Central India, and that after extensive campaigns he was defeated by Bālāditya of Magadha and Yaśodharman, and forced to retire about A D. 530 to Kaśmir and the adjoining regions From there he appears till the end of his reign (about A.D. 544-550) to have been engaged in endeavours to recover his lost dominions in the direction of the Lower Indus. Compare with the above papers of Mr. Fleet the materials collected by Sir A. CUNNINGHAM in *Later Indo-Scythians*, pp 96 sqq , and the far more lucid synopsis given of the latter by Mr. V A. SMITH, *J A S B*, 1894, pp. 185 sqq

K's account is too much interwoven with legendary matter to be of value as an independent source for the history of Mihirakula. But the close resemblance between certain of the stories related in it and the picture of Mihirakula's character, as drawn by Hiuen-tsiang, shows that the Chronicle has at least preserved faithfully some features of the popular tradition regarding this ruler, such as it had developed within the first century after his death Thus the description of his cruelties, i. 290-293, 302, 303, 318-323, may be compared with the story told by Hiuen-tsiang, *Si-yu-ki*, i. p 171 sq , and the notice of favours shown to Brahmans and their worship, i 306, 307, 312-314, with Hiuen-tsiang's record of his enmity against Buddhism, *Si-yu-ki*, pp 168, 171.

That this popular tradition had some foundation in historical facts is shown by Sung-yun's graphic description of the interview he had with the "cruel and vindictive" king, A D 520, in his camp on the borders of Gandhāra (*Si-yu-ki*, i. pp XCIX sqq.). Similarly, the impression which this tradition retained of Mihirakula's religious propensities, is in full accord with the evidence of his coins which, in the emblems of bull and trident and in the legends *jayatu vṛṣa*, *jayatu vṛṣadhvaja*, display a distinct leaning towards S'aivism.

The name *Mihirakula* contains in its first part certainly the Iranian name of the sun-god, corresponding to the Avestic *Mithra*,

Mihirakula. **Expedition to Ceylon.**

294 When he once noticed that the breasts of his queen who was wearing a jacket made of cloth from *Siṃhala* (Ceylon) were marked with golden footprints, he flamed up in anger

295 When told on inquiry by the chamberlain that the cloth made in *Siṃhala* was marked with the stamp of the king's foot, he thereupon set out on an expedition

296 The southern ocean when it was swelled by the streams of the juice flowing from the temples of his war-elephants, showed a desire of embracing (extending to) the *Yamunā*.

297 At last he removed in violent onslaught the king of *Siṃhala* [from his throne], and at the same time [from his own heart] the wrath which had arisen from the sight of his queen touched by the foot [of that king]

298 When the demons from the palaces of *Laṅkā* saw his army in the distance, they feared another attack of *Rāghava* (Rāma) and fell to trembling

299. After this [king] of mighty power had installed there another ruler, he brought away [from there] the cloth called by the name of *Yamuṣadeva* which was stamped with an image of the sun.

300 On his return he scattered the *Cola*, *Karnāṭa*, *Lāṭa* and other kings as an elephant in rut [scatters the other] elephants by his mere odour

301 When these kings returned on his departure, their cities announced to them their capture by the broken girdle of their battlements

302 When on reaching the 'Gate (*drāva*) of *Kaśmīr*' he heard the terrified cry of an elephant which had fallen over a precipice, he was thrilled with delight.

MIOPO of the Indo-Scythian coinage, Pers *Mihr* The significance of the termination *kula*, or, perhaps earlier, *gula* is doubtful

294 The story here told of Mihirakula's expedition against Ceylon and its cause closely agrees with the less legendary one recorded in the *Mujmal-ul-Tawārikh*, of a king of Kaśmir, see REINAUD, *Fragments arabes et persans*, pp 42 sqq (also Mr Fleet's abstract, *Ind Ant*, xv p 250). The king of Kaśmir's name is not given there, and as his opponent there figures King Hal of *Sindh*, who at length forces the invader to come to terms of peace Reinaud already recognised Mihirakula in 'the king of Kaśmir'

299 No satisfactory explanation has been found for the name *Yamuṣadeva* A popular legend might have connected the cloth so called with *Mihirakula*, perhaps only on account of the apparent relation between the sun-mark and the king's name It is a curious coincidence, that some varieties of the copper coinage issued by Mihirakula, as well as by his father, show the emblem of a sun-wheel either alone or with the S'ivaic symbols above mentioned, comp *J A S B*, 1894, pp 198 sqq, 206 sq

300. The territories named in the text correspond to the modern Tanjore, the Carnatic and Central Gujrat, see e g *Ind Ant*, xxii pp 176, 181, 183

302 The concurrent evidence of the gloss of A₂, the Āin-i Akbari, the Persian Chronicles and the actually surviving tradition, enables us to fix with accuracy the place in which the story told in i 302, 303 has been localized since early times The glossator says "Since that occurrence the route by which Mihirakula returned, is commonly known by the name of *Hastivañja*" In the MSS of the Āin-i Akb, which reproduces this anecdote in its abstract of the Rājat (ii, p 383), the name of the locality is with a clerical mistake recorded as *Hastiwntar* But the Persian Chronicles of Haidar Malik, Nārāyan Kōl, and Bīrbal Kāṭsar give the locality correctly

303. The perverse-minded king was in raptures with joy over this sound, and had then a hundred other elephants rolled down by force. MIHIRAKULA.

304. As the touch of wicked men defiles the body, so the relation [of their deeds] defiles the speech. Therefore yet other inhuman acts of his are not narrated [by me].

305. Who can understand the conduct of men who do astonishing acts and are [withal] of a low mind? Since even he took to piety for the sake of collecting religious merits.

as *Hastivanj*, and place it on the Pir Pantsāl route.

This indication induced me to pay a visit to the Pir Pantsāl Pass in Sept., 1891, in the course of which I could trace the locality intended and the tradition yet attaching to it. A full account of this identification has been given by me in my paper *Notes on the ancient topography of the Pir Pantsāl Route*, *J.A.S.B.*, 1895, pp. 376 sqq., of which the following is an abstract.

The present route to the pass, which follows mainly the track chosen for the old 'Imperial road' of Akbar, has been fully described in VIGNE, *Travels*, i. pp. 261 sqq., and INCE, *Handbook*, pp. 60 sqq. It leads for some distance after leaving *Hur'pōr*, the ancient S'ūrapura (iii. 227), along the right bank of the Rembyār River. It then crosses to the heights above the left or northern bank, on which it continues up to the old Moghul Serai of 'Aliābād. On the opposite (southern) side of the narrow defile, and about half a mile below 'Aliābād, is seen a high mountain ridge, which falls down in precipitous cliffs to the river bed. This projecting ridge bears, according to the uniform testimony of the mountaineers frequenting the route, the name of *Hast'vanj*. They all have heard the tradition that once the elephants of a king fell down from the height of *Hast'vanj* into the gorge below. The name of the king is not known, nor whether the elephants came to grief by accident or were thrown down.

In the times before Akbar constructed the 'Imperial road,' the old route is said to have led over the *Hast'vanj* ridge and throughout along the right bank of the river. This agrees fully with the remark of Abu-l-Fazl, who, when describing in another passage (Āin-i Akb., ii. p. 347) the several routes from Bhimbhar to Kaśmir, clearly distinguishes the route of "*Hastivanj* (MSS. Hastivatar) which was the former route for the march of troops," from the "Pir Pantsāl route" used by Akbar. This evidence regarding the antiquity and importance of the Hast'vanj route is borne out by topographical considerations.

At 'Aliābād Serai the ordinary or 'Imperial' route over the Pir Pantsāl *viâ* Posiāna and Bahrāmgalla is joined from the south by a route which leads past the Nandan Sar lake over the Durhāl Pass to the territory of Rajauri (Rājapuri). As it affords the most direct communication to the south it is still much frequented, and was used with advantage by the Sikh forces in 1814 and 1819. The natural continuation of this route lies to the south of the Rembyār, i.e. over the Hast'vanj. Keeping on this side the crossing of the river is altogether avoided.

It must also be noted that the *old* position of the frontier watch-station on this route was, according to iii. 227 (see note), at *Kramavarta*. As this place has been identified by me with the site of the existing watch-tower of *Kāmelan Kōth*, which lies on the south bank of the Rembyār some three miles below Hast'vanj, it is clear that the old main route which this watch-station was intended to close, must also have led on that side. The Hast'vanj is crossed by a path which leads over the steep grassy slopes of the east and west side of the ridge, and is practicable for laden animals even in its present neglected condition.

The name *Hast'vanj* is, as its first part *hast'*, i.e. the Kś. derivative of Skr. *hastin*, 'elephant,' clearly shows, connected with the story recorded by K. The second part *vanj* is rendered by the Persian Chronicles with *raftan*, 'going.' It was evidently connected by the local tradition with √*vanj*, 'to go,' which is found in Western Panjābi.

303. It is curious that both Sung-yun and Kosmas Indikopleustes lay stress on the great number of war-elephants possessed by the ruler of the White Huns. The former mentions 700 well-armed and trained elephants in his force, and the latter speaks of Gollas as "going forth to war with not less than a thousand elephants"; see *Si-yu-ki*, i., p. c., and CUNNINGHAM, *Later Indo-Scythians*, p. 79.

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306. Thus, evil-minded as he was, he founded at *S'rīnagarī* the [shrine of S'iva] *Mihireśvara*, and in *Holaḍā* the large town called *Mihirapura*.

307. Brahmans from *Gandhāra*, resembling himself in their habits and verily themselves the lowest of the twice-born, accepted Agrahāras from him

308. The gathering of the clouds pleases the peacocks though it spreads darkness, while the wild goose is pleased by the breaking up of the clouds which brings clearness From the mutual regard which the giver and recipient [of a gift] show for each other, there appears in the highest degree a resemblance of tastes.

End of Mihirakula

309 After ruling the land for seventy years this terror of the earth became afflicted in his body with many diseases, and immolated himself in the flames.

310 When he sacrificed his own body there issued from the sky a voice which declared "This destroyer of three crores [of human beings] has attained salvation, since he has shown no mercy for his own person either."

311 In the opinion of those who report this, he figures as a liberal patron who has made amends for his cruelties by gifts of Agrahāras and similar deeds

312-316 Some excuse the cruelty of this lion among men by [referring to] a tenacious popular tradition, which maintains "After killing the inhabitants of *Āryadeśa* he performed a terrible penance, and re-established pious observances in this land which, overrun by impure *Dāradas*, *Bhauttas* and *Mlecchas*, had fallen off

306 No information is available regarding the temple or Liṅga of *Mihireśvara*

Holaḍā can be shown with certainty to be the Pargaṇa now known as *Vular*, which comprises the valley opening to the N E. of the Vitastā between the Pargaṇas of Dachunpor and Vihi Its present administrative centre is Tral, 75° 11' long 33° 56' lat The mention of *Holaḍā* in viii 3115, along with *Lahara* (Lār) and *Devasarasa* (Div*sar) proves it to be the name of a district The passage vii 1228 places it clearly in *Maḍavarājya*, i e Marāz, the eastern portion of Kaśmīr The position is still more distinctly indicated by viii 1430, where we read of two officers of King Jayasimha being besieged by the rebel Ḍāmaras of *Holaḍā* within the temple of Avantisvāmin at Avantipura. The latter place belongs still to the Vular Pargana The above identification is further supported by the passage viii 733, which mentions the Ḍāmaras of Holaḍā along with those of *Khaḍūva*, i e *Khrur* in the neighbouring Vihi Pargaṇa, and by *Jonar* 548.

A, writes in three passages, viii 733, 2808, 3115, the name as *holaḷā*, using the letter ಳ (which in Kś is called *buḍ rakara*, 'the big *r*') to mark the pronunciation of *ḍ* as *r* This as well as the reading *holarā*, *Jonar* 548, brings Holaḍā still nearer to the modern representative of the name —In view of the five passages quoted above, I consider the correction *holaḍāyām* for *holālāyām* of A and L indispensable

The position of *Mihirapura* I have not been able to ascertain No local name resembling this appellation is now known in Vular

307 The Gandhāra Brahmans are included in the anathema pronounced in the Karṇaparvan of the Mahābhārata against the inhabitants of the land of the Five Rivers, on account of their unorthodox Ācāra, comp. the extract given by LASSEN, *Pentapot. Ind*, pp 67 sqq —Hiuen-tsiang mentions the conquest of *Gandhāra* by Mihirakula, *Si-yu-ki*, i p 171

After this verse the Calc and Paris Edd. insert two S'lokas, which are not found in A, L or any Kaśmīrian MS They attribute to the 'descendants of *Mlecchas*' intercourse with their sisters, to the *Dāradas* illicit relations with their daughters-in-law, and to the *Bhāṭṭas* (Bhauṭṭas ?) sale of their wives and licentiousness of their women-folk

I have not been able to trace the origin of this interpolation, which looks like a marginal note intended to illustrate the remark made in the first half of i 313

312-316 The construction of the first two lines of this Kulaka offers some difficulty, which the authors of the *P W* thought to remove by reading *āryadeśāt sa* for *āryadeśān sa*,

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from the sacred law. When determined to burn himself in the flames he offered an atonement. It was on this account that he bestowed a thousand Agrahāras on Brahmans from the *Gandhāra*-land at *Vijayeśvara*. Then finally he bravely gave up his body to the flames on an iron board which was studded with razors, swords, knives and other [sharp instruments]."

317. Others have declared that his above described acts were intended for the destruction of the *Khaśas*, who had obtained predominance when the city [of Nara] had been burned through the wrath of the Nāga.

and construing *saṁsthāpya* with *ācārapravartanam* (see s.v. *sam-sthā*, 6). Translating as above the text given, I assume that the popular tradition here recorded represented the benefices given to the *foreign* Brahmans as an atonement for Mihirakula's cruel deeds *abroad*.

The *Dāradas* are the modern *Dards* regarding whose territory and ethnography DREW, *Jummoo*, pp. 398 sqq., may be consulted. Their seats, which do not seem to have changed since the times of Herodotus, extend from Citrāl and Yasin, across the Indus regions of Gilgit, Cilās, and Bunji to the Kiṣangaṅgā Valley in the immediate north of Kaśmīr The tribes inhabiting the latter valley are meant in most of the passages in which the Chronicle mentions the *Dāradas* or *Darads*: comp. e g. vii 1171 sqq ; viii 2709 sqq For ancient notices of this people, see LASSEN, *Ind Alt.*, i pp 498 sqq ; MCCRINDLE, *Ptolemy*, p 107.

The name *Bhauṭṭa* or *Bhuṭṭa* (also rarely Bhoṭṭa) is applied by K and his successors, like its derivative the modern Kś. *Buṭ*, to the population of Tibetan descent generally, inhabiting the regions immediately to the E and N.E of Kaśmīr, i.e. the modern mountain districts of Drās, Ladākh, perhaps also Skardo; comp iv 168; *Jonar* 148, 158, 167 sq., 835; *Śriv.* i 71, 82; iii. 32, 401, 445 sqq. etc From viii. 2886 it appears that the Zoji-Lā Pass, on the high road to Drās and Ladākh, was then as now the ethnographic watershed between Kaśmīr and the territory of the Bhauṭṭas For some notices of the term, comp ST-MARTIN, *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr.*, *Sav. Etrang.* I. série vi., i. p. 266; DREW, *Jummoo*, p 231.

The various opinions recorded by K in vv. 310-324 seem to reflect an uncertainty of contemporary popular opinion regarding Mihirakula's character, which may be traced also in Hiuen-tsiang's narrative (*Si-yu-ki*, i pp 167 sqq).

317. From the notices collected and discussed by LASSEN, *Ind. Alt.*, i. p. 1020, it appears that the name *Khaśa* has been used since early times in Skr literature for the designation of tribes settled in widely different parts of the Himālaya regions. Accordingly in numerous instances the exact application of the term remains doubtful

No such difficulty arises as regards the *Khaśas* so frequently mentioned in the Kaśmīr Chronicles. It can be shown from a careful examination of all the passages that their seats were restricted to a comparatively limited region, which may be roughly described as comprising the valleys lying immediately to the S and W of the Pīr Pantsāl range, between the middle course of the Vitastā in the W and Kāṣṭavāṭa (Kiṣṭvār) in the E.

In numerous passages of the Rājat we find the rulers of *Rājapurī*, the modern Rajauri, described as 'lords of the Khaśas,' and their troops as Khaśas, see vii 979, 1271, 1276 sqq , viii 887, 1466, 1868, 1895. Proceeding from Rājapurī to the E we have the valley of the upper Āns River, now called *Panjgabbar*, referred to in *Śriv* iv 213 under the name of *Pañcagahvara*, as a habitation of Khaśas. Further to the E lies *Bāṇaśālā*, the modern *Bān*ᵃ*hāl*, below the pass of the same name, where the pretender Bhikṣācara sought refuge in the castle of 'the Khaśa-lord' Bhagika, viii. 1665 sqq The passages viii. 177, 1074 show that the whole of the valley leading from Bānᵃhāl to the Candrabhāgā, which is now called 'Bichlāri,' and which in the Chronicle bears the name of *Viṣalāṭā*, was inhabited by Khaśas

Finally we have evidence of the latter's settlements in the valley of *Khaśālaya*, which is several times referred to in the Fourth Chron , 56, 58 sq , 284, 290, 299 (see particularly the second passage). Khaśālaya is certainly the valley of *Khaiśāl* (marked on the map as 'Kasher'), which leads from the Marbal Pass in the S.E. corner of Kaśmīr down to Kiṣṭvār

An old name of *Khaśālaya* is probably *Khasāli*, vii. 399 , *Śriv.* iv. 456

Turning to the W. of Rājapurī, we find a Khaśa from the territory of Parṇotsa or

Mihirakula.

Story of Candravatī.

318. When he was diverting the river called *Candrakulyā*, a rock in the middle which could not be moved, impeded the work.

319. Then the king performed a penance, and was told by the gods in a dream that a powerful Yakṣa, who observed the vow of chastity, lived in that rock.

320. If a chaste woman were to touch it, he could not cause [further] obstruction. Hence on the following day the king had that what the dream had revealed to him, tried at the rock.

321. The attempts of ever so many women of good birth having failed, the mighty rock then moved when touched by a potter's wife named *Candravatī*.

322. Thereupon the king in his anger over this depravity slaughtered three crores of women of respectable birth, together with their husbands, brothers and sons.

323. Such is the account as current in the tradition of others. But, in truth, the destruction of living beings, even if it has some reason, is a misdeed of the gravest kind.

324. That a king of such wickedness was not killed by a rising of his subjects, can only be due to his having been protected by the gods who caused him to act in this manner.

Prūnṭs mentioned, vi 318, in the person of Tuṅga, who rose from the position of a cowherd to be Queen Diddā's all-powerful minister. The queen's own father, Siṃharāja, the ruler of Lohara or Loh'rin, is designated a *Khaśa*, vi 175, and from vii 773 it is seen that his descendants, who, after Diddā, occupied the Kaśmīr throne, were looked upon as Khaśas.—That there were Khaśas also in the Vitastā Valley below Varāhamūla, is proved by the reference to *Viṣamaka* as 'a seat of Khaśas,' viii 400. Of this locality it has been shown in note v 214 that it was situated in the ancient *Dvāravatī*, the present Dvārbidi, a portion of the Vitastā Valley between Kathai and Muzaffarābād.

The position here indicated makes it highly probable that the Khaśas are identical with the modern *Khakha* tribe, to which most of the petty hill-chiefs and gentry in the Vitastā Valley below Kaśmīr belong. The name *Khakha* (Pahārī, in Kś. sing *Khukh*, plur. *Khakh'*) is the direct derivative of *Khaśa*, Skr *ś* being pronounced since early times in the Panjāb and the neighbouring hill-tracts as *kh* or *h* (comp. Kś. *h* < Skr *ś*).

The Khakha chiefs of the Vitastā Valley retained their semi-independent position until Sikh times, and, along with their neighbours of the Bomba clan, have ever proved troublesome neighbours for Kaśmīr; comp. CUNNINGHAM, *Anc Geogr*, p 131. Of the marauding inroads which the Khakha made during the troubles of the Paṭhān rule, and later still, in Shaikh Imām-ud-dīn's time, 1846, popular tradition in Kaśmīr has retained a vivid recollection. That the Khaśas already in earlier times deserved the character of expert plunderers, will be seen from *Śrīv*, 446, 456, 498, 571, 638, 646; Fourth Chron., 326, and also K.'s allusions, viii 1895, 2289.

In the Kaśmīr Census Report of 1891, p 141, the '*Khakhe*' are entered with 4046 souls as a subdivision of the Muhammadan Hill-Rājpūts. For some data regarding the modern history of the Khakha, see LAWRENCE, *Valley*, p 201.

[Whether the Κασία χώρη and Κάσια ὄρη of Ptolemy can be connected with our Khaśas, as supposed by St.-Martin, *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr*, *Sav. Étrang* I. série VI., i. pp. 264 sq., seems very doubtful.]

318. I am unable to identify the *Candrakulyā* of the above story.

322. The story here told is to account for Mihirakula's by-name of '*Trikoṭihan*,' i. 310. In its point it is identical with that related by Herodotus, ii 111, of Pheron (Wilson). In Hiuen-tsiang's account there corresponds to it the story of the nine hundred thousand

325. When he had at last found his death through the superior effect of his subjects' merit, his virtuous son *Baka* was crowned by the citizens. BAKA.

326 After the experience of the former [reign] the people felt even before his throne the terror [previously] described, just as [one might] in a pleasure-house built on a burning ground.

327 Born from an arch-tormentor, he became a reliever of humanity, as the burst of rain [which follows] after an excessively hot day darkened by the clouds.

328 Then the people thought that Law had returned, as it were, from another world, and that Safety had come forth again as from an inaccessible retreat.

329. This most glorious [prince], after founding the town called *Lavaṇotsa* at *Bakaśvabhra*, constructed the [shrine of S'iva] *Bakeśa* and the *Bakavatī* canal.

330 There the king passed sixty-three years and thirteen days as ruler of the earth.

331. Then a certain sorceress, *Bhaṭṭā* by name, having assumed the appearance of a lovely woman, approached the king one evening.

332. Losing his sense over her various captivating words, he joyfully accepted an invitation to view the wonders of [her] sacrificial feast.

333 Then when in the morning the sovereign came to that place followed by his hundred sons and grandsons, she made of him a sacrificial offering to the 'circle of the goddesses'

334 To this day there is seen on a rock the double impression of her knees, showing [where], on attaining by that act supernatural power, she had risen to the sky

335 Even to this day the recollection of this story is kept alive in the

people destroyed by Mihirakula on the conquest of Gandhāra "Then he slew three ten myriads of people of the first rank by the side of the Sintu river; the same number of the middle rank he drowned in the river, and the same number of the third rank he divided among his soldiers as slaves" (*Si-yu-ki*, I p. 172)

325 The conjectural emendation *bakas* for *ekas* of all Kaśmir MSS. is indispensably required by the context It appears to have been made already by the writer of the modern Poona transcript used by Dr Hultzsch The corruption is easily explained from the S'āradā characters, **ब** with a following **क** resembling closely the initial **ए**

329. The position of *Lavaṇotsa* is uncertain, though the place is several times mentioned by K From the passage vii. 762 sqq it appears that S'rīnagar could be reached by a single forced march from Lavaṇotsa, and that Padmapura, or Pāmpar, lay on the route From the passages vii. 1537, 1658, which mention Lavaṇotsa in connection with a siege of Vijayeśvara, we can only conclude that the distance between these two places was not great Finally, vi. 46, 57 seem to show that Lavaṇotsa was situated near one of the high roads leading to S'rīnagar from abroad

Nothing is known of the Bakeśa and Bakavatī of the text.

333 Regarding the *devīcakra* or *mātṛcakra*, see note i 122.

335 From viii. 1260, and *S'rīv* iii. 190; iv 452, it is evident that *Kheri* was the name of

BAKA. Maṭhas of *Kheri* by [the image of] the god *S'atakapāleśa*, the 'circle of the Mothers,' and by that rock.

KṚTINANDA. 336. Then *Kṛtinanda*, the son of this king, whom the goddess had spared as the root-bulb of the family tree, ruled the earth for thirty years.

VASUNANDA. 337. His son called *Vasunanda*, who composed a well-known work on erotics (*smaraśāstra*), protected the earth for fifty-two years and two months

NARA II. AKṢA. 338. His son *Nara* [II.] was king for sixty years, and for the same [period] the latter's son *Akṣa*, who founded the village of *Akṣavāla*.

GOPĀDITYA. 339. Then the earth, together with the islands, was under the protection of *Gopāditya*, whose care for [all] castes and orders brought back the first Yuga before the eyes [of men].

340. He established the Agrahāras bearing the names of *Khola*, *Khagikā*, *Hāḍigrāma*, and *Skandapura*, as well as [the Agrahāra of] *S'amāṅgāsā* and others.

a district. This, I think, can be identified with the Pargaṇa, now known by the double name of *Khur-Nārᵉvāv*, which comprises the fertile valleys descending from the Gulābgarh and Muhᵘ Passes of the Pīr Pantsāl to the Vesau river. The village of *Khur* (marked *Koori* on larger Survey map) from which the first part of the name is taken, lies 75° 56' 45" long. 33° 37' lat. For a description, see VIGNE, i. p. 304 sqq.

This identification is based, apart from the relation between the names *Kheri* and *Khur*, on the evidence of the passages viii. 1260 and *S'rīv.* iv. 452, which mention Kheri in connection with the Pargaṇas of Devasarasa (Divᵃsar) and Ardhavana (Adᵉvin) respectively. Both these Pargaṇas immediately adjoin Khur-Nārᵉvāv, to the north of the Vesau. The administration of Kheri, perhaps as a royal allodial domain, appears to have formed a special charge, as K. refers repeatedly to the '*Kherikārya*' in the sense of a high office, see viii. 900, 1118, 1482, 1624. The Sikh and Dogra rule, probably continuing an earlier arrangement, has established in Khur-Nārᵉvāv Jāgīrs for members of the ruling family, comp. VIGNE, i. p. 307.

It is uncertain which particular localities are referred to here by K. under the term of *maṭha*. Through Khur-Nārᵉvāv led once much frequented routes to the above named passes, and the Maṭhas mentioned might, therefore, have been roadside 'Dharmaśālās.' Thus S'rīvara, iii. 190, relates the establishment of a 'dharmamaṭha' in Kheri in the times of Hassan Shāh.

Of the legend which, according to our text, was once localized there, no trace seems to have survived.

337. As no mention is found elsewhere of Vasunanda's *ars amatoria*, it might perhaps be better to read with L. *prakhyātaḥ smara°*, 'known as the author of a work on erotics.'

338. *Akṣavāla* is undoubtedly the modern *Achᵉbal* in the Kuṭᵉhār Pargaṇa, 75° 17' long. 33° 41' lat., famous for its beautiful springs described by BERNIER, *Travels*, p. 413, VIGNE, i. p. 347, etc. The fountain is named in the *Nīlamata*, 914, *Akṣapālanāga*.

340. *Khagikā* is identical with *Khagi*, the modern Khag; comp. note i. 90.

Khola is possibly the present village of *Khuli*, situated in the Vular Pargaṇa, 75° 10' long. 33° 56' lat.

Hāḍigrāma can be identified on the evidence of the gloss *Āḍᵉgrām* given by A₂, with the modern *Arᵉgom*, a village of the Nāgam Pargaṇa, 74° 45' long. 33° 56' lat. It is referred to as the site of several fights in viii. 672, 1586, 1906. Some remains of temples were traced there by P. Kāśī Rām in 1891.

The gloss of A₂, *Khandōr*, enables us to identify *Skandapura* with *Khondur*, a considerable village situated in the Kuṭᵉhār Pargaṇa, about midway between Tēlvanⁱ and Naugām, 75° 19' long. 33° 42' lat. It is not marked on the Survey maps, but was visited by me in Sept., 1891. For Kś. *kh* in place of an original initial *sk*, comp. *Khandᵉbavan* < Skr. *Skandabhavana*, vi. 137.

The last name given in the Ed. as *S'amāṅgāsa* in accordance with A₁, is probably more correctly preserved in the reading of A₂ *S'amāṅgāsā*. This form is supported by L. *Samiyāma*, in which the substitution of *s* for *ś* and of *m* for *ś* is easily explained by faulty transcription of the S'āradā characters. The

GOPĀDITYA.

341. After consecrating a [shrine of] *Jyeṣṭheśvara* on the *Gopa*-hill (*Gopādri*) this wise [king] bestowed the *Gopa*-Agrahāras on Brahmans born in *Āryadeśa*.

342-343 He removed those who ate garlic to *Bhūkṣīravāṭikā*, and transferred the Brahmans who had broken their rules of conduct to *Khāsaṭā*. Other Brahmans again of a holy life, whom he had brought from pure countries, he settled in *Vaścikā* and other Agrahāras

344 He received in laudatory poems (*praśasti*) the epithet of 'supreme guardian of the world', the killing of animals he did not tolerate except at sacrifices.

345 After protecting the earth for sixty years and six days, he went to the worlds of the pious to enjoy the ripe fruits of his good deeds

gloss of A_2 renders the name by *S'min-Jāsai*, evidently the name of a modern locality, which, however, I have not been able to trace The reading *S'amāngāsa* of A_1 is probably due to a reminiscence of the passage i 100, which contains this name corresponding to the modern *S'ānyas*.

341 The passage viii 1104-10 makes it quite certain that we have in *Gopādri* the ancient designation of the conspicuous hill now popularly known as *Takht-i Sulaimān*, immediately to the east of S'rinagar The gloss of A_2 renders accordingly Gopādri by *Gopakāi*, i e the name of the modern village of *Gup*ᵃ*kār*, situated between the N E extremity of the *Takht* hill and the Dal lake

In Note *C*, i 124, it has been shown that S'iva under the name of Jyeṣṭhesvara has been worshipped from early times to the present day at *Jyēṭhēr*, in the immediate vicinity of the Takht hill The shrine of Jyeṣṭheśvara mentioned in our passage was evidently connected with this sacred site, and may possibly have occupied the same place on the top of the hill, where the extant temple referred to in the above note stands The superstructures of this temple certainly belong to a late period, as rightly shown by FERGUSSON, *History of Indian Architecture*, p. 282, against CUNNINGHAM's and COLE's assumptions (see *J.A.S.B.*, 1848, pp 247 sqq). But the high base on which the temple stands, and the stairs leading up to it, are clearly of a far earlier date, and may well have formed part of a building which the tradition of K.'s time ascribed to King Gopāditya. Whether this tradition was based on historical fact, or was perhaps merely due to an old popular etymology connecting the name of the *Gopādri* hill with that of the king, cannot be decided now It must be noted that there is at present no other place on the steep rocky hill showing ancient remains, apart from the site of the extant temple This occupies, in fact, the only convenient position available for a structure of any dimensions

The '*Gopa*-Agrahāras' may have been situated on the fertile plateau at the E. foot of the Takht hill, which is now occupied by the vineyards and fruit-gardens of the Gup*kār village

342-343 *Buch'vōr*, with which Bhūkṣīravāṭikā can be safely identified on the basis of the gloss of A_2 (*Buchyerādū iti bhāṣayā prasiddhasthale*), is the name of a narrow strip of land which lies between the foot of the rocky N W. face of the Takht hill and the Gagribal portion of the Dal This low-lying shore, which is liable to frequent inundations, is now occupied by a few gardens belonging to the suburb of *Druḡjan*, distant about half a mile. Regarding *Ks vōr*, corresponding to Skr. *vāṭikā* at the end of local names, see note iii 11

Khāsāṭā, too, according to the gloss of A_2, would have to be looked for in the immediate vicinity of S'rinagar, viz at *Sudar*ᵃ*bal*; comp note i 125-126 I know, however, of no evidence in support of this location.

Vaśikā, which the gloss of A_2 renders by *Vacyi*, is in all probability the modern village of *Vach'* on the lower Rembyār* river (map *Woochi*), 75° 6' long. 33° 49' lat Some broken sculptures, found there by P. Kāśi Rām in 1891, show that the place is not of recent date

For the prohibition of garlic, comp. e.g. *Manusmṛti*, v. 5.

344. Regarding the meaning of *praśasti*, see note i 15

345 A_2 reads *saṭaṇmāsām* "and six months." L agrees with A_1 As the length of

GOKARṆA

346 His son *Gokarṇa*, who established the [shrine of S'iva] *Gokarṇeśvara*, ruled the earth for fifty-eight years less thirty days.

NARENDRĀDITYA I

347 His son *Narendrāditya* [I.], who bore the second name of *Khiṅkhila*, consecrated shrines to [S'iva] *Bhūteśvara*, and founded a permanent endowment [for the feeding of Brahmans]

348 His Guru, *Ugra* by name, who was the recipient of divine favours, and whose stature was raised by dignity, constructed the [shrine of S'iva] *Ugreśa* and a 'circle of the Mothers.'

349 After having ruled the earth during thirty-six years and a hundred days, this pious [king] attained the sinless worlds by his far-reaching merits.

YUDHIṢṬHIRA I

350 Then his son *Yudhiṣṭhira* [I.], whom the people called *Andha-Yudhiṣṭhira* ('the blind Yudhiṣṭhira') on account of his small eyes, became king

351. He followed for a short time in the footsteps of his [immediate] predecessors, and ruled his inherited kingdom with care

352 Some time thereafter an evil fate caused that he intoxicated by the regal splendour, fell into a capricious conduct.

353 He [henceforth] showed not favours to those who deserved them, did not honour the wise, and did no longer as before kindness to those who had grown experienced by service.

354 The wise whom he had deprived of their dignity by treating them alike with his ignorant attendants, shunned him in his depravation

reign is not given for Yudhiṣṭhira I, the correct figure cannot be ascertained here by means of calculation

346 The name of a king *Gokarṇa* occurs on an unique Kaśmīr coin of the so-called 'Kidāra' type, figured by CUNNINGHAM, *Coins of Med. India*, pl III 6

347 CUNNINGHAM describes, *Later Indo-Scythians*, pp 97, 110, and pl VII fig 11, an unique silver coin with the legend *Deva Sahi Khiṅgila*, and attributes it to Narendrāditya I The type of this coin is unmistakably that of an Ephthalite ruler, and closely resembles that of the coin of Lahkhaṇa mentioned in note III 383 Two coins bearing the legend *S'ri Narendra* (figured *Coins of Med India*, pl III 5) show the 'Kidāra' type, and seem to belong to another later ruler, but the legend is scarcely certain.

Regarding *Bhūteśvara*, see note I 107

In the translation of the ἅπαξ λεγ *akṣayiṇi*, I have followed the interpretation given by the gloss of A_2. The glossator sees in *akṣayiṇi* a perpetual endowment for providing food to Brahmans In a second gloss he refers to such endowments as known in the hills near Kaśmīr under the name of '*Achyinyā*'

S'rivara mentions, I 408, such an endowment made by Zain-ul-'abidīn on the road of S'ūrapura (Hur*por), i e on the Pīr Pantsāl route, at which wayfarers without distinction received food He uses for its designation the expression *annasattra avicchinna*, which corresponds exactly to the *avicchinnam annadānam* of our gloss Compare also Rājat II 58, VIII 571 (*avicchinnasattra*) and S'riv I 402 With the expression *akṣayiṇi* may be compared the term *akṣayanīvi*, frequently used for a permanent endowment in the Nasik Cave inscriptions and elsewhere, comp. *Ind Ant* IX p 167

Endowments of this kind still exist in connection with *Dharmaśālas* in various parts of India, e g at the Raghunātha Mandir of Jammu, where it is known by the name of *Sadābarat* Bounties consisting of a certain amount of food are given to this day on the pass of Bān*hāl and at Būnyār on the Jehlam Road, from the proceeds of an endowment of the late Mahārāja to mendicants and pilgrims passing on to Kaśmīr

355 True, for a Yogin it is right to see the same in every person; but for a king it is a great fault, and the source of disgrace. YUDHIṢṬHIRA I.

356 By parasites who turned faults into virtues and virtues into faults, he was gradually deprived of his intellect, and rendered like a slave of women.

357 His words were painfully wounding, his jests protracted, his converse with parasites most frequent; even his amusements, which were unbecoming for a king, caused fright.

358. The king who full of deceit praised [a person's] good qualities in public, and discussed his faults behind his back, and who was fickle in his attachments, became an object of hatred to his servants.

359 While the king thus carelessly blundered in small things, the affairs of the kingdom soon fell into disorder.

360 Then the evil councillors who felt free of control and had attained power, strove for the destruction of the [king] whom the well-disposed had forsaken

361 By reducing the king's authority, and conducting themselves without any restraint, they made the rulers of the neighbouring countries eager to seize the kingdom.

362 Encouraged by them all the [rulers] of the various regions showed eager haste to throw themselves on the kingdom like vultures on the carrion

363 The frightened king was then unable to restore his own position, as the artisan [is unable to replace] the stone-block when it has once fallen from the machinery [by which it is to be moved].

364 When the king's rule, which had been undermined for a long time, was tottering, there appeared to him no device of any kind which could maintain it

365 His own ministers did not accept the conciliation [offered] by him, thinking. "He has seen our guilt. When he has recovered his position he will undoubtedly destroy us"

366 Then united with their forces they invested the king's palace, drowning the wails of the people with the terrible sound of their kettle-drums. Checking the rays of the sun with the shade of the standards [carried] on their elephant-hosts, they kept the palace-roofs enveloped by darkness though it was day-time.

367 Refraining from battle they allowed him to leave his land. The king thereupon, whom fortune had deserted, departed with this object from the city,

363. K.'s simile evidently alludes to the pulleys or other mechanical contrivances required for the moving of large blocks of stone, such as were used till his time in the construction of temples and other public buildings in Kaśmir. The glossator A_2, who probably knew only the brick or wooden architecture of the Muhammadan period, seems to take the simile as referring to a catapult or similar weapon The expression *kāru* does not speak for this interpretation The Kś term *yandravat*, used in explanation of *yantra*, is now unknown.

while the citizens, who were agitated by seeing the royal ladies setting out covered with the dust which the well-bred horses [raised], covered the high road with their tears, which took the place of parched grain.

368. As the fallen king was pursuing his way his enemies carried off repeatedly young women of his household, his treasure and other [possessions],—just as the tree which falls from the top of the high mountain, is stripped quickly by the boulders of its creepers, fruits and the rest.

369. Marching on the lovely mountain paths, and seeking, when tired, the shade of the trees, he forgot by dint of his [daily] halting and marching his truly great misfortune. But when roused by the shouts of the low [hill-]folk, which reached his ear from afar, he appeared to sink back, as it were, into depths along with the waters of the mountain-torrents.

370. When his wives, whose figures were as delicate as the beautiful young shoots of the lotus-stalks, had passed through the forest-regions, strongly scented with the fragrance of the various shrubs and herbs, and through the slippery [beds of the] mountain-streams with their rocks beaten by the tossing water, they bent their bodies over their laps and swooned from fatigue.

371. When the king's wives, after casting a long glance at the distant land from the height of the mountain-boundary, threw all-at-once handfuls of flowers

369 *pūt-kṛ* is used here, as also viii. 2317, 2592, 2939, in the sense of the Panjābī and Pahāṛī *pukārnā*, 'to shout to a distance,' 'to call to a far-off person.'

I have translated according to $A_?$ L *punaḥ śvabhre*; A_1 *manaḥśvabhre*.

Colophon. After the above Colophon A and L contain a verse which, according to the text adopted in the Ed. says: "One thousand and fourteen years, nine months and nine days passed under the twenty-one kings [mentioned] in this [Taraṅga]." A_2 puts the number of years at 1024, while the reading of A_1 and L mentions thirty-eight kings. The latter figure is obtained by adding to the twenty kings whose length of reign is stated and Yudhiṣṭhira I, the seventeen kings mentioned by name before Gonanda III.

It is clear that with this reading there can be no connection between the sum of years given and the number of kings, as the total of the actually stated reigns from Gonanda III. to Narendrāditya I already amounts to 967 years, 8 months, 29 days (or 968 years, 2 months, 23 days, according to the *v. l.* of A_2 in i. 345). This would leave for the other eighteen reigns only a maximum margin of circ 56 years.

It is evident that whoever added this verse, wished to state in it the total length of the reigns from Gonanda III to Yudhiṣṭhira I. But this total does not agree in either of the two readings with the avowed basis of K.'s chronology. According to i. 48 the kings from Gonanda III to Yudhiṣṭhira I ruled for a total period of 2268 years. Deducting from this number the 1266 years given by K. to the fifty-two 'lost' kings (i. 54), there remain 1002 years for the aggregate of the reigns in this Taraṅga from Gonanda III onwards. Against this figure we have, in the verse here discussed, 1014 or 1024 years *plus* 9 months and 9 days, i.e. an excess of 12 or 22 odd years.

I am no more able to explain this difference than TROYER, who has discussed the point quite correctly, i. p. 396. It is probable that this verse, as well as the similar summaries found after Taraṅgas ii. and v.-vii., are late additions.

Deducting from the sum of 1002 years the total length of the reigns from Gonanda III to Narendrāditya, as given above, there remain for Yudhiṣṭhira I.'s reign 34 years, 3 months, 1 day, or 33 years, 9 months, 7 days, according as we accept the text of A_1 or that of A_2 in i. 345.

as a farewell offering, even the swarms of birds nesting in the mountain-ravines cried plaintively in their excitement, and buried their beaks in their plumage spread out on the ground.

372. With their slipped-off head-dress resting on their bosom, and their hands raised to their heads, the royal ladies looked back on their far-off home, turning their shoulders in unsteady movement. As they wept, there flowed on the path a torrent [produced] by their tears.

373. Well-meaning princes in whose country the king took refuge, alleviated out of kindly feeling his sorrow for the loss of his kingdom by firm friendship, by consolations put into proper words, and by various attentions which carried weight as [showing] an unreserved accommodation to his desires.

Thus ends the First Taranga of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, composed by *Kalhaṇa*, the son of the illustrious minister of Kaśmīr, Lord *Caṇpaka*.

SECOND BOOK.

1. Glory be to that formation of the body of the lord (S'iva) which consisti of a female and a male half is fit for him who embued with fondness for diver combinations holds by his side the bow, constructed from the horns of a goat a a bull, as well as Gaṇa (Gaṇeśa) whose body unites the halves of a man and elephant.

2. Old age and the advice which reached his ear from men who had tre themselves from passions, induced King [Yudhisthira I] to abandon the attem for the recovery of his kingdom

3. This distinguished prince who excelled in modesty, forgot along wi his country (*viṣaya*) also the objects of the five senses (*viṣaya*)

4. Some, however, have reported that as he moved about restlessly wi the aim of [recovering] his realm, he was after some time put in captivity by h own ministers at *Durgāgalikā*.

PRATĀPĀDITYA I

5. Then they brought *Pratāpāditya* [I], a relative of King *Vikramāditi* from abroad and inaugurated him as king in this [country]

6. Others under the mistaken notion that this [Vikramāditya] was *Vikram ditya*, the enemy of the *S'akas* (*S'akari*), have wrongly written in this [connectio a conflicting [account] which has been left aside as worthless

7. From that period onwards this country which had suffered from internal dissensions, was for some time subject to *Harṣa* and other [foreig kings

1 S'iva is praised in his form of *Ardhanārīśvara*, see note i 2, his bow *Ajagava* and his attendant *Gaṇeśa* are alluded to

4 *Durgagalika* is identified by the gloss of A_2 with *Drug°jan*, a suburb of S'rinagar, situated between the W foot of the Takht hill and the 'Gate' of the Dal lake The tradition of a king having been imprisoned at *Drug°jan* still lives in some portions of the S'rinagar population

6 This verse has been fully discussed by Dr HULTZSCH, *Ind Ant*, xix p 261 K means by Vikramāditya S'akāri the king from whose supposed victory over the S'akas an old but erroneous theory derived the est lishment of the S'aka era; comp M MÜLL *India*, etc, p 291 sqq Between the co mencement of the S'aka era (78 A D) and date (180 B C) which on the basis of chronology we should have to assign Pratāpāditya I's accession, there is a diff ence of 258 years This may have been reason which induced K to repudiate above identification of Pratāpāditya's relat with Vikramāditya S'akāri

7 It is not clear which King *Harṣa* referred to here He can scarcely be me for the great Harsa of Ujjayini, also cal

PRATĀPĀDITYA I.

8. This king cherished the land as if it had belonged to his forefathers, though it had not,—just as a considerate husband [cherishes] his newly-married wife [as if she had long belonged to the family].

JALAUKAS.

9. When after a reign of thirty-two years he had ascended to heaven, his son *Jalaukas* became the ornament of the earth.

10. He shone forth for the same length of time as his father for the country's benefit, just as the full moon at the equinox [shines as long] as the sun.

TUÑJĪNA I.

11. Then his son *Tuñjīna* ruled the earth and delighted the people, along with the queen *Vākpuṣṭā*, who was possessed of divine gifts.

12 This couple adorned the earth just as the Gaṅgā and the crescent [adorn] the hair-knot of S'iva.

13. These two maintained the land which was made fair by its various castes (*varna*), as the lightning and the cloud [maintain] the rainbow which is made fair by its various colours (*varṇa*).

14. These two most happy [rulers] built the temple of S'iva [called] *Tuṅgeśvara*, a graceful embellishment of the earth, as well as the town called *Katikā*.

15. At a certain place in *Maḍavarājya*, which is warmed by a fierce sun, trees just planted were by their supernatural power made to bear fruit.

Vikramāditya, whose relations with Kaśmir K. mentions (iii 125) in the time of Mātṛgupta, i.e. 268 years later according to his own reckoning, and whose real date fell in the first half of the 6th century A D If Harṣa of Kanauj, the *Harṣavardhana* of Hiuen-tsiang and the inscriptions (circ. 606-650 A.D.), is intended, the chronological aberration is quite as great as that already noted in the case of Mihirakula

14 The position of the *Tuṅgeśvara* temple is not certain. If the *Tuṅgeśvarāpaṇa* ('the market of Tuṅgeśvara') mentioned vi. 190 received its name from this shrine, the latter must have stood somewhere in S'rinagar or its immediate vicinity A *Tuṅgeśatirtha* is mentioned in the *Nilamata*, 1356, apparently in connection with the Tirtha of Viṣṇu-Varāha at Varāhamūla

Katikā (or *Katika*) is identified by the gloss of A, with the village of *Kai* situated not far from the right bank of the Vitastā in the Vular Pargaṇa, 75° 7′ long. 33° 52′ lat. Kai immediately adjoins the village of Chachpōr shown on the map

15. Kaśmir from ancient times to the present day has been popularly divided into two great parts, whose modern names *Kamrāz* and *Marāz* are derived from the terms *Kramarājya* and *Maḍavarājya* used by K. and his successors According to the generally prevailing notion Kamrāz comprises the Pargaṇas on both sides of the Vitastā below S'rinagar, and Marāz those above.

This boundary of the two divisions can be traced clearly in Abu-l-Fazl's list of Pargaṇas (see *Āin-i Akb*, ii. pp 368 sqq.), and an examination of all passages in the Rājat. shows that it existed already in K.'s time. Gen. CUNNINGHAM, *Anc Geogr.*, p 94, has correctly indicated the general meaning of the modern terms, but was wrongly informed when placing the boundary at the junction of the Vitastā and Sindhu rivers The term Kamrāz is occasionally used also in a more restricted sense for the designation of seven Pargaṇas in the extreme N.W. of the Valley (Khuyᵃhōm, Zainagir, Lōlau, Uttar, Machᵃpūr, Hamal, Kruhin) This explains the varying accounts referred to by Prof BÜHLER, *Report*, p 11

The identity of Maḍavarājya with Marāz is known to some of the S'rinagar Paṇḍits. It has also been correctly pointed out by Dr HULTZSCH, *Ind. Ant.*, XIX. p. 264.

Tuñjīna I.

16. At that time there lived the great Kavi *Candaka* who was a descendant (or incarnation) of the Muni *Dvaipāyana* (Vyāsa), and who composed a play worthy of the attention of all people.

Great famine.

17. As if intended to test the greatness of the spiritual power of these two, by the will of the gods there once arose a calamity most trying for the people.

18. In the month of Bhādrapada, when the fields in the land were covered with the autumnal rice-crop which was just ripening, unexpectedly there fell heavy snow.

19. Under this [snow] which resembled [in its whiteness] the grim laughter of Death bent on the destruction of all beings, there sank [and perished] the rice-crops, together with the people's hope of existence.

20. Then came a terrible famine, which resembled a kind of hell, with the masses of starving people [moving about] like ghosts.

21. Tormented by hunger, every one thought only of his belly, and forgot in his misery love for his wife, affection for his children, and tender regard for his parents.

22. Inspired by selfish craving for food and struck by misfortune's [sinister] glance, in the pain of hunger people forgot shame, pride, and good birth.

23. The father deserted his emaciated and dying son notwithstanding his entreaties, or the son his father, to provide for his own maintenance.

24. Men preserved their selfishness in their loathsome bodies which were mere sinews and bones, and fought like ghosts for their food.

25. Uttering coarse words, emaciated by hunger, terrible to look at, and rolling his eyes in all directions, each person strove apart to keep himself alive at the cost of [all other] living beings.

26. In that great and terrible affliction which was almost unsupportable for men, no one but that ruler showed compassionate devotion.

27. He put aside his guards and, merely by his glance, which was auspicious like that of jewels and healing herbs, removed the despondency which this misfortune produced in the weak.

28. He bought food with his own treasure and with the accumulated wealth of the ministers, and together with his wife put by day and night fresh life into the people.

29. Not a single starving person was overlooked by the prince, whether in the forests, cemeteries, highways or houses.

16. For references to, and quotations from, a poet *Candaka* or *Candraka*, see *Cat. Catalog.*, p. 179.

18. The usual time for the rice-harvest in Kaśmīr is the bright half of Kārtika.

20. Read with A_2 *prakāro* for A_1 *prākāro*. The spirits of the dead are supposed to suffer from hunger and thirst.

23. Read *lokolakṣmikatākṛtaḥ*, as indicated by A.

30. Then when he had exhausted his riches and saw the earth bare of food, he thus spoke once at night to the queen in his sorrow: Tuñjīna I.

31. "Surely, such a calamity which admits of no remedy, must have come over the innocent people through some fault of ours."

32. "Shame on my helplessness! that before my eyes these people, tormented by pain and finding no refuge on the earth, should perish, when they ought to be rescued."

33. "Why should I live if in this calamity I cannot save these subjects who have no refuge and who mutually abandon their relations?"

34. "By exertions I have somehow helped everyone over these days, and not a single person has [yet] perished."

35. "This land, whose resources have been exceeded, has under the affliction of evil times now become exhausted and of no account."

36. "What means then could now preserve this people, on all sides sinking in the cruel sea of distress?"

37. "In darkness is now this world with the sun shrouded by heavy clouds, and enveloped, as it were, on all sides by the dense night of final destruction."

38. "While the routes over the mountains are closed by impassable snow-drifts, the people are helpless like birds when the opening of their nest is closed."

39. "Look, men of valour, sense and wisdom have lost their capacity through the misery of these times."

40. "What regions on the surface of the earth are not covered with plentiful buds of golden flowers? What country is not adorned with persons worthy to be served spreading around themselves the nectar of benevolence? What men of note who have distinguished themselves by long service, do not find the roads [open for their advancement]? Those only among them whom fate has deceived, are hidden away in this land with their good qualities."

41. "Therefore, since help has vanished, I offer up my body in the flames. I am not able to look on such a destruction of my subjects."

42. "Blessed are those rulers who sleep at night in happiness, having before seen their citizens in comfort everywhere as [if they were their own] children."

43. After these words the king, overpowered by compassion, covered up his head with his dress, and sinking down on his bed wept in silence.

44. Then the queen spoke thus to the lord of the earth, while the lights, sheltered from the wind and motionless, raised themselves and seemed to gaze at her with eager attention:

45. "O king, what perversity of thought is this, [produced] by the subjects'

44. The correct reading *vīkṣyamāṇāḥ* for A *vīkṣamāṇāḥ* is found in L.

TUÑJĪNA I.

evil acts, that you like a common person should voluntarily attempt what does not become the brave?"

46. "O protector of the earth, if the great had not the power to remove difficulties [which appear] insurmountable, what would be the mark of their greatness?"

47. "How could Indra or Brahman or the weak Yama oppose the commands of kings who truthfully keep to their duty?"

48. "Devotion to their husbands is the duty of wives; faithfulness is the duty of ministers; the duty of kings is to have no other aim but the protection of their subjects."

49. "Raise yourself, O foremost of the dutiful! Does my word ever fail? O protector of the people, verily thy people are no longer in danger from hunger."

50. When she had thus ardently spoken with her thoughts turned to the gods, there fell on each house a flight of dead pigeons.

51. When the king beheld this [wonder] in the morning, he abandoned his desire to seek death, and the people lived on the pigeons which daily reached them.

52. Surely these were not [real] pigeons, but some other substance which that saintly lady produced in order to keep the people alive.

53. Those who like her are sincerely imbued with compassion for all living creatures, could not, indeed, have their pious conduct stained in any way by the destruction [of life].

54. Gradually the sky became as bright as the deeds of the queen, and the famine passed away together with the king's grief.

55. That pious and sinless [queen] established for Brahmans the Agrahāra of *Katīmuṣa*, eminent by its wealth and prosperity, and that of *Rāmuṣa*.

56. When her husband died after [a rule of] thirty-six years, she freed herself from the fever caused by the separation in the flames of the pyre which [to her] were like a bed-cover formed of lotus[-fibres].

52. Pigeons are forbidden food, see e.g. *Padmapur.*, i. lvi 83. Hence the explanation given by K.

55. The glosses of A_2, *Kaimoh* and *Rāmoh*, show that *Katīmuṣa* and *Rāmuṣa* are identical with the modern *Kaimuh* and *Rāmuh*. Skr. *ṣ* between vowels appears in Kś. always as *h*. The first named place is a considerable village in the Ād'vin Pargaṇa, on the left bank of the Viśokā (Vešau) River, 75° 9' long. 33° 43' lat. In Sept., 1895, I could trace a few ancient slabs near the largest of the village Ziārats.

Rāmuh is a place of some importance, situated midway on the high road from S'rinagar to S'upiyan, 74° 54' long. 33° 42' lat. The lands around it have formed for some time back the Jāgir of the Dars, a well-known Brahman family of S'rinagar. Near a Nāga which is close to the village, I found in Oct., 1891, several old sculptures. For another mention of the place see viii. 2813.

56. "The fibres of the stalks of the water-lily are used as a cooling application; see vv. 57, 66 and 74 of Kālidāsa's Abhijñānaśakuntalā (Ed. Böhtlingk). K. boldly compares with them the flames of the pyre on which the queen became a Sati." Dr. HULTZSCH, *Ind. Ant.*, xix. p. 265.

57. The place where this lady of saintly life followed her husband into death, is to this day known to the people by the name of *Vākpuṣṭāṭavī*. TUÑJĪNA I.

58. At the hospice (*sattra*) which this charitable [queen] established there, multitudes of indigent people coming from all parts receive food even at the present day.

59. The fastidious Creator did not grant them a child, no doubt, because he thought: "Who could do more than these two?"

60. The Creator shows himself the foremost of discerning judges, when he exerts himself in making the sugar-cane itself the fruit (*or*, when he does not take the trouble of producing a fruit of the sugar-cane). After making it capable of surpassing in taste even the strongest nectar, what use would there be in his doing anything beyond this?

61. Some say that this queen gave herself up to the flames, because she thought that a fault of her own had caused the land to be deprived of the sun in a long succession of dark days.

62. Then *Vijaya*, descended from another family, was king for eight years. It was he who surrounded the [shrine of] *Vijayeśvara* with the town [of that name]. VIJAYA.

63. Then the son of that king who had been like an Indra on earth, the long-armed and far-famed *Jayendra*, ruled the earth. JAYENDRA.

64. His arm, [strong] as a pillar, bore the image of the goddess of victory made resplendent by fluttering garments which were [formed by] the waves of his steadfast fame.

65. This king had a minister called *Saṁdhimati*, the greatest of sages, who was distinguished by his wonderful life and devotion to S'iva. *Saṁdhimati's sto*

66-67. There is no device in the world which could stop the ears of kings and of rutting elephants from moving unsteadily. Thus [it came about that]

57. The position of *Vākpuṣṭāṭavī*, 'the forest of Vākpuṣṭā,' is uncertain. It is mentioned again, *Jonar.* 848, as the place near which Prince 'Allā-ud-dīn (Alleśvara) had an adventure with a witch. As the latter is said to dwell in a '*girigahvara*,' Vākpuṣṭāṭavī must be supposed to be somewhere near the mountains. P. Govind Kaul has thought that the name could be recognised in that of the modern village *Vuṭṭu*, situated in the Khur-Nārᵉvāv Pargaṇa, 74° 52' long. 33° 38' lat., at the foot of a spur reaching down from the Gulābgarh Pass. I visited the place in Sept., 1891, without being able to trace there the above traditions. The phonetic relation of the two names is also doubtful.

58. Comp. regarding such charitable endowments note i. 347.

60. The above double rendering of the second Pāda rests on the possibility of reading either *phalaprajananena* or *phalaprajanane na*. I believe that K. intended it to be taken both ways. If he had only wished to express the sense of the second version, he would have found it easy to replace *na kṛtaśramo* by a more idiomatic expression. The allusion is in either case to the fact "that the sugar-cane does not bear seeds and can be propagated only by slips" (HULTZSCH, *l.c.*).

udetya, rightly explained by A₁ gloss *utpādayitvā*, is a gerund with causative sense; comp. *nipatya*, ii. 159 (v.l. *nipātya*); iv. 361, also *pratipadya*, iv. 495, and *utthāya*, vi. 63.

62. Comp. regarding *Vijayeśvara* notes i. 38, 105.

JAYENDRA.

wicked men raised the king's hatred against that trusted adviser, by telling him to beware of a person of such wonderful mental power.

68. Full of wrath the king then banished him without any reason from his presence, deprived him of all property, and reduced him to life-long poverty.

69. While he thus suffered from the fierce blast of the king's hatred which resembled that of the hot season, the courtiers did not comfort him even by news.

70. While a profound king takes in [and reflects upon] a report, the attendants repeat the words distinctly like echoes.

71. He, however, did not feel depressed by his banishment and poverty, but was glad to devote himself free from hindrances to the worship of S'iva.

72. At that time there spread by the force of future events a mysterious report from house to house which declared: "To *Saṁdhimati* will belong the kingdom."

73. The king thereupon, being reminded by his confidants that no rumour could get about without being spread, became troubled by apprehensions and threw him into prison.

74. There he pined with his legs tormented by cruel fetters, until the tenth year was completed, and [with it] the king's term of life.

75. The king when about to die without a son, was burnt by the pain which the illness caused, as well as by the thought of him.

76. Scorched incessantly by the flaming fire of his hatred, he thought that the only way to frustrate the decree of fate was to kill him.

77. If foolish men prepare a device to ward off a coming event, one may be sure that by it fate merely intends to open a door [for this].

78. If the Creator earnestly wishes to give boundless force to a fire-spark which flickers with feeble light on a heap of burnt-out coals, then he makes the man who wishes to extinguish it, mistake for a pitcher of water the vessel which stands close by full of molten ghee.

79. Then by the king's order *Saṁdhimati* was at night put to death on the stake by savage executioners.

80. When the pain-worn king heard of his impalement, the sting of anxiety first left him, and then his life.

81. When after [a rule of] thirty-seven years he died heirless, the land was for some days without a ruler.

Resurrection of *Saṁdhimati*.

82. When the news of *Saṁdhimati's* end reached his Guru, *Is'āna* by name, the heart of this self-controlled person broke away from control.

70. The words of the text convey also the second meaning: "When the profound mountain receives a sound, its attendants in the form of echoes distinctly reproduce the sound."

72. L confirms the correction of A_2 *pratimandiraṁ* against *navamandiraṁ* of A_1.

83. Alas, in this mundane existence which like the S'irîśa-flower is easily broken, there remains but the charity of the devout, as [of that flower only] the stalk. JAYENDRA.

84. He proceeded to the place of execution (*śmaśāna*) in order to perform proper funeral rites for this amiable man who, it seemed, had suffered without a sympathizer.

85-86. He found him reduced to a skeleton, at which the wolves tore away with force, but which was held fast by the bones fixed under the foot of the stake. By the sounds issuing from the open fissures in the skull which was filled with air, he seemed, as it were, to bewail his present condition.

87. "Woe, that I see you to-day, O dear one, in this state." Thus he then spoke and drew forth the bone which the stake had pierced through.

88. Keeping off the howling wolves, he carried away the skeleton, while the hairs which fell from the head and which the dust had coloured grey, covered his feet.

89. Then as he was preparing to perform the proper funeral rites, he read on his forehead a verse inscribed by the Creator to this effect:

90. "He will have a life of poverty, ten years' imprisonment, death on the stake, and still thereafter a throne."

91. As he saw the meaning of three *pādas* of that verse fulfilled, he was reasonably anxious to see whether the sense of the fourth *pāda* would come right.

92. Struck with astonishment, he considered how this was to come about, and after long reflection said to himself that the power of fate was not to be fathomed by thought.

93. "Everybody while engaged on various tasks, strives eagerly, dependent as he is [on fate], to frustrate its obstinate resolve. It is under these conditions that the most wonderful power of fate manifests itself, whose greatness knows no obstacles to the accomplishment of its designs."

94. "Fate, the embodiment of all miracles, revived through the power of the Nāga-daughter the slain *Pārtha* at the town of *Maṇipūra*."

95. "The Creator, the highest of rulers, through the might of *Kṛṣṇa* brought to life *Parīkṣit* who had been burned in the womb of his mother by the weapon of *Droṇa's* son."

96. "Who else but fate would venture to bring to life again *Kaca* whom the Daityas had reduced to ashes, and the serpents devoured by *Tārkṣya?*"

94-96. For the stories of the Mahābhārata here alluded to, see TROYER's notes and extracts, i. pp. 406-414, and *Mahābh.* XIV. lxxix. 82 sqq.; I. lxxvi. 18 sqq.
Regarding the destruction of the serpents by Tārkṣya Garuḍa, see note i. 81. Their resurrection brought about by Jīmūtavāhana is the subject of a story told in the *Kathāsar.* xii. 24 sqq.

JAYENDRA.

97. After speaking thus he stayed at that very place in his anxiety to see the fulfilment of the prediction, and watched the skeleton.

98. Then once in the middle of the night, while he was kept awake by the thought of this mystery, *Iśāna* smelt a heavenly perfume of incense.

99-100. On hearing a terrific noise [produced] by the ringing of many bells struck with big clappers and by the violent beating of drums, he opened the window and saw on the burial ground witches enveloped by a halo of light.

101. Noting their concourse and that the skeleton had been abstracted, *Iśāna* went forth to the burial ground trembling, with his sword drawn.

102. Hidden behind a tree he then saw that the skeleton had been placed by the troops of witches in the midst of their circle, and was being fitted up with all its limbs.

103. Intoxicated by drink, they had felt the desire for sportive enjoyment of a lover, and not finding a [living] man, had carried off that skeleton.

104. Each one of them put [upon the skeleton] one of their own limbs, and then procuring from somewhere a *membrum virile*, they quickly completed his body.

105. Next the witches attracted by magic the spirit of *Saṁdhimati*, which was still roaming about without having entered another body, and put it into that [body].

106. Resembling a person just risen from sleep, he was covered by them with heavenly ointments, and then they enjoyed themselves with him, as the master of their band, to their full desire.

107. *Iśāna* feared with terror when the night was growing short, that those goddesses would take back again the limbs which they had lent him.

108. In order to guard these [limbs], he resolutely approached that place with a shout, and at once the band of witches disappeared.

109. Then their voice was heard: "May you not be in fear, O *Iśāna*. We miss no limb, and do not defraud him whom we have chosen as our lover."

110. "He who, when chosen by us, was joined (*saṁdhita*) with a heavenly body, will be known on earth [by the name of] *Saṁdhimat* and on account of his noble character as *Āryarāja*."

111. Then *Saṁdhimat*, who wore a magnificent dress and a wreath, and was

99-100. The term *lāḍanāḍaṇḍa*, which I take to mean a 'bell-clapper,' is not known to the dictionaries, but is used also *Jonar* 345, for the rare √*laḍ* see vii 927. The gloss of A_2 is, perhaps, intended to convey the same sense, but the word *daṭu* is not known in modern Kś. The Kś. *trāv*, 'window,' given by A_2 gloss in explanation of *tamori*, is now quite obsolete.

103. I follow in the translation the reading *madyamadena tāḥ*, quoted by A_2 as 'from another manuscript,' instead of the *madyapadevatāḥ* of the text. L *mudyamadeva tāḥ*, with the common mistake of व for न, confirms the *v.l.* of A_2.

106. The *cakranāyaka* of the witches is evidently the counterpart of the 'Hexenmeister' of German folklore; comp. *yoginīnāyaka*, *Jonar* 348.

adorned with heavenly ornaments, recovered the memory of his past and reverently greeted his Guru. JAYENDRA.

112. Who could describe the feelings of *Īśāna* when he embraced him whom he could not even have dreamt of recovering?

113. While these two there reflected together over this mundane existence, vain and yet wondrous, their discourse flowed on brightly, with clear judgment.

114 As soon as the citizens had somehow learned this story, they betook themselves to the spot, accompanied by young and old and joined by the ministers.

115. The doubt which arose as to his identity owing to his appearance being different from the former one, was removed when in conversation he addressed questions to all.

116. At the bidding of his Guru he being free from desires, with reluctance consented to the prayer of the citizens to rule the country which had no king. SAṂDHIMAT (ĀRYARĀJA)

117. Brahmans conducted him resplendent in his divine appearance close to a grove, and to the sound of music made him take the bath of the inauguration ceremony (*abhiṣeka*).

118 He did not require to be instructed as to the conduct fit for a new king, but reformed all procedure from his knowledge of public business.

119 In right royal attire and accompanied by his army he entered the city which was rendered auspicious by the blessings uttered by the citizens, while there poured a rain of parched grains from its mansions [as a greeting].

120. While he who was free from passions, occupied the great throne, no calamity came over his subjects either from the gods or from men.

121. The heart of this [king] who had pacified [the senses], was captivated by the forest-regions with their beautiful mountain slopes and their heights round which the birds never cease flying,—but not by women.

122. Himself scented with camphor and incense, he was delighted when touched by the arms of hermits which bore a holy fragrance from the touch of the forest flowers.

123. When not visiting the [shrines of] *Bhūteśa, Vardhamāneśa* and *Vijayeśa*, he devoted himself day by day entirely to his royal duties.

121. The words *śṛṅgārahitavibhramāḥ* and *nitambinyo* can also be taken as epithets of women 'possessed of coquetry which favours love' and 'kallipygian'; comp. the gloss of A_2 on the first word.

122. Camphor is used for purposes of worship. For the incense (*dhūpa*) used in Kaśmir, the dried root of a mountain herb called *dupᵘ* (Jurinea macrocephala) supplies the chief ingredient.

123. For the sacred sites of *Bhūteśa* and *Vijayeśa*, see notes I. 107 and I. 38.—The shrine of S'iva *Vardhamāneśa* is supposed by the local tradition to have stood on the right

SAṂDHIMAT (ĀRYARĀJA).

124. His body became motionless with joy when touched by the breezes which had passed the spray of the water [used] for the washing of the stairs leading to S'iva's shrines.

125. He only thought he had seen [the Liṅga of] *Vijayeśvara* when it was cleaned after the removal of the [remains of the] preceding worship, and thus appeared in its beauty freed from the surfeit of adornments.

126. To him who hated the [music of] lutes, the noise produced by the water poured from pitchers and flowing round the base (*pīṭha*) of a Liṅga, was dear even in his sleep.

127. This king's court resembled the assembly of S'iva and was adorned by ascetics who carried ashes, rosaries made of Eleocarpus berries and knots of matted hair.

128. The king never broke his vow to consecrate daily a thousand S'iva-liṅgas.

129. When once through an error this had not been accomplished, his servants prepared a thousand Liṅgas (*sahasraliṅgī*) by carving a rock all around, [and these Liṅgas] are visible to this day.

130. In various ponds he placed lines of lotus-seeds resembling Liṅgas in order to produce lotus-flowers for [the benefit of] his religious merit.

bank of the Vitastā within the present Mahalla *Gaṇ*ᵃ*patyār* (Gaṇeśghāṭ) of S'rīnagar City. This tradition is supported by the *Vitastāmahātmya*, xvii 27 sqq., which mentions *Vardhamaneśa* in close proximity to 'Gaṇapati's Tīrtha,' i.e. Gaṇ*ᵃ*patyār. About 1888 the Purohitas of this quarter erected near the Ghāṭ of Mal*ᵃ*yār a new temple of modest dimensions in honour of Vardhamāneśa. The ancient Liṅga placed in this shrine is supposed to have belonged to the old temple, and was obtained from a mosque close by in which it had served as a lamp-post. The walls of this mosque are built with ancient sculptured slabs which are believed to have been taken from the old Vardhamāneśa temple.

125. Reference is made here to the flowers, pigments and other offerings with which the pious zeal of the worshippers usually covers the sacred images. The removal of the previous day's offerings and the cleaning of the Liṅga is effected in Kaśmīr temples regularly in the early morning.—Regarding the meaning of *āḍambara*, comp. *N P W.*, s.v. 6, and below viii 2726.

126. Compare viii 2398.

128-129. The pious practice of preparing and consecrating a large number of Liṅgas, frequently exceeding a thousand, in a single day is still observed by some Brahmans of Kaśmīr on new and full moon days. The Liṅgas are of diminutive size, made with clay taken from the foot of the Takht hill, and are thrown into the river on the evening of the same day.

The great merit which religious belief attaches still to the construction of large numbers of stone Liṅgas, is illustrated by the fact that the late Mahārāja Raṇbīr Singh intended to endow his new temple at *Īś*ᵃ*bar* (Īśeśvara) with a thousand and the *Raṇavīreśvara* temple at Jammu even with a crore of stone Liṅgas of all sizes. Many of these are, however, merely liṅga-shaped pebbles brought from the Narmadā (see ii. 131).

A rock marked by natural excrescences which resemble Liṅgas and are supposed to amount to a thousand, is pointed out under the name of *Sahasraliṅgi* near the village of *Sil'gām* on the Lid*ᵃ*r in the Khōv*ᵃ*rpōr Pargaṇa. I have not been able to ascertain whether the local tradition connects it with the story of Saṃdhimat.

130. The seed-corns of the lotus resemble the shape of Liṅgas, and have in Kaśmīr a sacred use at *homas* and for rosaries.

Saṁdhimat (Āryarāja).

131. And by placing at various places numerous S'iva-liṅgas in the water he gave to the rivers the appearance of the *Narmadā*.

132. The revenue of the great villages which he gave as endowment for each Liṅga, has through the lapse of time become lost now-a-days to the Purohita-corporations (*parṣad*).

133. That great worshipper of S'iva made the earth great by [erecting] great [religious] buildings, great Liṅgas, great images of the bull [of S'iva] and great Triśūlas.

134. After setting up at the burial ground where his body had been joined together (*saṁdhāna*), the [shrine of S'iva] *Saṁdhīśvara*, he constructed the S'iva [shrine] named *Īśeśvara* after his Guru *Īśāna*.

131. The holy *Narmadā* (Nerbada) supplies the liṅga-shaped pebbles (*bāṇaliṅga*) which are used in Kaśmīr as in other parts of India for purposes of worship; comp. vii. 185. Liṅgas placed in the water are found to this day at numerous Ghāṭs of S'rīnagar and at many of the sacred springs all over the valley.

132. The expression *parṣad* (comp note i. 87) is used throughout the Rājat to designate the corporations, formed by the Purohitas of individual temples and Tīrthas. Their members are called *pāriṣadya*, also *pārṣada*. Compare v. 171, 466; iv. 205, vii 13, 993, 1105; viii. 709, 773, 900-906, 939, and in particular the characteristic passage vii. 1082 sqq, which shows the *pāriṣadyas* of a temple in common ownership of its property

Such corporations exist to this day at all the greater Kaśmīrian pilgrimage places, such as the Tīrthas of S'ārikādevī on the Hārᵃ-parvat, Jvālāmukhī at Khruv, Vijayeśvara, Anantanāga, Vērnāg, Tūlamūlya, Koṭitīrtha (Varāhamula), wherever there are several families of resident Purohitas. The latter (called *thānᵘpatᵘ* in Kś, from Skr. *sthānapati*; comp. K.'s *sthānapālās*, viii. 811) place the fees and dakṣiṇās received from the pilgrims in a common fund from which after meeting the expenses on temple buildings, etc, each family receives its proper share according to a fixed rate of participation. Some of these corporations receive now from the state benefices in kind (rice) which are subject to the same rule of partnership

This system evidently applied also to the land-grants which these corporations enjoyed in old times. Notwithstanding the loss of Saṁdhimat's alleged endowments the position of the 'parṣads' must have been a comfortable one even in K.'s time if we may judge from the frequent references made to their political influence during the later reigns; comp. v. 465; viii 900 sqq.

134. The position of *Saṁdhīśvara* is unknown; that of *Īśeśvara* is indicated in all probability by the village and Tīrtha of *Īśᵃbar*, situated on the north-east shore of the Ḍal, half a mile to the N. of the Nishāt Bāgh. The name *Īśᵃbar* seems a contraction of an older form **Īśᵃbrōr*, represented by the *Īśabhrāḍū* of the gloss of A₂. The latter form corresponds exactly to *Īśeśvara*, *brōr* being the Kś. derivative of Skr *bhaṭṭāraka*, 'god,' and the equivalent of *īśvara* (comp *Vijᵉbrōr*: *Vijayeśvara*, and for the parallel use of the fem. *brār* for Skr. *devī*, note i. 35).

Īśᵃbar is much frequented as a pilgrimage place on account of the sacred spring *Guptagaṅgā*, which feeds an old stone-lined tank in the centre of the village. Immediately behind the tank lies a ruined mound some 30′ square and about 8′ high, its base is formed by carved stone slabs of evident antiquity. This mound is believed by the local Purohitas to mark the site of a temple built by King 'Sandhimān.' It is difficult to ascertain whether this belief is based on a genuine tradition, or merely on the conjecture of some learned visitors of the Tīrtha.

The Māhātmya of the Tīrtha which by several indications betrays a modern origin, gives to the village the names of *Īśālaya* and *Īśavihāra*, *brōr* being mistaken by a 'popular etymology' for *vihāra* (!).

The new temple at this Tīrtha, begun but not completed by the late Mahārāja, has already been mentioned in note ii. 129. Abu-l-Fazl (ii., p. 361) mentions at '*Ishabalāri*' (probably for Ishabrāri) stone temples round a sacred spring. To the spring he gives wrongly the name of 'Suryasar,' evidently confusing it with the neighbouring Sureśvarītīrtha.

SAṀDHIMAT (ĀRYARĀJA).

contempt of fortune, I do not feel fear at the time of renunciation like a braggart in the battle."

158. Filled with such thoughts and ready to renounce every thing, the king rejoiced in his heart like the beggar who builds himself kingdoms in his thoughts.

159. The next day, after collecting all his subjects in an assembly, he delivered to them the government like a well-guarded trust.

160. And after he had once abandoned it of his own account, nobody was able even by entreaties to induce him to resume it, [as little] as a snake [can be got to resume] its [cast-off] skin.

161. Then taking with him the Liṅga which he used at his worship, the king, dressed in spotless clothes and bareheaded, set out on foot towards the north.

162. Weeping noiselessly, the citizens followed the path of their lord, who proceeded with his eyes turned downwards and observing a strict silence.

163 After he had passed on for one *gavyūti* he sat down under a tree and bade with gentle words each one of those [who had followed him] with tears in their eyes, to return.

164. Whenever he stopped on the path at the foot of a mountain he was seen to dismiss people and to ascend subsequently with a reduced following,—just as a river when, after filling the deep-lying places, it rises and passes over its proper bed, is followed [there only] by small quantities of water.

165 Stopping his foot in the midst of the forest, he dismissed from his side with kindly greetings the numberless people who, overcome by grief, shed tears and uttered faltering words. Then he penetrated into the forest, the cave-dwellings of which were illuminated by the light issuing from the jewels in the diadems of those many saintly wanderers who had been sent to sleep [there] by the rustling of the breeze catching in their birchbark-clothes.

166. Then when the day was spent, he made himself a resting-place under a tree on the bank of a forest pool, where he had water poured into the hollow of vessels formed of leaves, and a high couch made up from twigs of holy trees.

167 The near mountains within view—on whose peaks there rested bright light, whose shaded slopes were coloured by verdant grass, and under whose jasmine trees, flowering with white blossoms, the cowherdesses slept together,—

159 For *saṁnipatya* read with L *saṁnipātya*.

pratyarpayat for which Durgāpr proposes *°pratyárpayat*, may be taken as an augmentless form like *prodghoṣayaṁs* i 285

164 The mass of the water flows downwards even when the river in flood overstops its banks

165 The gloss of A, *bhomayor*, connects the above allusion to cave-dwellings with the small cave-temple at the locality now called *Bum'zu*; comp note vi 178 There is nothing in the text to justify this interpretation

166 The *puṭakaghaṭodara* corresponds to the *puṭakaiś caṭasikṛtaiḥ* of i 213.

167. The conjectural reading of Ed *vanapālaveṇu°*, is actually found in L.

brought sleep to the tired [wanderer] by their noises, which proceeded both from the water of the torrents and the music of the flutes [played] by the herdsmen of the forests. SAṀDHIMAT (ĀRYARĀJA).

168. Eager to move on, he knew that the night had vanished [when he heard] on all sides the cries of the crane and the roars of the wild elephants, which resembled the noise of drums.

169 Next day, after having performed his morning devotion according to the proper rite, and having thrown off sleep [by a bath] in the neighbouring lotus-pond, the lord of the land reached the Tīrtha of *Bhūtabhartṛ* (*Bhūteśvara*) with its familiar *Sodara* spring, situated near *Nandiśa*.

170. While he stood there at *Nandikṣetra* before the lord of the three worlds (S'iva), he attained the condition which he had proposed to himself to reach. Smiling, as it were, in his ashes, having his hair bound in a well-arranged knot, carrying a rosary, and adorned with [strings of] Eleocarpus berries (*rudrākṣa*), he was viewed with complacency by the aged Munis.

171 When he went about to beg [his food], he was welcomed with much respect as a follower of the observances ordained by S'iva, and the wives of the ascetics vied eagerly in every hermitage to give him alms. As [however] the trees filled his begging-bowl in abundance with pure fruits and blossoms, he who deserved to be honoured, was not, even when practising the law of mendicancy, put to the humiliation of begging from others.

Thus ends the Second Taraṅga of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, composed by *Kalhaṇa*, the son of the illustrious minister of Kaśmir, Lord *Caṇpaka*.

168. The description of the mendicant-king's journey to the Tīrtha of Bhūteśvara follows closely the conventional lines of the *vanavarṇana* in the classical Kāvyas. Hence the mention made in it of wild elephants need not surprise. The reading *vanakari°* of A_1 is confirmed by L *vanakari°*, the *v.l.* of A_3, could not well be explained as referring to lions or monkeys, as in either case the addition of the term *vana* would be meaningless.

169 The sites of the *Bhūteśvara* Tīrtha with the *Sodara* spring and of *Nandiśa* have been fully discussed in the notes i 107, 123, 36. The king's previous visits to Bhūteśa are alluded to in ii. 123. Divide in text *°Sodarāmbu tīrtham.*

170 The white colour of the ashes with which the king has covered himself after the fashion of ascetics, is compared to the whiteness of the teeth shown in smiling.

Colophon After the colophon A and L give the following verse: "In this second Taraṅga six kings of well-known excellence have been treated [who ruled] during two hundred years less eight." The aggregate duration of the reigns here indicated agrees with the lengths of the individual reigns as stated in the text.

THIRD BOOK.

1. May S'iva protect you who in his form [of Ardhanārīśvara] composed of two halves (a male and a female one) gives these replies [to Pārvatī's words]: "Cast off the elephant hide"—"In the cavity of his frontal protuberances are pearls which are fit [to adorn] the front of your breasts"; "What is the use of the fire on your forehead?"—"From there may be taken collyrium for your eyes,"—and who even, if objection were raised by his beloved to the snake, would be prepared to meet it with an answer

MEGHAVĀHANA.

2. Then the subjects, guided by the ministers, proceeded to the land of *Gandhāra* and brought *Meghavāhana*, whose fame shone afar.

3. Subsequently the people learned the love of mankind [which lived] in this king, who was attached to his subjects, as [one learns the colour of] pure linen after washing it.

4. This high-minded [ruler] once more surpassed the doings even of those comforters of the beings, the Bodhisattvas, by his noble acts.

5 At his very inauguration the officials, who had received an order [to this effect], proclaimed everywhere by the beating of drums the law against the killing [of living creatures]

6. This virtuous [king], after he had prohibited the slaughter of living beings in his country, helped the butchers and others to a sinless livelihood [by grants] from his own treasury.

7 In the reign of this king, who hated killing like a Jina, the [effigy of an] animal in ghee was used at the sacrifice (*kratu*) and one in pastry at the 'offering to the spirits' (*bhūtabali*).

8. He, the founder of *Mayuṣṭagrāma*, established the Agrahāra called *Meghavana*, and further the *Meghamaṭha*, rich in religious merit.

1. The *Maṅgala* is addressed to S'iva Ardhanārīśvara (see note i. 2), and represents him as answering questions raised by his consort regarding his costume S'iva wears the elephant's skin round his shoulders, on his forehead a third eye made of fire, and round his neck and other parts of the body snakes.

7. By *kratu* are meant religious sacrifices in general, by *bhūtabali* the oblation to the spirits, as prescribed among the *pañca yajñāḥ* of the Purāṇas and Smṛtis. Representations of a *paśu* in pastry are still used at certain rites of the Kaśmirian S'aivas

8. None of these three localities is mentioned elsewhere.

9. His queen *Amṛtaprabhā* caused a lofty Vihāra called *Amṛtabhavana* to be constructed for the benefit of foreign *Bhikṣus*. MEGHAVĀHANA.

10. The spiritual guide (*guru*) of her father, who had come from a foreign country called *Loh*, and who in the language of that [country] was designated as *Stunpā*, built the Stūpa [called that of] *Lo-stonpā*.

11. *Yūkadevī*, [another] wife of the king, who was eager to compete with her rivals, built at *Naḍavana* a Vihāra of wonderful appearance.

9. In my *Notes on Ou-k'ong*, pp. 9 sqq., I have already shown that the Vihāra of *Amṛtabhavana* is identical with the 'monastery of *Ngo-mi-t'o-p'o-wan*' mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim. The name intended by Ou-k'ong's transcription is *Amitabhavana* or *Āmitabhavana*, which again can be shown to reproduce a Prakrit form of the name, **Am'tabhavana* or **Ām'tabhavana*. This Prakrit form is exactly the one which we have to assume as an intermediary stage between the Skr. *Amṛtabhavana* and its modern Kś. derivative *Ant*ᵘ*bavan*. The latter is actually found as the name of a small village situated about three miles to the north of S'rinagar, close to the suburb of Vicār Nāg.

Skr. *amṛta* at the commencement of compounds is regularly represented in Kś. by *ānt*ᵘ, derived under the influence of the stress-accents (*ámṛta* > **ám'ta* > **ámta* > **ánta* > *ānt*ᵘ); for full evidence as to the phonetic laws underlying this process of conversion, see the paper above quoted.

When visiting *Ānt*ᵘ*bavan* in June, 1895, I found in the open ground between it and the canal called *Lach*ᵉ*m-kul* (Lakṣmīkulyā) a ruined site which would well correspond to the remains of a Vihāra. Round a solid mound of about 20' height whose form and construction distinctly resembles that of a Stūpa, there can be traced a square enclosure marked by large slabs yet *in situ*. About 30 yards to the E. lies a tank-like depression which has retained parts of a massive and ancient enclosing wall. According to the evidence of the villagers, many large carved blocks of stone have been removed from this site for temples and other buildings constructed during the reign of the late Mahārāja.

The meaning 'foreign' is indicated for the term *deśya* by its use in the next line and by the analogous use of the word *daiśika* in several passages of the Rājat., as shown in note vi. 303. The *daiśikas* of the last named passage who are contrasted with the Kaśmirians, correspond exactly to the *deśya* Bhikṣus of our line. The interpretation here assumed for *daiśika* is supported by Jonarāja's commentary on *S'rīkaṇṭhac.* xxv. 102. The meaning 'foreign' is likely to have developed in the case of both words from that of 'local' or 'provincial'; comp. *N P W*, s.v. *deśya*. The correct rendering of *deśya* has already been given in Prof. Buhler's translation of the next verse.

10. Mention has been made already in Prof. BUHLER's *Report*, p. 27, of P. GOVIND KAUL's shrewd guess as to the identity of *Loh* with *Leh*, the capital of Ladākh. He "had found by inquiries among his friends who were serving in Leh, that *stunpā* was actually a Tibetan word."

A reference to Jaschke's *Tibetan-English Dictionary*, p. 224, shows in fact that *stón-pā* is a word of common use in the meaning of 'teacher.' From the expression used by K. (*stunpā tadbhāṣayā proktaḥ*), it is clear that K. knew the Tibetan term to be the equivalent of 'Guru' and not, as has been supposed, a proper name.

The exact reproduction of the Tibetan word we have in *Lo-stonpā*, where the first part *Lo* shows the local name *Loh* with the omission of the visarga which is optional before an initial *st*. The form *Stunpā* shows a less accurate transcription, which is accounted for by the fact that the sounds *o* and *u* are almost identical in Kś. pronunciation and hence often confused in Kaśmīr Sanskrit MSS.; see *Report*, pp. 25 sq.

I am unable to find equally convincing evidence for the identity of the names *Loh* and *Leh*. The name of the Ladākh capital is written *Sle* in Tibetan (JÄSCHKE, p. 586), but now actually pronounced *Le*. In view of the difference between these forms and K.'s *Loh*, it must remain an open question whether we have not in the latter the name of some other Tibetan territory.

It is curious that K. should have placed the home of Queen Amṛtaprabhā in Prāgjyotiṣa, while at the same time reproducing the tradition as to the Tibetan origin of her father's Guru.

For *deśaikadeśā*° of A₁ read *deśyaikadeśā*° as corrected in A and also found in L; comp. preceding note.

11. By *Naḍavana* may, perhaps, be meant

Meghavāhana.

12. In one half of it she placed those Bhikṣus whose conduct conformed to the precepts, and in the [other] half those who being in possession of wives, children, cattle and property, deserved blame for their life as householders.

13 Then another wife of the king, called *Indradevī*, built a Vihāra [named] *Indradevībhavana*, together with a quadrangle [and also built] a Stūpa.

14 Many Vihāras of renown were built by other queens of his, such as *Khāḍanā* and *Sammā*, under their own names.

15 The reign of this ruler, though he lived in more recent times, was rendered wonderful by events which surpassed the stories of the first kings.

Story of Nāgas.

16. Once when the king was taking recreation in the open, he heard from afar loud cries raised by people in fright: "A thief, a thief here"

17. "Who [is that], who is there? Let the thief be bound!" When the king in anger spoke thus, the loud cries for help ceased, but no thief could be discovered.

18. Again, two or three days later when he was going out, two or three women of divine appearance presented themselves before him praying for safety.

19 When the compassionate [king] had stopped his horse and had promised [to listen to] their request, they with their folded hands raised to the parting of their hair spoke thus:

20. "While you of divine power rule the earth, who could, indeed, O you embodiment of mercy, be in fear of any one else?"

21-24 "When our husbands, the *Nāgas*, were once covering the sky in the

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the present quarter of *Narvor* situated in the north-western part of S'rinagar, between Sangin-darwāza and the Īdgāh The modern name goes clearly back to a form **Naḍavāṭa* In this form *-vāṭa* (or *vāṭaka*) 'garden' might correspond to *-vana* of K.'s name *-vōr* or its feminine form *-vār'* (<Skr *vāṭikā*) is frequently found at the end of Kasmir local names, comp notes on *Bhikṣukavāṭikā*, i 842, *Rājānavāṭikā*, viii 756, *Raṅgavāṭikā*, vii 1653

Narvor shows like most parts of S'rinagar in its cemeteries and Ziārats ample remains of ancient buildings It is, however, impossible to identify any of these from the remains found overground

12 The text, as found in A and L, is in at least one place corrupt. For *sastrīputrapaśustriyaḥ*, which gives no sense, we have to emend, with Durgāpr °*paśuśriyaḥ* The translation of the curious expressions used for the designation of the two classes of Bhikṣus, *śikṣācārāḥ* and *gārhasthyagarhyāḥ*, is not certain

With K.'s notice of married Bhikṣus may be compared what HODGSON, *Essays of the Languages, etc, of Nepal and Tibet*, p 52, says of modern Buddhist practices in Nepāl: "All the Nepalese Buddhists are married men who pursue the business of the world, and seldom think of the injunctions of their religion" I owe the reference to this interesting passage to my friend, M A Foucher.

13 The *Indradevībhavana Vihāra* is mentioned again in the account of the troubles following Bhikṣācara's usurpation, viii 1172 From this passage it is clear that it must have been situated within the precincts of the present S'rinagar, probably close to the quarter of *Kāṭhul*, the *Kāṣṭhila* of viii 1169

14 The position of the Vihāra called after the two queens here named cannot be traced with certainty The name of **Khāḍanāvihāra* may possibly be preserved in that of the village of *Khadⁿniyār*, about four miles below Varāhamūla on the right bank of the Vitastā. In the *Vitastāmāhātmya*, xix. 60 sqq, the name of this locality is given as *Khāḍanāhāra*

21-24. Regarding the belief in Nāgas

form of clouds, the peasants, who were afraid of a sudden hail-shower and who were agitated in their minds by watching the rich ripe crop of rice, made them, O Lord, cunningly the object of your violent anger. When Your Majesty, hearing the cry of the distressed: 'A thief, a thief,' had angrily ordered their detention, then on your mere command they fell down bound in fetters. May you now have pity on us and show mercy to them!" MEGHAVĀHANA.

25 Having heard this, the king smiled and said, with his face brightened by kindliness: "Let all the *Nāgas* be freed from their fetters."

26. Upon this order of the king the *Nāgas* shook off their fetters, and after bowing down before his feet quickly departed with their families.

27. Then he who was sincere in the observance of the sacred law, went forth for the conquest of the world so that he might impose upon the [other] kings his prohibition against the killing [of living beings]. The king's *Digvija*

28. His ambition for conquest, in which valour was laudably [coupled] with care for keeping the people free from fear, deserved to be envied even by a Jina.

29. After he had made the kings whom his prowess had vanquished, take the vow of abstention from slaughter, the blameless [king] arrived near the lord of the waters (Varuṇa).

30. While his army was resting there comfortably in the shade of the palm groves, for a short time he thought in his mind over a device to reach the other terrestrial isles (*dvīpa*).

31. Then he heard from near a wood on the shore a distressed person's cry for help: "Even under *Meghavāhana's* rule I have been slain." Story of Varuṇa

32. As if he had been struck in his heart by an arrow of heated iron, he quickly moved to that spot accompanied by his royal parasol.

33. Then he saw before a temple of Caṇḍikā (Durgā) a man with his face turned downwards who was being killed by some barbarian troop-leader

34. "Shame upon you for this misdeed, you senseless person!" When thus threatened by the king, the barbarian in terror communicated to him the following:

35. "My little son here, O king, hurt by disease is on the point of dying. This deed, the deities have declared, would bring him some small relief."

36. "If this [propitiatory] sacrifice is prevented, he dies on the spot, and know you that the whole band of his relatives lives only while he lives"

37. "You protect, O Lord, a friendless man brought from the depth of the

taking the form of clouds and producing hail, compare note i. 239.

The combination of these four verses into a syntactical unit is marked in the MSS. by the word *cakkalaka*. The latter is apparently formed in analogy of the terms *yugalaka* and *tilaka*, and is explained in the *Samanvayadiś* of *Rājānaka Chuḍḍaka* (see MS deposited by me in the Imperial Library, Vienna)

28. L supplies here the correct reading *jinasyāpi* for the meaningless *janasyāpi* of A and the Edd.

MEGHAVĀHANA. forest. Why do you take no heed of this child with whom many persons are connected?"

38. Then the high-minded [king], distressed by these words of the barbarian and the terrified look of the victim, spoke thus:

39 "O *Kirāta*, do not be despondent. I myself save your son who has many relations, as well as this victim, who is without relatives."

40 "I make my own body an offering to Caṇḍikā. Strike boldly at me. May these two persons live!"

41 Thereupon the barbarian who was astonished by the nobility of soul [shown] by that [king] of wonderful mental courage, and who felt thrilled, thus addressed him

42. "O Lord of the earth, while you strive after too great compassion, some kind of mental error arises in your heart."

43 "Why do you show disregard for that body [of yours], which ought to be protected without hesitation even at the cost of [all] lives in the three worlds, and which is destined to enjoy the earth in happiness?"

44 "In their thirst for life, kings regard neither honour nor fame nor riches nor wives nor relations nor the law nor children"

45 "Therefore, O protector of your subjects, show favour, do not take pity on this victim While you live, may this child and these [your] subjects also live!"

46 Then the ruler of the earth, eager to sacrifice himself and paying worship to Cāmuṇḍā, as it were, with his brilliant teeth which glistened as [if they were] an oblation (*argha*), spoke thus.

47. "What concern have you, forest-dwellers, with the enjoyment of the nectar of righteous conduct? Those who live in the deserts, know not the delight of bathing in the Gaṅgā"

48. "You go too far, O fool, in your obstinate endeavour to frustrate my desire of buying imperishable fame with this body which is sure to decay"

49. "Speak not another word But if you should feel [too much] pity to strike [yourself], why, cannot my own sword effect the purpose?"

50 Eager to offer up his body, he drew himself his sword after these words to cut off his head

51 As he was about to strike, his head was covered with divine flowers and his arm held back by one of divine form.

52. Then in this state he saw before himself a person of heavenly appearance, but neither Caṇḍikā nor the victim nor the *Kirāta* nor the boy.

53 Thereupon the divine person spoke to him "O you who are like the moon of the middle (terrestrial) world, and the embodiment of compassion, know that I am *Varuṇa* who has been subdued by [your] courage"

54. "The parasol which to-day is by your side, was in old times carried away from my town by the father of your father-in-law, the very powerful *Bhauma*."

55. "Without this, the single ornament on the surface of the earth, and which [acts] like a great power, fatal calamities [arise] everywhere for our citizens."

56. "Wishing to possess myself of it, I have employed such deception in order to test your nobility of mind, O you compassionate one."

57. "By abstention from killing you seem to perform an expiatory rite (*prāyaścitta*) for the sin of your predecessor *Vasukula's* son (Mihirakula) who deprived the creatures of their lives."

58-61. "O wonder that in one great race was seen the birth of two [such kings], of that 'slayer of three crores' (*trikoṭihantṛ*) and of you, a ruler who has renounced killing. In that race, accustomed to rule the earth, these two produce terror and delight, just as in the body of S'eṣa which is accustomed to bear the earth, the poison he spits out, and the mass of jewels [he bears] in his hood, [produce terror and delight]. In that race which has penetrated all regions by its glory, these two bring darkness and light, just as in the fire which penetrates into all directions with its blaze, the mass of smoke and the shooting flame [bring darkness and light]. In that race which has held under its sway an array of brilliant [princes], these two bring about exhaustion and refreshment, just as on a day obscured by the clouds of the rainy season, when the disc of the sun is hidden, the fierce heat and the downpour [bring about exhaustion and refreshment]."

62. When the ruler of the sea-animals (Varuṇa) had spoken thus, the sovereign reverently and with folded hands paid worship to him with a hymn of praise and the parasol [as an offering].

63. And when Varuna had graciously accepted the parasol, the most virtuous lord of the earth thus addressed him:

64. "Wishing trees and virtuous men do not deserve to be classed together. Because the first give their fruit to the needy [only] if requested, the latter of their own accord."

65. "How could that parasol become the means of purchasing for us religious merit, if you were not asked to help the distressed?"

54. *Bhauma* is another name of the Daitya *Naraka* mentioned in ii 150; comp the passages quoted in *P. W.*, s v.

55. *Rasātala* must be taken here in the sense of a compound of *rasā*, 'earth,' and *tala*, as in the passage of the Subhāṣitaratnākara, quoted in *N.P.W.*, s.v *Rasātala* in its ordinary meaning of 'hell' does not appear appropriate, as neither Varuṇa's world nor Prāgjyotiṣa could be said to belong to it.

58-61 As the compounds describing the royal race have a double meaning, it has been necessary to give above a paraphrase of these verses.

MEGHAVÂHANA.

66 "A liberal giver should show full kindness to the recipients of his bounty. Also the tree gives his fruit while refreshing by his shade."

67. "Thus stimulated by the munificent bounty [already] accorded, I ask you, O worshipful one, [to grant me yet] some other wish."

68. "Through your favour the whole earth has been subjected [by me]. But let me [now] be informed of some device for crossing the water so that I may conquer the islands."

69. Upon this prayer the lord of the waters spoke to the protector of the earth: "When you desire to cross I will make the water of the ocean rigid."

70. Upon the king's reply: "Great is this [your] favour," the worshipful Varuṇa disappeared together with the parasol.

71. On the following day he crossed over the sea whose agitation had been turned into rigidity by supernatural power, traversing the water in a straight line with his troops smiling in astonishment.

Conquest of *Lankā*.

72 He, a mine of precious virtues (*guṇaratnākara*), then ascended with his forces that diadem of the ocean (*ratnākara*) Mount *Rohaṇa*, which contains mines of manifold precious gems (*nānāratnākara*)

73 While his army rested there in the shade of the palm groves, *Vibhīṣaṇa*, the king of *Lankā*, approached him in friendship.

74. Brilliant was the meeting of the kings of men and demons; the first hasty exchange of words between the two could not be heard on account of the loud praises of the bards.

75. Then the ruler of the demons (Vibhīṣaṇa) took that ornament of the earth (Meghavāhana) to *Lankā* and waited upon him with those riches which are easily obtained by the immortals.

76. The name '*piśitāśa*' ('flesh-devourer') which [so far] had been an appropriate one for the demons, then became on their accepting his commandment a term of conventional application (*rūḍhiśabda*).

77. The lord of the demons presented to him banners which on their tops were decorated with representations of demons' heads indicating their permanent obedience

78 These [banners] which are known as the 'banners from across [the sea]' (*pāradhvajāḥ*), because they came from the other side of the ocean, —are even at the present time borne before the kings of *Kaśmīr* on their expeditions.

67. Meghavāhana considers politely the acceptance of the parasol by Varuṇa as a favour accorded to himself

72. *Rohaṇa* is the name of the 'Adam's Peak' on Ceylon

78. I have not been able to trace any

79. After having thus prohibited the killing of living beings throughout the race of the demons, the virtuous monarch returned to his own kingdom. MEGHAVĀHANA.

80. From that time onwards the commandment of this sovereign of the whole earth regarding the abstention from killing, was not broken by any one.

81. While he ruled, animals were not killed by wicked [creatures], neither in the waters by otters and other [aquatic animals], nor in the thickets by lions and other [wild beasts], nor in the air by eagles and other [birds of prey].

82. Then as time passed by, some aggrieved Brahman bringing his pain-stricken son lamented at the king's gate: Story of the Brahman's son.

83. "Without giving to Durgā the animal oblation which she desires, I who have no other issue, shall lose my son to-day from fever."

84. "If you persist in the [law of] not-killing and do not preserve this [my son], O protector of the earth, then who else could appear to me the cause of his death?"

85. "May you yourself, O guardian of [all] castes, give here judgment as to how great a difference there is between the life of a Brahman and of an animal!"

86. "O mother earth, those kings who killed even ascetics in order to gain the life of Brahmans, have now disappeared."

87. While the Brahman spoke contemptuously these harsh words in his grief, the king, the destroyer (*hara*) of the pain of the afflicted, long reflected in this manner

88. "Aforetime I made the rule that living beings should not be killed. Why should I even for the sake of a Brahman do what I have recognized as ruinous?"

89. "If the Brahman [youth] should die to-day leaving me as the immediate cause [of his death], there too would be a case of extreme sinfulness, that of [causing] distress intentionally."

90. "My soul tossed about by doubts finds no rest on [either] side, like a flower which has fallen into a whirlpool at the junction [of two streams]"

91. "If I then satisfy Durgā by offering up my own body, I righteously preserve the lives of [these] two as well as my vow."

92. Having thus meditated for a very long time, the king who was ready to sacrifice his own body, dismissed the Brahman with the words: "To-morrow I shall do what pleases you."

other reference to these royal banners with demons' heads, which popular belief in K.'s time seems to have connected with Meghavāhana's legendary expedition to the island of the demons.

80-81. These two verses which have been subsequently added in A by A_2, are missing in L.—The word translated above by "otters," is written *udhrā°* by A_2, but is probably meant for *udrā°* The lexicographers are uncertain as to which kind of aquatic animal is meant by *udra*.

MEGHAVĀHANA

93. During the night Durgā restored the Brahman's son to health and [thereby] prevented the king who was anxious to offer up his body [from carrying out his intention].

94. We feel embarrassed in thus recording also of this king of recent times these and other acts, which cannot be believed by common people.

95. However, those who proceed by the [righteous] way of the Ṛṣis, are also in their compositions not dominated by subservience to the hearer's notions.

96. When this king died after ruling the earth for thirty-four years, the whole world was as if deprived of the sun and light.

S'REṢṬHASENA

97. Then the earth was protected by his son King *S'reṣṭhasena* whom the people forthwith called [also] *Pravarasena* (I) and *Tuñjīna* (II).

98. One might have thought that the glory of the world had, as it were, betaken itself with upturned face to the jewelled mirror of his sword, which was firmly attached to his pillar-like arm.

99 After having constructed the first [shrine of] *Pravareśvara* together with a 'circle of the Mothers' (*mātṛcakra*), he consecrated various holy shrines at *Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna*.

100. As he looked upon the earth which was subject to his sway, as if it were

99 This verse is supplied by A, and is not found in L. The identity of *Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna*, 'the ancient capital,' with the present village of *Pāndrēṭhan*, about three miles above the present S'rinagar on the right bank of the Vitastā, has been first shown by Gen CUNNINGHAM (see *J A.S B.*, 1848, pp 283 sqq, also *Anc Geogr*, p 93), it is also well-known to the Paṇḍits. If we are right in deriving the name of the locality from the fact of its having been the site of the *old* capital *S'rinagari* founded by Aśoka (comp. note i. 104), the use of the name in our passage is a kind of anachronism, as the foundation of the *new* capital of *Pravarapura* on the site of the modern S'rinagar is attributed by K. to S'reṣṭhasena's grandson *Pravarasena II*, comp. iii. 348 sqq.

The name Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna must have already been in use in the first half of the seventh century, as Hiuen-tsiang evidently refers to it when speaking of the 'old city' situated about 10 *li* or circ two miles to the S E of the 'new city' (*Si-yu-ki*, i p 158).

K mentions Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna once more in the reign of Partha, v 267, where the gloss of A, explains the name by *pāmyḍiṭhan iti pramdidhe grāme* The temple of *Meruvardhanasvāmin* whose erection is related in that passage, has been recognized by Gen Cunningham in the well-preserved little temple still standing in the centre of the modern village Still later, in K's own time, the Chronicle records, viii 2408 sq, the erection of various buildings by the minister Rilhaṇa "in the towns of the *two* Pravarasenas," and in particular that of a *Rilhaṇeśvara* 'in the first city of King Pravara' The latter expression is evidently intended to designate Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna.

The slopes rising immediately to the N. of Pāndrēṭhan show considerable remains of ancient buildings in the form of carved stones and architectural fragments which can be traced along the foot of the hillside for about a mile and a half Among them several broken Liṅgas of colossal dimensions attract attention (CUNNINGHAM, *l c*, and VIGNE, *Travels*, ii p. 36) Individual structures, however, cannot be distinguished now among the débris overground. An indication of the sites of S'reṣṭhasena's various *pratiṣṭhās* is, therefore, impossible The Liṅga or shrine of *Pravareśa*, which seems to have been the most prominent among them, is distinguished by the designation '*pūrvam*' from the great temple of the same name which Pravarasena II built in his new capital of *Pravarapura*, comp iii. 350, 372, 378 It is not clear to which of the two Pravareśas K. refers in vii 109

100 The territory of *Trigarta* is identical

the court of his palace, he bestowed upon the *Pravarеśa* [temple] along with villages [also] the land of *Trigarta*. S'ANGHAMASEVA.

101. This king of a mild disposition was during thirty years the chief of the rulers who owned the fields of the whole earth as their family property.

102. Then his two sons *Hiraṇya* and *Toramāṇa*, holding the position of sovereign and *Yuvarāja* [respectively], delighted the earth. HIRAṆYA [-TORAMĀṆA].

103. Suppressing the undue abundance of [coins] struck by . . . . , *Toramāṇa* put in circulation coins (*dīnnārāḥ*) struck in his own [name].

with the modern hill district of *Kāngra* situated between the mountains of Cambā and the upper course of the Biās; comp. *Viṣṇupur.*, ii. p. 179; CUNNINGHAM, *Anc. Geogr.*, p. 138; *Arch. Survey Rep.*, v. pp. 148 sqq.; *Ind. Ant.*, xvii. p. 8; xxii. p. 191. With reference to the ancient stronghold and capital of the district, *Kōṭ Kāngra* or *Nagarkōṭ*, the gloss of A_2 to v. 144 renders Trigarta by '*Nagarakotta*.'

As Trigarta formed in ancient times part of the kingdom of *Jālaṁdhara* (Jalandhar), *Inducandra*, who is identical with the *Indracandra* of the genealogical list of the Katōch Rajās of Kāngra, is called, vii. 150, king of Jālaṁdhara.—For a characteristic of the inhabitants of Trigarta, see viii. 1531.

103. It is to be regretted the text of this interesting passage has suffered a corruption in the word left untranslated above. *bālāhatānāṁ*, as the previous Edd. and the modern S'āradā MSS. read, is due to a misreading of *balāhatānāṁ*, as written by Rājānaka Ratnakaṇṭha in A. In L the leaf containing iii. 100-131 has unfortunately been lost. Neither the reading of A nor the one substituted for it in the Edd. gives an appropriate sense. The conjectural emendation proposed by Durgāpr., *bhrātrāhatānāṁ*, is for the present unsupported by palæographical or other evidence.

The passage has been repeatedly discussed by Gen. CUNNINGHAM in connection with the ancient coinage of Kaśmīr; comp. *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1848, p. 24; *Transactions of IX. Internat. Congress of Orient.*, 1892, p. 232. In his opinion, as expressed in the last named paper, "what Toramāṇa did, was to collect the old coins called *Bālāhats*, and to recoin them as Dinārs in his own name." The pieces thus recoined he takes to have been copper coins of the later Indo-Scythian princes.

In his *Coins of Med. India* (1894), p. 34, Gen. CUNNINGHAM seems to connect the term *bālāhata* with the *Kś. hat* (recte *hath*) 'hundred' which, as will be seen from the note on the Kaśmīr currency terms, iv. 495, has been in use until quite recently as the designation of a small copper coin representing originally, perhaps, a hundred of Kauris. It is, however, clear that this explanation is impossible, since K. mentions always the '*hath*' under its proper Skr. name *śata*; see Note *H*, iv. 495, also v. 71, 116; vi. 38, etc.

Copper coins bearing the name of Toramāṇa in characters of the Gupta period are found in Kaśmīr in remarkable quantities. A description of them will be found in Cunningham's above quoted papers as well as in Mr. A. V. Smith's lucid *resumé*, *J.A.S.B.*, 1894, pp. 195 sqq. But numismatic considerations based on the type and execution of these coins and the characters of the legend favour their attribution to an earlier ruler, viz. *Toramāṇa*, the father of Mihirakula. Of the latter we know, since Mr. FLEET's researches (*Corp. Inscr. Ind.* III., pp. xi. sqq.; *Ind. Ant.*, xviii. pp. 225 sqq.), that he ruled as King of the White Huns over the Panjāb and probably also over Kaśmīr about the end of the fifth century A.D. The very abundance of these coins appears to speak rather for their having been struck by a powerful ruler than by an ill-fated pretender.

It is difficult to believe that K. could have meant in our passage any other coins but the above, which even to this day are common in all Bazārs of Kaśmīr. If these coins belonged in reality to Toramāṇa, the father of Mihirakula, we could account for their mention in our passage only by two alternatives. Either the Toramāṇa of the Chronicle is identical with the King of the White Huns, in which case K. or his authorities would be guilty of having placed the father some 700 years *after* the son, as suggested by Dr. Hultzsch, *Ind. Ant.*, xix. p. 262. Or the Toramāṇa of the Chronicle is another and later ruler, in which case the error of K. or his authorities would lie only in the attribution of the coins. With reference to the latter possibility it may be noted that the name Toramāṇa, though in all probability of Turkish origin, can be shown

HIRAṆYA [-TORAMĀṆA].

104. "How did this [Toramāṇa dare to] make display as if he were king, disregarding me?" Thus thought in anger the king his elder brother, and placed him in prison.

105. While he abandoned his grief during a long residence there, his queen called *Añjanā*, a daughter of *Vajrendra* from *Ikṣvāku's* race, became *enceinte*.

Birth of Pravarasena II.

106. When she was near her confinement, she betook herself at the direction of her husband, who felt ashamed, to a potter's hut somewhere and [there] gave birth to a son.

107. The potter's wife accepted the prince as her child, as the she-crow the young cuckoo, and brought him up properly.

108. He was known [only] to his mother and the potter's wife who nursed him, just as a treasure [in the ground] which is known [only] to the earth and the female snake.

109. At the bidding of his mother the potter's wife called him, who was a grandson of *Pravarasena* [I.], by the very name of his grandfather.

110. While growing up the boy did not tolerate the touch of those with whom he lived, just as the lotus, fond of associating with [the rays of] the sun, [does not tolerate the touch] of the waters.

111. With wonder saw the people that when playing, he was followed about only by boys of good birth, of courage and of learning.

112. The boys at play made him, who was distinguished by exceptional strength, the king of their band, just as the young animals in the forest [choose as king] the lion-cub.

113. He made presents to the boys, treated them kindly and kept them obedient; on no occasion did he conduct himself in a manner unfit for a king.

114. When the potters gave him a ball of clay to prepare pots and the like, he took it and made [with it] rows of S'iva-liṅgas.

115. His maternal uncle *Jayendra* once saw him playing in this remarkable fashion and greeted him with kindness.

116. When the children announced him with the words: "This is *Jayendra*," he received him condescendingly, as it were, looking at him with the easy assurance of a king's son.

117. He (Jayendra) concluded from that [boy's] resolute character that he was born from no common race, and guessed on account of the resemblance to his brother-in-law that he might be his [own] nephew.

from Rājat. v. 233 to have survived in the Hinduized S'āhi dynasty down to the tenth century A.D.

For passages indicating K.'s acquaintance with the old coinage of his country, see vi. 177, vii. 926, viii. 153, 883.

Regarding the term *dīnnāra* Note *H*, iv. 495, should be consulted.

HIRAṆYA [-TORAMĀṆA].

118. He followed him in haste with the anxious desire of ascertaining the truth, and when he had reached his home in impatience, he saw [there] his sister.

119. Brother and sister looked long at each other with emotion and suddenly let flow their tears, made doubly hot by their sighs.

120. When the boy asked the potter's wife: "Mother, who are these two?" he was told by her thus: "O my child, this is your mother and that your maternal uncle!"

121. *Jayendra* advised the [boy] who felt wrath over his father's imprisonment, but was [yet] helpless, to await his time, and then left for his other business.

122. When he (Pravarasena) was prepared to raise a rebellion, chance willed that *Toramāṇa*, that sun among men, died after having been set free from prison by his brother.

123. *Pravarasena* who felt despondent and weary, kept his mother from seeking death and then went abroad eager [to visit] Tīrthas.

124. At that time *Hiraṇya*, too, died without issue, after having protected the earth for thirty-one years less ten months.

Story of Vikramāditya and Mātṛgupta.

125. At that period there lived at *Ujjayinī* as the sole sovereign of the world the glorious *Vikramāditya* who [also] bore the second name of *Harṣa*.

126. Leaving the four arms of S'iva and the four seas, Fortune in ardent desire gave herself up to this king, whose good fortune was wonderful.

127. It is owing to his having used his fortune [only] as a tool for increasing virtue, that even to this day men of noble character stand with their necks erect before the rich.

128. By destroying the *S'akas* he made the task light for S'iva who is to descend to the earth for the extermination of the *Mlecchas*.

129. To this king, whose fame penetrated all quarters of the world, who was easy of approach for the virtuous, and whose audience-hall was [frequented] by all, betook himself a poet called *Mātṛgupta*.

119. Compare note i. 167.

125. It is certain that K. himself saw in thus *Vikramāditya-Harṣa* of Ujjayinī the king whose supposed victory over the S'akas he believed, according to the theory referred to in note ii 7, to be commemorated by the commencement of the S'aka era, 78 A.D. This is proved by iii. 128, and by the close approach of the above date to A.D. 106, the date which K.'s chronology assigns to the death of Hiraṇya.

K. himself helps us to correct the great chronological error implied by this view, when stating, iii. 330, that Vikramāditya-Harṣa was the father of *S'īlāditya-Pratāpaśīla*. As the latter cannot be anyone else but the King S'īlāditya mentioned by Hiuen-tsiang (*Si-yu-ki*, ii. p. 261) as having ruled about 580 A.D. in Mālava, we must conclude in accordance with the arguments first set forth by Dr. Bhau Daji (*J. Bo. Br. R. A. S.*, 1861, p. 206 sqq.), that K.'s Vikramāditya-Harṣa was in reality the same as the Vikramāditya who is mentioned by Hiuen-tsiang as the predecessor of S'īlāditya. The reign of this Vikramāditya may be placed with Prof. M. MÜLLER (*India*, pp. 286 sqq.) in the first half of the sixth century.

129. Dr. Bhau Daji has endeavoured to

MĀTṚGUPTA.

130. This [poet], who had grown up in various courts, reflected over the wonderful might of this profound king and thought thus:

131. "This king here is endowed with merits and is a friend of the virtuous; to comprehend his perfection [one must turn] to the kings of old times."

132. "Before this king wise and learned Brahmans need not fold their hands [in prayer] in order to receive honour and distinction."

133. "Before him the mind does not lose its acuteness by having to express its thoughts under disguise just as a lady of good breeding [has to do]."

134. "As the talk of the wicked is wasted [upon him], and as he discriminates between the right and wrong, one's own merit does not lose its value in his service."

135. "Men of merit do not feel before him as if dead in life, since they are not placed [by him] on the same footing with the wicked and the ignorant."

136. "Men of noble character need not feel pained and heave sighs at his presents, because this discerning [prince] makes these with due regard to the esteem [they deserve]."

137. "This judicious [prince] treats each character according to its qualities, and gives fresh strength to the efforts of all by suitable marks of esteem."

138. "The pains which attendants take in his service in order to secure his kindness, are not [without profit] like the sale of snow on a snowy mountain, since he perceives the hardships [incurred by them]."

139. "In the council of this king there is no confidant of false merits, no minister who loves quarrels, breaks his promises or robs."

140. "His servants do not use rough words, nor do they wound each other to the quick with jesting words, nor do they combine in jealousy against the admission of others."

141. "This ruler does not watch the faces of those who show [servile] com-

prove by an ingenious theory the identity of the poet *Mātṛgupta* whose regency in Kaśmir is described in the following vv., with the great poet Kālidāsa, see *J. Bo. Br R A S.*, 1861, pp. 208 sqq. This theory was closely connected with another, subsequently taken up by Fergusson and Prof. M. Muller, that the famous Vikramāditya at whose court the Nine Gems, and among them Kālidāsa, flourished according to the Indian tradition, was identical with the Vikramāditya-Harṣa of the sixth century A.D.

Dr. Bhau Daji's arguments were chiefly based on the synonymity of the two names Kālidāsa and Mātṛgupta (*Kāli*: *mātṛ*, *dāsa*: *gupta*), on the absence of any mention of Kālidāsa in the Rājat., and on the attribution to Kālidāsa of the Prakrit poem *Setubandha* composed at the request of a king Pravarasena. The latter he assumed to have been *Pravarasena* II, Mātṛgupta's successor. Prof. M Muller has reproduced these arguments with great lucidity, *India*, pp 312-347, but has in the same place indicated the grave objections which preclude the acceptance of this identification

Verses ascribed to *Mātṛgupta* are given in the *Aucityavicāracarcā* of Kṣemendra and in the *Subhāṣitāvali* of Vallabhadeva, compare *Cat. Catalog.*, s.v., where references are also given to passages which name a Mātṛgupta as an author on Alaṁkāra and the Nāṭyaśāstra.

plaisance, who praise up their own wisdom and in their blindness hold themselves for omniscient." MÂTṚGUPTA.

142. "Wicked wretches never find a chance for interrupting a conversation of great import which may have been begun with him."

143. "If I thus attach myself to this faultless prince who is worthy of being served, the attainment of advantages for myself along with spiritual merits cannot be far off."

144. "It is clear to me that I may serve this king who is deep-minded, who recognizes merits and has a firm intellect, without apprehension of trouble."

145. "Nor does it appear to me right that after having gratified him and having obtained his gifts, I should [subsequently] serve any one else and wander about on the earth, as [one might do] in the case of other kings."

146. After he had thought this over thoroughly, he did not seek to please the royal assembly as one new [to him], nor did he push himself into the company of distinguished persons.

147. While he thus displayed his accomplishments with modesty, the king recognized that he was anxious to gain [an opportunity] for proving his superior capacity.

148. And he thought: "This noble person is not merely a man of distinction. His ways of deep insight show that he has a claim to the highest consideration."

149. Though of this opinion, the king yet in order to ascertain his innermost thoughts and to test him, did not honour him with such presents as would have befitted him.

150. The wise [Mâtṛgupta] knew from this [apparent] want of attention that the king, whose disposition was munificent, was taking him into his intimacy, and served him with devotion.

151. By the assiduous services of this wise [person] which increased by degrees, the king was as little wearied as by [the presence of] his own body.

152. By making his presence neither too short nor again too long, he pleased the king, just as the moon [is pleased] by the duration of the autumn nights.

153. He was not confused by the jests of the servants of the household, the repeated changes in the behaviour of the door-keepers and the false praises of the court-parasites.

154. When he obtained from the king kindly words, he was like a rock which receives shade; when passed over by him, he did not feel angry like a rival.

155. That judicious man did not cast his eyes on the king's female servants, did not sit together with the king's enemies nor talk with low persons in the king's presence.

MĀTṚGUPTA.

156. The officials, who naturally are the king's defamators and with their people live on slander, did not hear from him censure of the king.

157. Firmly resolved, he was not induced to relax his efforts by those who, being [themselves] incapable of the exertions of service, talked [to him] daily with kind intent about the uselessness, etc., of [serving] the king.

158. By praising the excellent qualities of others also, as occasion offered, by never showing obstinacy and by manifesting his learning, he gained the heart of the courtiers.

159. *Mātṛgupta* passed thus six months, serving him unweariedly with the greatest diligence.

160. Then once the king, when going outside, noticed him grown thin in body, dust-covered and in torn clothes, and thought:

161. "I, in my desire to ascertain his strength of character, have subjected this excellent man, who is a stranger, without protection and without relatives, to a severe trial."

162. "Deluded by power, alas, I have not thought of what would be his shelter or his food or his clothing."

163. "Even now I have not comforted with splendour this man who is withered by cold winds and fierce heat, as the spring [would comfort] the tree."

164. "Who could cure the exhaustion of this worn-out unfortunate man, remove his weariness or alleviate his fatigue?"

165. "Should I not have to offer him the philosopher's stone or nectar (*amṛta*) for his service, considering how I have tested him in my delusion?"

166. "By what honour then could I repay to him my debt for his great merits and excessive exertion in [my] service?"

167. While the king thus reflected, there occurred to him no honour of any kind sufficient to [mask] the goodwill towards this servant.

168. Then came the winter scorching the body, as it were, with its winds which brought hoar frost and dense mists.

169. The continued darkness which covered the regions subdued by the fierce cold, appeared as if it were a black cloak.

170. The days became short, for the sun, which seemed pained by the cold and eager to seek the warmth of the submarine fire, was rapidly descending into the ocean.

171. Then once by chance the king woke up in the middle of the night, while the house was lit up by lamps and the glowing fire-pans shone forth.

172. He saw before him the lamps shaken by the wintry winds which partly entered the house with their harsh and loud sounds.

172. The rare onomatopoetic word *jhâṅkāra* is found also viii. 853.

MĀTṚGUPTA

173. Then looking for servants to light these [lamps] again, he called out with a loud voice: "Who of the guards is present outside?"

174. Thereupon while all [the guards] were sleeping placidly, he heard a voice from within the outer enclosure: "O king, I, *Mātṛgupta*, am here."

175. When the king himself had called him in, he entered the palace which the presence of fortune made delightful, without being noticed by the others.

176. He was told to light the lamps. Then when he had done this and was about to retire outside with quick steps, the king asked him to stop for a moment.

177. Shaking doubly with cold and fear he went up to the king, but not too far, wondering what he might say.

178. Then the king asked: "How far has the night progressed?" He answered: "Sire, one watch and a half of the night remains."

179. Then the king spoke to him: "How have you ascertained precisely the time of the night? And why did not sleep come upon you at night?"

180. Then resolved to rid himself by an announcement of his condition either of hope or of misery, he composed the following verse at the spur of the moment and recited it to him.

181. "While I, assailed by cold and with my throat parched by hunger, was sinking in the ocean of thoughts like a bean-corn, and with my underlip split [by cold] was blowing at the dying fire, sleep somehow deserted me like a neglected mistress and went afar. The night [however], like the land which has been bestowed on a worthy person, does not get exhausted."

182. The king after hearing this [verse] acknowledged his exertion with thanks, and dismissed this prince of poets to his former place.

183. And he reflected: "Shame over me that I stand yet thus now, when I have heard from this excellent man whose mind has become despondent, these words hot with pain."

184. "Surely he sits in distress outside, since he has not been recognized in his heart, and thinks my words of thanks empty as if they were those of some one else."

185. "Though for a long time I try to think of some honour worthy of him, yet even now no gift of great value occurs to me."

186. "And yet—just his felicitous word makes me remember that the lovely land of *Kaśmīr* is now without a king."

187. "Therefore I grant that land to this worthy man, though I know well that even great kings are eagerly seeking it."

175. I adopt the reading of A_3, *tadadṛṣṭo*, now confirmed by L, for *tadaspṛṣṭo* of A_1 and Ed.

MÂTṚGUPTA

188. After thus taking a quick resolve, the king despatched secretly that very night messengers to the ministers of *Kaśmîr*.

189. And he instructed them: "He who will show you my royal decree, *Mâtṛgupta* by name, should be inaugurated as king without hesitation."

190. Then when the messengers had set out, the king got his own decree written and passed the rest of the night in satisfaction.

191. But *Mâtṛgupta*, who thought that even an interview with the king was fruitless, abandoned all hopes and felt as if freed from a burden.

192. And in his heart he thought: "What had to be done, I have done. My doubt has been appeased to-day. Now that the goblin 'Hope' has left me, I shall find happiness."

193. "What an error of mine this was, due to following others, that [relying] upon the people's tales I thought this [king] worthy to be served by me!"

194. "The tribes of crawling animals which live on air (serpents), have been called '*bhogin*'; those [elephants] which with their big ear-laps drive off the humming-bees, have been named '*gaja*'; and the tree which is affected by the fire residing in its interior, bears the name of *S'amî*. Thus the people uncontrolled in their babbling have turned everything topsy-turvy."

195. "And yet—that [king] who has made the houses of his favourites favoured with fortune, is by no means inaccessible."

196. "What fault is it of this liberal blameless king? On the contrary, it is my want of merit which has to be accused. That stands in the way of my luck."

197. "If the sea which rolls its waves glittering with jewels, is stopped in its movement towards the shore by the winds, the fault lies in the applicant's bad fortune, but not in the least in the liberal disposition of the giver."

198. "For those who are eager for readily attainable fruit, the king's servants are better than their masters, as the latter yield fruit [only] after severe exertion."

199. "Those who stand at the foot of the lord of the animals (S'iva), they surely do not obtain on the spot anything but ashes. But those who stand at that of his bull and obtain the shining gold, what happy times are not ever [in store] for them?"

200. "However [much] I may ponder, I do not discover any fault of my own the perception of which might have made this prince turn away from me notwithstanding my services."

194. The allusions are to the *lucus a non lucendo* etymologies assumed for the words *bhogin* (from √*bhuj*, 'to enjoy'), *gaja* (from the √*gai*, 'to sing'), and *śamî* (from the √*śam*, 'to be calm').—The *S'amî* tree supplies the wood used for producing fire by friction.

201. "However, who could get to reaping his reward from a king who follows the footsteps of others, if one comes before him without having been [previously] honoured by someone else?" MĀTṚGUPTA.

202. "Those very drops of water which, while floating about in the sea, are ever unheeded, are when drawn up by the clouds and falling down [as rain-drops], received by the sea in the embrace of wave-circles and, indeed, turned into pearls. Thus a person even of small consequence, if he has been well treated by somebody else, is on his arrival, as a rule, honoured by the great."

203. With such thoughts he wronged that [king] who was worthy of being served; for in misfortune even a wise man's mind fails.

204. When the morning had broken, the king directed the doorkeeper to call in *Mātṛgupta.*

205. Ushered in thereupon by several chamberlains who had hastily gone forth [to call him], he stepped before the lord of the earth like one who has abandoned hope.

206. He made his bow, and at that very instant the king had the document handed to him by the secretary (*lekhādhikārin*) to whom he gave a signal with his brows

207. And he himself spoke thus "Well, do you know *Kaśmīr?* Go there and deliver this decree to the state officers." *Mātṛgupta* sent to Kaśmīr.

208. "He who should read the document on the way, is responsible by my body. Be careful not to forget this order on any account!"

209. As he did not know the king's mind and dreaded the hardships, he saw in this order a burning flame, but not the light [issuing] from the point of a jewel.

210. After *Mātṛgupta* had left with the words. "As you order, so [it shall be]," the king stood talking with his trusted counsellors as before, and showed no pride [over his munificence].

211. The people then blamed the king when they saw *Mātṛgupta* setting out [for the journey], unused as he was to the fatigue, weakened in body and without provisions or friends.

212. "O, [look at] this inconsiderate conduct of the sovereign, who employs a man of worth in a task fit for a common person."

213. "The foolish king, forsooth, has thought just him fit for hardships, because serving day and night he underwent hardships in vain hope."

214. "If a servant adopts some [particular] line for serving his master, the latter without judgment takes him, indeed, to be fit for that very [line]."

214. The conjectural reading *upāyaṁ yaṁ*, proposed in the text, is confirmed by L.

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215. "When S'eṣa offered to the foe of the Asuras (Viṣṇu) his body as a couch, he sought for ease by thus averting the danger dreaded from the foe of the snakes (Garuḍa); but in reality he abandoned ease. Because that [god], when made aware of his capacity for [enduring] pain, laid upon him the wearisome and never-ending task of bearing the weight of the earth."

216. "This eminent man perceiving in himself more merits than in those worthy persons whom this [king] had taken [into his favour], attached himself to him with full confidence."

217. "Can any one display more want of judgment than this king, who, indeed, because an eminent man has shown superior merits, has paid him such an honour?"

218. "Who else shows [such] want of feeling, except the cloud which sends a mere drop of water for the peacock who dances displaying his tail-fan [and hopes]: 'He who appreciates the various shining objects and rejoices even in the frail rainbow, what kindness will he not do for me when he sees this tail?'"

219. There was no thought of his future greatness in the mind of *Mātṛgupta* while he quite cheerfully marched along on the roads.

220. Finding, as it were, a support for his arm in the [various] auspicious omens which presented themselves in rivalry, he did not feel fatigued.

221. He saw on the path a wagtail [seated] on the top of a snake's hood, and dreamt of himself as having ascended a lofty building and crossed an ocean.

222. And being versed in the S'āstras he thought "Surely, in view of these auspicious omens the king's order might bring me luck."

223. "Even if I should obtain but a very small reward in *Kaśmīr*, yet how much more valuable will it not be on account of the [spiritual] excellence of that priceless country?"

224. As he marched on, he found paths which he could get over without fatigue, houses where guests were dear, and hospitable reception at every step.

Arrival on Kaśmīr frontier.

225. Thus passing along he saw before him the snowy range (Himālaya), verdant with waving trees and glittering auspiciously like a dish of curds.

226. Breezes, familiar to the land which he was to rule, went forth to meet him, giving delight with their [scent of] resin and laden with the spray of the *Gaṅgā*.

227. The at the place called *Kramavarta* he reached the watch-station (*ḍhakka*) which bears the name of *Kāmbuva* and is nowadays located at *S'ūrapura*.

220. For *vitīrṇakarālambha* of A and L emend °*karālamba*. [illegible] and [illegible] are easily confused in S'āradā characters.

226. Numerous streams and springs of Kaśmīr are considered as manifestations of the Gaṅgā; the most important among these is the river *Sind*, comp. note i 57.

227. For a detailed account of the position of *Kramavarta* and *S'ūrapura*, and for the explanation of the term *ḍhakka*, see Note *D*.

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228. Then he heard that the ministers of *Kaśmīr* were for some reason present at that place, which was thronged by people of various kinds.

229. After removing his former dress and putting on clean clothes he went before them to deliver the king's order.

230. As his success had been indicated by the occurrence of auspicious omens, some wayfarers followed him as he walked forth, to see these auguries bear fruit.

231. When the door-keepers heard that a messenger from *Vikramāditya* had arrived, they quickly announced his presence to the ministers of *Kaśmīr*.

232. Invited on all sides to come and enter, he freely approached them, attended as they were by all the vassals.

233. After he had received proper welcome from the ministers in order of precedence, he placed himself on the highest seat which they indicated to him.

234. When asked thereupon with due respect by the ministers for the order of the king, he slowly, as if he felt ashamed, handed to them the latter's decree.

235. They respectfully greeted the king's letter, assembled in private, and after opening and reading it spoke thus with deference:

236. "Is *Mātṛgupta* your Honour's name?" He replied to them with a smile: "Yes, that it is."

237. Then was heard the cry: "Who, who is present among the officials on duty?" and there was seen the apparatus for the inauguration of a king (*abhiṣeka*) ready prepared.

238. Then that place became in a moment thronged by crowds of people indulging in confused cries, and resembled the agitated sea.

Mātṛgupta inaugurated.

239. Placed with his face turned eastwards on a golden throne, *Mātṛgupta* received then the bath of inauguration from the assembled high officers of the state.

240. The water of the *abhiṣeka*-[ceremony] which flowed down with a loud sound from his chest, broad like the slope of the *Vindhya*[-range], resembled the stream of the *Revā*.

241. Then after his body had been bathed and anointed and all his limbs dressed with ornaments, he stepped on to the royal throne, and the subjects thus addressed him as their king:

242. "May you rule over this our land, since King *Vikramāditya* whom we had ourselves asked to protect it, has designated you as one equal to himself."

243. "Do not believe, O king, that this country by which at all times [other] countries have been granted, was granted [in your case] by others."

244. "As parents are only the [immediate] cause for the production of a birth

243. Of the *vv.ll. vidīyante* and *vidattaṁ* which A₁ has indicated for *vilabhyante* and *vilabdhaṁ* of the text, L has actually *vidattaṁ*. The meaning remains the same with either reading.

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which one obtains by one's own [previous] deeds, thus too are other [kings] for that of a throne in the case of kings."

245. "Since [matters] stand thus, you ought, O king, not to lower our and your own dignity by acknowledging some one else as your master."

246. King *Mātṛgupta*, though justly told thus by them, remembered the kind treatment on the part of his master, and smiled for a short while.

247. He made the day festive by bountiful gifts suited to his new royal power, and spent that day of highest luck at that same place

248. When he was then asked by the ministers on the following day to proceed to the city, he despatched to the giver of his kingdom a messenger with wonderful presents.

249. Remembering that this might appear to the mind of his master as if he wished to vie with him owing to the excellence of his [new] country, he felt ashamed and guilty.

250 He thereupon called other messengers and despatched, in order to indicate that he remembered the service [due] to his master, also presents of small value [consisting of] wholesome [fruits] and the like

251. And remembering with tears in his eyes the extraordinary virtues of that [ruler], he sent one verse of his own written by himself

252. "You show no sign of emotion and do, indeed, not boast; you do not indicate your liberal disposition, but yield your good fruits [like a tree] Your favour is perceived only when you grant your rewards, just as [that] of the cloud which pours down silently its rain."

253 Then he entered the city with his troops which extended to the horizon, and governed the land in the right way as if he had obtained it by succession.

254 He whose soul was by nature elevated, did not limit his impulses like a beggar, where liberality or manliness [were concerned]

255. When he in his liberality was preparing to have sacrifices celebrated [accompanied] by extensive Dakṣiṇās, he thought of the slaughter of animals and felt [his heart] compressed by pity.

256 Hence he proclaimed for the length of his reign a prohibition against slaughter in his land and offered [at sacrifices] porridge made of pulverized gold and other [precious stuffs].

257. When King *Mātṛgupta* threw about his porridge, who did not feel his thirst quenched and his joy roused?

258. This king who was eminent, who had seen misfortune and was liberal,

250 L reads *anarghāṇyapi*, "valueless," and confirms the reading of A *sātmyāni*

256. Comp. notes v. 16, viii. 811.

deserved to be approached, even more than *Vikramāditya*, by those who desired happiness. MĀTṚGUPTA.

259. The king's cheerful amusements, to which his praiseworthy judgment added flavour, gave delight among men of wisdom.

260. When *Meṇṭha* showed before him his new [poem called] *Hayagrīvavadha* ('the Death of Hayagrīva'), he did not get from him a word of approval or dissent, until he had completed it.

261. Then when he set about to bind the volume, he (Mātṛgupta) placed below it a golden dish, lest its flavour might escape.

262. Honoured by such appreciation on the part of that [king], the poet *Bhartṛmeṇṭha* thought the rich reward superfluous.

263. He built a [shrine of] Madhusūdana (Viṣṇu) called *Mātṛguptasvāmin*, whose villages were in the course of time appropriated by *Mamma* for his own temple.

264. While this king ruled the earth after attaining the royal power in the manner described, five years passed less three months and one day.

265. The son of *Añjanā* (Pravarasena) who was pleasing the Pitṛs by [offering to them] the waters of Tīrthas, heard of this usurpation which had taken place in his own country. Return of Pravarasena.

266. Anger absorbed in him the tender feeling arising from the sorrow for his father, just as the heat of the sun [absorbs] on a tree the moisture arising from the drops of night dew.

267. When he got to *S'rīparvata* a saint called *Aśvapāda*, who appeared in the guise of a Pāśupata ascetic, offered him food prepared from roots and thus addressed him:

268. "When I on gaining supernatural power asked you who had attended upon me in a former birth, after your desire, your wish was after a kingdom."

260. *Meṇṭha*, or *Bhartṛmeṇṭha*, is mentioned by Kṣemendra in the *Suvṛttatilaka* and by Maṅkha (*S'rīkaṇṭhac.* ii. 53). The latter places him by the side of Subandhu, Bhāravi and Bāṇa. Verses are quoted under his name in S'rīvara's Subhāṣitāvali and later anthologies, comp. *Cat. Catalog.*, p 397 Prof. BÜHLER has shown, *Report*, p. 42, by a reference to Hemacandra's Alaṁkāracūḍāmaṇi, that the *Hayagrīvavadha* was a Kāvya. According to *Cat. Catalog.*, p. 754, the work is mentioned in the Kāvyaprakāśa and Sāhityadarpaṇa. Dr. Bhau Dāji found verses from it quoted in Rāghavabhaṭṭa's commentary on the S'akuntalā (M MÜLLER, *India*, p. 314).

263 The temple of *Mātṛguptasvāmin* is not mentioned elsewhere, and its position is unknown. Regarding the temple which *Mamma* built under the name of *Mammasvāmin*, comp. iv. 698 sq. The names of Viṣṇu-temples are regularly formed by adding the term *svāmin* to the name of the person who built the shrine This use of *svāmin* corresponds exactly to that of *īśa*, *īśvara* in the names of S'iva-temples; comp. note i. 106.

265. Reference is made to the rite of the *pitṛtarpaṇa* which forms a portion of the Saṁdhyā and S'rāddha ceremonies.

267. Regarding the sacred mountain called *S'rīparvata* or *S'rīśaila*, see *Viṣṇupur.* ii. 141; v. 118, and *P W.*, s.v

268. *Sādhaka* designates in Tantra texts and Māhātmyas the pupil who aspires to magic power. Here clearly a kind of *famulus* is meant. Comp the *Paddhatiratnamālā* (Jammu MS., No. 5293), passim; the *S'arvāvatāra*, etc.

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269. "Then when I was preparing to fulfil this desire, he who bears the moon as his diadem (S'iva), directed me thus:"

270. "'He who is [now] your famulus (*sâdhaka*), is a semi-divine attendant (*gaṇa*) of mine. I will truly carry out his wish in another birth.'"

271. "Therefore, Sir, the Lord will appear to you and fulfil your thought." With these words he (Aśvapâda) disappeared.

272. When he (Pravarasena) had passed a year there over ascetic exercises with the wish of securing the royal power, S'iva, who had been reminded by the saint's words [of his promise], appeared to him.

273. After S'iva, who wore the disguise of an ascetic, had declared that he would fulfil his desire, he (Pravarasena) asked from him that he might become a king [ever] awake for the conquest of the world.

274. S'ambhu (S'iva) wishing to ascertain his object, spoke to him: "Why, O prince, do you desire transitory enjoyments, neglectful of your salvation?"

275. He replied to him. "I have said this, thinking you were S'ambhu under the disguise of an ascetic. But indeed you are not that god, the lord of the world.'

276. "Because the great when asked for little, give much of their own accord. That liberal [god, *scil.* S'iva] gave to him who asked in his thirst for milk, the ocean of milk."

277. "Do you not know of the exasperating overthrow of that noble family, which [until its re-installation] must ever see misery [even] in celestial bliss?"

278. Then the lord of the world full of kindness granted his prayer, and manifesting himself in his [true] form spoke once more:

279. "In time when you are immersed in the pleasures of royal power, *Aśvapāda* will, by my order, carry to you the indication which will announce that you are to reach communion [with me]."

280. With these words the god disappeared, and he (Pravarasena) after bringing his ascetic observances to a close and taking leave of *Aśvapāda*, went forth towards his desired land.

281. When the ministers came into his presence after his story had become known, he restrained them from hostility against *Mātṛgupta*, addressing them thus:

282. "My mind is bent on destroying the arrogant *Vikramāditya*; my mind is not irritated by anger against *Mātṛgupta*."

283. "What would be [gained] by crushing enemies who are unable to bear

276. The story of Upamanyu is alluded to; comp. *Mahābh.* XIII. xiv. 352 sqq.

up with distress? It befits to aspire to victory over those who are able to uproot the former." MĀTṚGUPTA.

284. "Who else is slighted by the lotus-flowers but the moon whose rise they hate? What sense is then in his breaking the teeth of those elephant-princes which uproot those [lotus-flowers]? But, forsooth, the great, [eager] to manifest their strength, abandon the contest with those who are not their equals, and let loose their accumulated anger against those who have power over the former."

285. When on the march after the conquest of *Trigarta*, the prince received news that *Vikramāditya* had succumbed to the law of time (death).

286. That day the prince heaved continual sighs; standing with his face cast down he did not bathe nor eat nor sleep.

287. On the next day he heard that *Mātṛgupta*, who had proceeded from *Kaśmīr*, abandoning the country, was encamped in the neighbourhood.

288. Apprehending that he might have been driven into exile by some of his own [partizans], *Pravarasena* approached him with a small escort.

289 After he had saluted him and [seen] him comfortably seated, the king bowed politely and gently inquired the reason why he had left the kingdom. Abdication of *Mātṛgupta*.

290. After keeping silent for a moment he (Mātṛgupta) answered with a sigh, and smiling: "That benefactor, O king, is gone through whom I enjoyed the [rule of the] land."

291. "The sun-crystal shines in all directions as long as the rays of the sun rest on its surface; otherwise it does not shine at all, being only a stone."

292. The king replied: "Who has, O king, wronged you that you should regretfully mourn over that ruler with a desire for revenge?"

293. *Mātṛgupta* then spoke with his underlip lit up by an angry smile: "Nobody, though he may be superior in strength, can injure me."

294. "Truly, when that discerning [ruler] raised me to a position of honour, he did not sacrifice butter in ashes nor sow corn in barren soil."

295. "But those who remember benefits and are the slaves of gratitude, follow even unconsciously, the footsteps of their benefactors."

296. "Does not the sun-crystal lose its light after the sun has gone down, and does not the moon-stone wither along with the waning moon?"

297. "Going, therefore, to holy *Vārāṇasī* with the hope of [finding] happiness in quietism, I desire to effect a complete renunciation as befits a Brahman."

298. "I am afraid even to look at the earth, which is cast in darkness without that sovereign who was like a lamp of jewels. What need I then say of contact with pleasures?"

PRAVARASENA II

299. After hearing in astonishment the words of that embodiment of proper feeling, the wise *Pravarasena* too spoke thus suitably:

300. "Truly, O king, this goddess earth brings forth jewels, since it produces for its own lustre pious and grateful persons like yourself."

301. "Who else is to be praised for his judgment but that sovereign who, alone in this world which is so dull, has fully comprehended you?"

302. "Long, forsooth, would the roads of gratitude have been deserted, if you, O wise one, had not made your appearance on them."

303. "A worthless person when receiving a favour, generally thinks inwardly in this fashion: 'If it is not my luck which has ripened to-day, then why did he not give this to me before? If he had no object with me, why does he not favour his own poor relatives? If he were not afraid of my looking through his weaknesses, then would that greedy man give this away?'"

304. "Even a small honour [bestowed] on persons of exalted character, grows into a [tree of a] hundred branches, since it is nourished by their [previously] acquired merits."

305. "Therefore, you being the foremost of the virtuous and praised by the wise, are truly, like a tested jewel, highly valued by the righteous"

306. "Hence do me [this] favour, do not abandon the throne. May it be also to my credit that I have sided with the virtuous."

307. "May you again bestow your affection on the land which was granted [to you], first by him and afterwards also by me"

308. On hearing the king whose conduct was one of unfeigned generosity, speak thus, *Mātṛgupta* spoke smiling slowly the following words·

309. "Those words without which what has to be said, cannot be said, how should I proceed to utter them without overstepping the limits [of propriety]?"

310. "Hence it may be that I say to-day also something impolite, though I have convinced myself that this your noble behaviour is unfeignedly true"

311. "Every one knows every one else's insignificance in previous conditions of life, but one's greatness at the present time is known only to one's own mind."

312. "My former condition which is in your mind, and yours which is in mine, confuses us both. [Hence] we do not know our mutual feelings."

313. "How should a person of my sort, after having been king, receive back riches? How should he brush aside with one step all propriety?"

307. The pun lies in *punar bhuvam*, which may be taken either as two separate words or as the Acc. s. f to *punarbhū*, 'a remarried widow.'

310. Read °*mavadhirya te*, for °*mavadhiryate* misprinted in text.

313 A king cannot accept gifts of grace.

314. "How could one like myself for the sake of mere enjoyments reduce the uncommon greatness of that king's generosity to the common level?" PRAVARASENA II

315. "And supposing even that I should care for enjoyments, O king, who would prevent me from [having] them while I preserve my self-respect intact?"

316. "The benefit which he bestowed on me, would at once be wasted in my body, if not requited [by me], this is certain"

317. "By following the way which was that of this ruler, I have to bring to light the fame which is [his due] for discerning between the worthy and the unworthy."

318 "Now that he is gone, to survive [only] in fame while so much yet remains to be done, I wish to show myself true to the bond by at least renouncing enjoyments"

319. When he had ended this speech, the lord of the earth said· "While you live, your riches are not to be touched by me"

320. Then the pious *Mātrgupta* went to *Vārānasī*, assumed the reddish-brown garment [of an ascetic], and renouncing everything became a Yati.

321. King *Pravarasena* too kept firm to his resolve and sent the whole revenue of *Kaśmīr* straight off to *Mātrgupta*.

322 The wise [Mātrgupta], living on alms, handed over the wealth which he received against his will to all who applied [to him], and thus continued to live for ten years

323. The story of these three [thus] displaying self-conscious pride towards each other and mutual consideration, is [purifying like] the water of the *Gaṅgā*.

324. King *Pravarasena* thereafter caused the great of the earth (i.e. kings or mountains) to bend low, and thus easily made his great fame pervade [all] regions. Expeditions of *Pravarasena II*

325. His mighty glory, which like Agastya sucked up the ocean and overstepped the mountains, brought brightness to creation.

326. His army made the leaves of the *Tamāla* trees wither on the shores of the ocean and the leaves of the palms (*tāḍī*) fall off, and it removed the forehead-marks (*tamālapattra*) on the faces of the enemies' wives and tore off the earrings (*tāḍīdala*.)

315. Mātrgupta is made here to say that if he cared for pleasures, he might indulge in them without sacrificing his pride, as he should have to in accepting the kingdom from Pravarasena.

325. *Agastya*, according to the epic legend, drunk up the ocean and made Mount *Vindhya* lower its height. Agastya as the star Canopus marks by his appearance the end of the rainy season, when the waters (included in the expression *bhuvanāni*, see gloss of A_2) run clear again; comp. note ii. 140.

326. The double-meanings of *tamālapattra* and *tāḍidala* make it necessary to give a paraphrase of this verse *Tāḍi*, which the *P.W.* knows only from a Kośa, is still the name for a kind of earring in the Panjāb

PRAVARASENA II.

327 By the flow of the [black] temple-juice of his war-elephants he gave the splendour of a junction with the *Kālindī* (Yamunā) to the eastern ocean embraced by the *Gaṅgā*.

328 By his armies which spread to the brink of the horizon, he uprooted the inhabitants of *Surāṣṭra* on the shore of the western ocean, and destroyed their kingdoms.

329. This earthly Indra, eager [only] for glory, extended among the kings his righteous conquest, free from love and hatred.

† 330. He replaced *Pratāpaśīla*, also called *S'īlāditya*, the son of *Vikramāditya*, who had been dethroned by enemies, in the kingdom of his father

331 He then brought back from *Vikramāditya's* residence to his own capital the throne of his family which had been carried away by enemies

332. Seven times he vanquished King *Mummuni* and let him off again, as under various pretences he did not acknowledge his defeat

327 The water of the *Yamunā* is supposed to be dark and that of the *Gaṅgā* white, comp vii 1477

328 Regarding *Surāṣṭra*, the ancient name of a portion of the Gujarat peninsula, comp. CUNNINGHAM, *Anc Geogr*, pp 325 sq

330 S'īlāditya-Pratāpaśīla can be identified with *S'īlāditya* of Mālava, whom Hiuen-tsiang (*Si-yu-ki*, ii p 261) mentions as having flourished sixty years before his own time and apparently indicates as the successor of Vikramāditya (*l c*, i p 108) Prof. M MÜLLER, *India*, p 289, assigns to S'īlāditya hypothetically a reign from 550 to 600 A D.

331 TROYER and LASSEN, *Ind Alt*, ii p 912, have assumed that this verse referred to the famous throne of Vikramāditya which is frequently mentioned in the legends regarding the latter, and that Pravarasena was believed to have carried it back to Ujjayini As *sa* in the preceding as well as in the following verse designates *Pravarasena*, it is clear that the latter must be understood also by *tena* in our verse In this case, however, the expressions *svapuraṁ* and *ānītaṁ* *punar* could not be appropriately used with reference to Ujjayini and Vikramāditya's throne The general context renders it impossible to take Pratāpaśīla as the logical subject of the sentence (*tena*)

332 I am unable to say who was this obstinate opponent designated as 'King *Mummuni*' The name must have been an old puzzle, as the reading of A_3 shows There an attempt is made to get rid of it by dividing *jitvā'mum mumbhūbhujam* (for *jitvā mummuni°*) and referring the word to Pratāpaśīla The fact that the name recurs in iv 167 and 516, disposes of this conjecture In the first passage Mummuni is mentioned as having been three times defeated by *Lalitāditya*; in the second he is said to have formed with other kings the night-guard of *Jayāpīḍa* The three different kings under whom Mummuni is named, are according to K's chronology separated by centuries Hence it is clear that K could not have meant the same person in all three passages

Was Mummuni possibly the title or family name of the rulers of some country or tribe analogous to S'āhi, Khākān, or similar terms? The word is evidently of non-Indian origin, and in the passage iv 167, describing Lalitāditya's march of conquest in the north, Mummuni is named between the *Tuhkhāras* and the *Bhauṭṭas* The former must be located in Badakhshān, and the latter are undoubtedly the Tibetan inhabitants of Ladakh and the adjacent regions, comp notes iv 166, i 312. As the *Darads* receive subsequently separate mention, we may possibly here have tribes of Turkish origin such as the conquests of the Great and Little Yue-tchi as well as of the White Huns brought into the regions of the Upper Indus, and thus within the sphere of Kaśmīr politics

From the above passages must be kept separate viii 1090, 2179 where a *Mummuni*, brother of *Saṅgata*, is mentioned He is named in the first place in a list of *foreign* Rājaputras and hill princelings who serve King Sussala as condottieri or gentlemen-adventurers Without placing too much reliance on the identity of the names, it may be

333. Then when after the eighth time he boldly was going to put forth a [fresh] pretence, the king (Pravarasena) spoke in anger · "Fie over [such] beasts; let him be bound." PRAVARASENA I

334. Anxious about his safety, he (Mummuni) spoke · "As I am a beast, I ought not to be killed, O you manly one!" and thereupon he danced in the midst of his court, imitating a peacock.

335. Seeing him dance and utter cries like a peacock, the king granted him along with his safety a present such as is fit for an actor.

Foundation of *Pravarapura*.

336. After the conquest of the world, while he resided in the city of his grandfather (Pravarasena I), there arose in him the desire of founding a town after his own name.

337. Once that hero, the sun among kings, went forth at night for adventures in order to ascertain in a supernatural way the place and the auspicious time [for the foundation of the new town].

338. The host of the stars, reflected on the jewelled points of the king's diadem as he moved about, appeared like protecting mustard-seeds.

339. Wandering about, he reached a stream which skirted the burning-ground and was bordered by trees looking terrible in the light of numerous funeral pyres.

suggested that in this instance we possibly have before us a late descendant of the princely family referred to in the earlier books The continued use of the name *S'āhi* for descendants of the royal family of the 'S'āhis of Kābul' (see note v 152) long after the destruction of its rule, is vouched for by passages, like vii. 178, 274, 1470, 1550; viii. 3230, and seems to offer an exact parallel. In the case of a foreign adventurer we could easily understand the substitution of his family name for his own personal one.—For another suggestion regarding the origin of the name, see note iv. 167.

The *vv ll.* of the name in L deserve little attention, as their variations are evidently due to mere blunders of transcription, iii 331 *sumati°*; iv 167 *muhsunim*; iv 516 *suhpuni°*; viii. 1090 *sahsuni°*; viii. 2178 *nihsunih.*

334-335 The curious story of Mummuni's peacock-dance might possibly have originated from some peculiar custom observed among Mummuni's people For a similar popular legend got up in explanation of the habits of foreign nations, see iv 179 sq.

336. According to iii 99 we must assume that *Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna* is meant here as the residence of Pravarasena I. With this agrees fully the subsequent narrative regarding the foundation of the new S'rinagara.

338 Grains of mustard-seed (*sarṣapa*) are still used in Kaśmir as means of protection against evil spirits, they are, e g., generally sewn into the caps of small children.

339-349 PRAVARAPURA-S'RĪNAGARA —The legendary account which these verses give of the foundation of Pravarasena's town, can be correctly understood only in connection with the topography of modern S'rinagar. At the latter CUNNINGHAM, *Anc Geogr.*, p. 91, has already correctly fixed the site of Pravarasena's capital In support of this identification he referred to the general agreement of the description given in iii. 358 sqq. with the situation of the present capital and to the testimony furnished by Hiuen-tsiang. The latter names (*Life*, p. 69) as his quarters in the capital of Kaśmir that very Vihāra of *Jayendra* which we know from iii 355 to have been built by Pravarasena II.'s maternal uncle in the new city Prof BUHLER has subsequently called attention to designations surviving for parts of the modern city, such as *Did*ᵉ*mar* (Diddāmaṭha) and *Braḍ*ᵉ*mar* (Bhaṭṭārakamaṭha), which prove its identity with the town of Pravarasena II; see *Report*, p. 16.

The opinion expressed by these two scholars is further confirmed by the fact that the name *Pravarapura* (for *Pravarasenapura*

PRAVARASENA II.

340. Then there appeared on the [other] bank of the stream before that powerful [prince] a big roaring demon with upraised arms.

341. Covered with red light by the flaming looks of that [demon] the king glowed, like a large mountain which is enveloped by the glare of meteors.

342. Then the Rākṣasa laughed, and raising with a loud voice a terrible echo in all directions, thus addressed that fearless [king]

shortened *bhinavat*) can be traced throughout the works of Kṣemendra, Bilhaṇa, Kalhaṇa and the later Chroniclers as the appellation of the city occupying the site of the present S'rīnagar. To the present day it has also continued to be used in this sense in colophons of MSS., Janmapatras and other documents; comp. *Rājat.* iv. 311, viii. 2408; *Samayam.* i. 4; *Vikram.* xviii. 1, 70; *S'rīkaṇṭhac.* iii. 21, with Jonarāja's Comm. on iii. 31, 68; *S'rīv.* iii. 277; iv. 205, 336; Fourth Chron. 938. The most convincing proof is, however, furnished by the long list of buildings and localities which are mentioned by the Chronicle in the new capital, and which, beginning with Pravarasena's own great temple Pravareśa, can actually be identified within the modern S'rīnagar or in its immediate vicinity.

Looking then within the precincts of the present S'rīnagar for the local names mentioned in our legend, we can in the first place identify that of the river *Mahāsarit*. It had previously not been recognized as a name at all, but a series of passages proves that it was the ancient appellation of the stream which issues from the Dal lake and joins the Vitastā at the S.E. extremity of S'rīnagar.

In viii. 339 K. relates that the body of King *Uccala* who had been murdered in his palace at S'rīnagar, was hurriedly cremated by a few faithful servants at the burning-place which lay 'on the island situated at the confluence of the *Mahāsarit* and *Vitastā*.' A reference to the map of S'rīnagar will show that the only island in or near the capital which can be said to be situated at the meeting of the Vitastā with another stream, is the great island of *Māy"sum* formed on the S. by the Vitastā and on the other sides by the two branches of the above named stream (comp. note iv. 88 on *Makṣikasvāmin*, Māy"sum).

The conclusion to be drawn from this regarding the identity of K.'s *Mahāsarit* is further confirmed by the fact that close to the place where the western branch of the Dal stream joins the Vitastā (a little below the present First Bridge), there existed till the times of Mahārāja Ranbir Singh a Hindu burning Ghāt. As the latter is mentioned already by S'rīv., i. 142 sqq., in the fifteenth century in the identical locality, it can be safely assumed that it marked the site of the burning-ground referred to in viii. 339 and alluded to in our own passage. S'rīvara gives to the place the more modern name *Marisaṁgama*, which from a passage of the *Vitastāmāhātmya*, xvii. 5, can be proved with certainty to apply to the junction above indicated.

Among the other passages of the *Rājat.* which refer to the Mahāsarit, viii. 733, 753, 1069, 1158, 3131 are also instructive. In them the stream is spoken of as on the line of attack upon the city, in particular for forces coming from the East (viii. 733, 753, 3131). A reference to the map will again show that the shallow stream coming from the Dal forms actually the south-eastern boundary for that part of S'rīnagar which lies on the right bank of the Vitastā and contains the greater portion of the city. Protected as it is on the E. and W. by the lakes of the Dal and Anch'ar, and on the S. by the Vitastā, this part of S'rīnagar can be attacked with advantage only over the narrow neck of land in the N. or across the stream issuing from the Dal in the S.E.

This stream, now known by the name of *Tsūnṭh Kul*, 'the apple-tree canal,' is bounded along its right or N. bank by an old embankment about one and a half miles long, which stretches from the rocky foot of the Takht hill in the E. close to the high-lying bank of the Vitastā in the W. There can be no doubt as to the antiquity of this embankment. Without it large portions of the city which are built along the low-lying shores of the Dal and the numerous channels stretching from the latter to the W. would along with all the 'floating gardens' of the lake be exposed to annual inundations from the river. A further proof of its antiquity is furnished by the fact that this embankment bears along with the quarter built on it merely the general name of *Suth*, from Skr. *setu*, 'dyke,' whereas all the other numerous embankments and causeways about S'rīnagar have distinctive appellations.

Several topographical considerations combine to prove that it was this old dyke or *setu* which the popular legend related by K. represented as the leg and knee of the demon

343. "Excepting *Vikramāditya* and *S'ūdraka* who excels in courage, and yourself, O protector of the earth, it is difficult to find perfect fortitude elsewhere." PRAVARASENA II.

344. "Your desire, O ruler of the earth, will be fulfilled. Come to my side after crossing this embankment."

345. With these words the Rākṣasa stretched out his own knee from the other bank and thus caused the water of the *Mahāsarit* [stream] to be parted by an embankment (*setu*).

346. The courageous *Pravarasena* thereupon drew his dagger from its sheath, knowing that the embankment was formed by a limb of the Rākṣasa's body.

347. The place to which he crossed over, after having cut with this [dagger] the flesh of that [Rākṣasa] and thus made a flight of steps, is called *Kṣurikābala*.

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343 King *S'ūdraka* is like Vikramāditya a favourite hero of the fable literature, comp e g, *Kathās* lxxviii 5 sqq

347. I prefer the reading *kṣurikābala* of A, to *kṣurikābhāla* of A$_1$ and °*bāla* of L, in view of the modern name *Khud*^{a}*bal* to which it corresponds The Kś word *bal*, meaning 'place,' is frequently found as the final part of local names in Kaśmir, comp. *yār*^{a}*bal* (see note i 40), *Mār*^{a}*bal*, *Pokhr*^{i}*bal*, etc

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who helped Pravarasena to cross the Mahāsarit In the first place we can see from the map that the dyke described actually turns sharply at an angle of 90 degrees opposite to the camping-ground known as the Cinār Bāgh It thus curiously resembles a bent knee Still more convincing is the fact that we find the name of *Kṣurikābala*, which according to verse iii 347 marked the spot where Pravarasena reached firm ground, still attaching in its Kś derivative *Khud*^{a}*bal*, to the city quarter situated at the W end of the embankment [For the phonetic connection of *Khud*^{a}*bal*, and *Kṣurikābala*, comp. Kś *khūr* < Skr *kṣura* A new popular etymology which saw in *khūr* the word *khud*, 'hollow,' might have helped in the change of *Kṣurikābala* > *Khud*^{a}*bal*] Finally it should be noted that K's description of the 'Setu' *dividing* the water of the Mahāsarit (*mahāsarito vāri setusimantitam*, iii 345) is exactly applicable to the *Suth*, if we assume that the varioı ɔ channels and marshes which lie immediately to the N of the dyke, and are like the Tsūnṭh Kul fed by the waters of the Dal, were also comprised under the name of *Mahāsarit*

That this was indeed the case, is rendered highly probable by the fact that the whole network of these waterways to the N of the *Suth* has retained to the present day the name of *Mār*, which we have encountered above in the form *Māri* as an earlier appellation of the Tsūnṭh Kul The question whether we have to see in this form *Mār* a phonetic derivative of Skr. *Mahāsarit* or *vice versâ* in the latter form a Skr adaptation of some earlier Kś name, cannot be settled from our present materials, and its decision would not affect the topographical conclusions above indicated

[Long after I had arrived at this conclusion I noticed the curious remark incidentally made by VIGNE, ii 69, which ascribes the construction of the embankment from the foot of the Takht hill to the city to Pravarasena As Vigne had no other materials regarding the *Rājat* than Wilson s abstract, which does not mention the legend here discussed, this notice must have been derived from oral information. At present no such tradition survives regarding the Suth]

The name of the village *S'āritaka*, where the demon showed to Pravarasena the site for his new town, can no longer be traced, but its position is sufficiently indicated by the mention of the goddess *S'ārikā* The latter, a form of Durgā, has been worshipped since ancient times on the N W side of the hill which lies immediately to the N of the central part of S'rinagar and is called after her *S'ārikāparvata* or Kś *Hār*^{a}*parvat*; comp *Jonar* 408, Fourth Chron., 944, 589, also *Report*, p 17 The distance of the hill from *Khud*^{a}*bal* is about one and three-quarter mu'ʻs

The legend told at length in the S'ārikāmıhātmya relates that Durgā, taking the shape of a S'ārikā bird (*Maina*), carried in her beak the hill from Mount Meru to its present place in order to close a gate of the Daityas dwelling in hell Subsequently she took up

Pravarasena II.

348. When he stood near the demon indicated to him the auspicious time (*lagna*) and disappeared after saying: "Build [your] town where to-morrow you see the measuring line laid down by me."

349. He discovered that [measuring line] which the Vetāla had laid down, at the village *S'ārīṭaka* at which the goddess *S'ārikā* and the demon (*yakṣa*) *Aṭṭa* resided.

350. When he was first about to consecrate the [Liṅga of] *Pravareśvara* in pious devotion, the [image of Viṣṇu] *Jayasvāmin* seated itself of its own accord on the base (*pīṭha*) after breaking the sacred diagram (*yantra*).

351. This [image of Visnu] was called by the king after the name of the architect *Jaya* who knew the auspicious time (*lagna*) which the Vetāla had indicated.

348 For the meaning of the term *sūtrapātana*, comp iv 56

350-351 The story here alluded to can be better understood by reference to the exactly corresponding legend related more fully in iii 451 sqq of the images *Raṇeśvara* and *Raṇasvāmin*. Pravarasena, who from the previous account may be supposed to be a worshipper of S'iva (comp. iii 270 sqq., also iii 365), wishes to consecrate first the Liṅga of S'iva-Pravareśvara By a miracle, however, there appears in the place prepared for the Liṅga the image of Viṣṇu *Jayasvāmin*. As according to the rules given for the *pratiṣṭhā* of sacred images, special diagrams or *yantras* have to be traced on the ground for each god, Viṣṇu cannot occupy the base prepared for S'iva's emblem without removing the *yantra* of the latter The story derives the name given to the Viṣṇu shrine of Pravarasena from that of his architect Compare regarding *yantras* Viṣṇudharmottara, iii., and for the use of the term *svāmin* in names of Viṣṇu-images, note iii 263

The shrine of *Jayasvāmin* is referred to only once more, in v 448, as *Jayasvāmivirocana*, and its position is not known That of the *Pravareśa* temple can be fixed with great probability at a site in the centre of S'rinagar, between the S foot of the Hār^aparvat and the '*Jama*' Masjid, now occupied by the Ziārat of Bahā'-ud-dīn Sāhib The old cemetery which surrounds the Ziārat, contains in its walls and tombs many ancient remains

At the S W corner of the cemetery stands an ancient gateway of great height and width, built of blocks of remarkable size, its roof must have fallen in long ago This gateway is designated by Brahman tradition as a part of 'Pravarasena's temple' and as the place where this king ascended to heaven. It is evidently the gate to which the tradition,

her abode on the hill to make sure of their not escaping This story is also briefly referred to in the *Kathāsar* lxxiii 109 sqq For another name of the hill, *Pradyumnapīṭha*, comp note iii 459 [A modern popular etymology, generally accepted by Panjābis and Europeans, has turned the Hill of S'ārikā into the 'Hill of Hari' or 'the Verdant Mountain': comp VIGNE, ii p 59; BERNIER, *Travels*, p. 398.]

I have not been able to find any other mention of the demon *Aṭṭa* who, according to the translation given above of iii 349, is referred to as residing with S'ārikā at the village S'ārīṭaka. It is possible that he figured merely in the popular etymology of the name *S'ārīṭaka* which that verse evidently alludes to But it may be noted that another translation is also possible *Aṭṭena* might be taken as an instrumental from the word *aṭṭa*, 'tower,' which would be a poetic designation of the hill, called *śṛṅga* in the Mahātmya We should then translate " . at the village *S'ārīṭaka*, at which the goddess S'ārikā with her towering [hill] and the Yakṣa resided" The demon of the legend whom K calls alternately *bhūta*, *rakṣas*, *vetāla*, might well be designated also as *yakṣa*

A, renders S'ārīṭaka by *Haraṭaṭh* If this gloss is intended for the name of the village *Hār^atraṭh*, in the Par^aspor Pargaṇa, 74° 41' long 34° 9' lat, no value can be attached to it, as the distance of the latter place from S'rinagar precludes all thought of its being meant in the legend here related

From vi 191 it appears that the locality where the Vetāla was supposed to have laid his measuring line, was known by the name of *Vetālasūtrapāta*, but its position cannot be clearly gathered from that passage

352. Owing to his (Pravarasena's) devoted worship the [image of] Vināyaka, [called] *Bhīmasvāmin*, of its own accord turned its face from west to east in order [to show that he was] not averse to [his] city. PRAVARASENA II.

353. In this city he, [who ruled] like Indra over the five races [of men], established [shrines of] five goddesses, who were designated by the word *śrī* as *Sadbhāvaśrī* and so on.

354. This king had the 'Great Bridge' (*Bṛhatsetu*) built on the *Vitastā*. Only since then is such construction of boat-bridges (*nausetu*) known

355. *Jayendra*, the maternal uncle of the king, caused the illustrious *Jayendravihāra* and a [statue of the] 'Great Buddha' (*Bṛhadbuddha*) to be erected.

356. The minister *Morāka* who had possession of *Siṁhala* and the other isles, built the *Morākabhavana*, a wonder of the world.

357. That city at the limits of which stood the [temples of] *Vardhanasvāmin* and *Viśvakarman*, was once famous [as containing] thirty-six lakhs of houses.

related in iii 378 and by BILHANA in *Vikram* xviii 28, was attached in K's time. It is not certain, whether in the passage vii 109, where a *raṅgapītha* of Pravareśa is mentioned, this temple or the earlier shrine of Pravarasena I (see iii 99) is referred to.

352 Gaṇeśa (Vināyaka) is worshipped to this day under the name of *Bhīmasvāmigaṇeśa* in a rock lying at the foot of the southern extremity of the Hār*parvat (S'ārikāparvata) close to the Bāch*darwāza of Akbar's fortress Under the thick layer of red daub with which the stone is covered by the worshippers, its supposed resemblance to the head of the elephant-faced god cannot now be traced, nor whether the face is turned west or east *S'riv.* iii 207, mentions the erection under Zain-ul-'ābidin of a new shrine in honour of Bhīmasvāmigaṇeśa. The rock image of the latter is referred to also by Sāhibrām in the *Tīrthas* In its immediate vicinity lies the Ziārat of Muqaddam Sāhib, one of the most popular Muhammadan pilgrimage-places of the Valley.

353 Nothing is known otherwise about the temples of these goddesses

354 *Bṛhatsetu*, 'the Great Bridge,' must be taken in all probability as a proper name, it is certainly used as such in viii 1171. Unfortunately the latter passage does not furnish a clear indication of the bridge's position, though it shows that the latter was at some distance from *Mūkṣkasvāmin* (Māy*sum) Boat-bridges are mentioned by K. in the time of Harṣa, vii 1549, and by *S'riv.* iv. 196

It is curious that of the numerous permanent wooden bridges over the Vitastā, whose peculiar construction has attracted the notice of all modern travellers in Kaśmīr (comp., e g. VIGNE, ii p. 23), none can be traced back to an earlier date than the *Zaina Kadal*, one of the seven bridges of S'rīnagar, built by Zain-ul-'ābidīn (*S'riv* i 232, 296) in the 15th century. Were the engineers of the Hindu period who showed such skill in stone architecture, less versed in bridge construction than their Muhammadan successors, who built chiefly in wood? Compare note vii 1077.

355. The 'Life' of Hiuen-tsiang, p 69, relates that the pilgrim on his arrival at the Kaśmīr capital stopped at the convent (Vihāra) of *Che-ye-in-to-lo* or *Jayendra* There he received instruction in the various S'āstras from the chief of the priests of the establishment and probably spent most of his two years' stay in the country (*circ.* 631-633 A.D.). That this establishment was identical with the *Jayendravihāra* of our text, as first pointed out by Dr BHAU DAJI, *J Bo. Br R. A. S.*, 1861, p 223, cannot be doubted.

Jayendra's 'Great Buddha' was probably a colossal statue like the *Bṛhadbuddha*, which King Lalitāditya erected in copper at Parihāsapura, according to iv 203. From vi 171 sqq we learn that the Jayendravihāra was burned and its Buddha-statue melted down by King Kṣemagupta, who used its brass for the construction of the Kṣemagauriśvara temple. Another colossal Buddha statue in the city is mentioned under Harṣa and Sussala, vii. 1097 sq.; viii. 1184 For a *Bṛhadbuddha* which survived to the 14th century, see *Jonar.* 430

356 No further mention is found of the Vihāra (or temple) of this fortunate minister whom K credits with the possession of Ceylon.

357 The site of neither of these two

PRAVARASENA II.

358 He built [that] city, which was provided with regularly arranged markets, at first indeed only on the right bank of the *Vitastā*.

359 There are mansions which reach to the clouds, and ascending which one sees the earth, glistening in the rain at the close of the summer and covered with flowers in [the month of] Caitra.

360 Apart from that city, where else on earth can one find easily streams meeting, pure and lovely, at pleasure-residences and near market streets?

361 Nowhere else is seen in the centre of a city a pleasure-hill from which the splendour of all the houses is visible as if from the sky

362. Where else do the inhabitants on a hot summer day find before their houses water like that of the *Vitastā*, [cooled] by large lumps of snow?

363. In that [city] the kings have provided for each temple [such] riches that with them the earth up to the encircling oceans could be bought a thousand times over

364 While he who was like the creator among kings resided in this city, there passed slowly sixty years of his tenure of sovereign power.

365. On his forehead, which bore the mark of [S'iva's] spear, the locks whitened by age created the illusion that the waves of the *Gangā* had attached themselves [to his forehead] by mistaking [it for that] of S'iva.

366 At that time *Aśvapāda* despatched by S'iva's command *Jayanta*, a Kaśmirian Brahman, who had just joined him as an attendant, [with these words]:

367 "You are tired, O wanderer What you desire you will not get from any other land. Deliver this letter to King *Pravarasena*."

368 When after saying these words he had handed the letter to that [Brahman], the latter spoke "Exhausted by travelling, I am unable to start at once on a great journey"

369. "Then bathe to-day, since I who am of the *Kāpālin* sect, have touched you who are a Brahman" With these words he (Aśvapāda) threw him into the water of the oblong pond close by

370 When he opened his eyes, he saw himself standing in his own land,

shrines can be ascertained now The *Vardhanasvāmin* is mentioned again, vi 191, as marking (together with Bhikṣukīpāraka) the extreme limit of a great fire which devastated the houses standing in 'Vetālasūtrapāta' *Viśvakarman* is not referred to again, unless, perhaps, in the corrupt passage viii 2438.

360 K evidently alludes here to the numerous canals from the Dal and Anch'ar lakes which intersect the suburbs of S'rinagar and pass also into the centre of the city The principal Bazaars are still built along the banks of the river and canals, which themselves serve as main thoroughfares The epithet '*pavitra*' scarcely agrees with the actual condition of these waterways, but may pass as poetical licence

361 The *Hār*ᵃ*parvat* or 'Hill of *S'ārikā*' is meant, which affords a great panoramic view of S'rinagar, comp note iii 339-349

365 The Gangā, with white waves, is supposed to flow from S'iva's head

and the servants of the king, who was engaged in worship, busy with carrying water. PRAVARASENA II.

371. Then in order to announce himself he threw without hesitation the letter into a washing-pot which was being carried from the river to the king.

372. When the king who was washing the [Liṅga of] *Pravareśa*, had read the letter which had been thrown out again from that pot, he ordered *Jayanta* to be brought before him.

373. "You have done what was to be done; you have given large [presents], enjoyed pleasures and passed through life. What else is there to do for you? Go and betake yourself to S'iva's abode."

374. When through this [letter] the message had come, he (Pravarasena) satisfied that [Brahman] by granting his desire, and breaking through that palace of stone entered the spotless sky.

375 The people saw him as he moved in the direction which is marked by [Mount] *Kailāsa*, while producing a second sunrise on the bright sky.

376. *Jayanta*, after obtaining riches through this wonderful event, turned them to pious use by establishing Agrahāras which bore his own name, and by other [holy] works.

377. The best of kings after enjoying the sovereignty of the world, thus joined in his very body the assembly of the lord of beings (S'iva).

378. At the temple of *Pravareśa*, the place where the king obtained supernatural perfection (*siddhi*), there is seen even to this day a gate which rivals the gate of heaven.

379. *Yudhiṣṭhira* [II.], who was born from that [king's] queen *Ratnaprabhā*, ruled the earth for forty years less nine months. YUDHIṢṬHIRA II.

380. His ministers, who bore the names *Sarvaratna*, *Jaya* and *Skandagupta*, obtained distinction by [erecting] Vihāras, Caityas and by other [pious] works.

378. The legend of Pravarasena's bodily ascension to heaven at the temple of Pravareśa was known already to Bilhaṇa in the same form as narrated in our passage. In *Vikram.* xviii. 28 he described the temple of Pravareśa as 'showing to this day a gap above resembling the gate of heaven (*svargadvārapratimam upari cchidram*), through which King *Pravara* bodily ascended to heaven.'

In note iii. 350 sq. it has already been shown that the identical tradition attaches still at the present day to an ancient ruined gateway which in all probability belonged to the Pravareśa temple. On the site of the latter stands now the Ziārat of Bahā'-ud-dīn Ṣāhib built with its remains.

The words used by K. in our verse bear a curious resemblance to those of Bilhaṇa, especially if we adopt the reading of A_3 *cchidram* instead of *dvāram* of A_1. Is this resemblance due to reminiscence from the earlier Kāvya on the part of K.?

379. I have preferred *catvāriṁśatiṁ* of A_3 L to *caturviṁśatiṁ* of A_1, as only with the former figure we can obtain the total of 1328 years for the reigns of the Taraṅgas ii-viii. which is required by the theoretical basis of K.'s chronology; comp. notes on i. 50, 53 and Dr. HULTZSCH's remarks, *Ind. Ant.* xviii. p. 99.

380. The Vihāra built by Skandagupta is clearly the *Skandabhavanavihāra* mentioned vi. 137; regarding the position of the latter, indicated by the modern *Khand*ᵃ*bavan* in

YUDHIṢṬHIRA II.

381. A minister of his was also *Vajrendra*, the son of *Jayendra*, who made the village of *Bhavaccheda* famous by the construction of Caityas and other [sacred buildings].

382. Among his chief ministers were also *Kumārasena* and others, who fixed the sandal-powder marks of their fame on the faces of the maidens [representing] the quarters of the horizon.

LAHKHAṆA-NARENDRĀDITYA

383. His son from [queen] *Padmāvatī* was *Narendrāditya*, who bore a second name, *Lahkhana*, and who built the temple of *Narendrasvāmin*.

384. *Vajra* and *Kanaka*, the sons of *Vajrendra*, distinguished by pious deeds, were his ministers and *Vimalaprabhā* his queen.

385. After establishing his own [special] office for the keeping of records, this strong-armed [ruler] ascended to heaven after [a reign of] thirteen years.

RAṆĀDITYA

386. Then his younger brother *Raṇāditya* became king, whom the people forthwith called by another name, *Tuñjīna*.

387. His head which was formed like a shell and different from [that of all] beings, showed as unprecedented splendour as if the sun had been absorbed in the moon.

S'rinagar, see the note on that passage. As to the abbreviated form *Skanda* for *Skandagupta*, used *bhimavat*, compare my remarks on the names of other Kaśmir Vihāras, *Notes on Ou-k'ong*, pp 5, 9

By the 'monastère de *Je-je*' which Ou-k'ong mentions in Kaśmir (*Journal asiat*, 1895, vi. p 354), may possibly be meant a Vihāra erected by *Jaya*.

381. *Bhavaccheda* may be identified on the strength of the gloss *Bhauccho* written by A₁ with the modern *Būts*, a village situated in the Vular Pargaṇa, circ 75° 9′ long. 33° 54′ lat (marked as 'Bosoo' on larger Survey map one mile to S of 'Mir-Sangrama')

383 The name Lahkhaṇa which A₁ writes with the Jihvāmūliya before *kh*, can be read clearly in the latter spelling on the obverse of a silver coin described by Gen. CUNNINGHAM, *Later Indo-Scythians*, pp. 97, 111 and Pl. vii. 12. It shows the legend [*Rā*]*ja Lahkhaṇa Udayāditya*, read by C. 'Rāja Lakhaṇa [?] Udayāditya.' Cunningham, though not recognizing the name as occurring also in our passage, had rightly ascribed this coin to Kaśmir, on the ground of the striking resemblance it bears 'in type and size and general fabric' to the unique coin of Deva Sāhi Khiṅgila (represented *l.c.*, Pl. vii. 11). The latter ruler has been identified with the Khiṅkhila or Narendrāditya I. of Rājat. i 347 (comp note)

There is a close connection between the type ('Sassanian Bust') of these two coins and that of others bearing the names of Jabūla, Mihirakula, Hiraṇyakula (?). Cunningham was thus fully justified in assuming that they all belong to rulers of the Ephthalites or White Huns. As the dominions of the latter included also Kaśmir, it appears very probable that by Lahkhaṇa-Narendrāditya of the Rājat. is meant the same king who calls himself Lahkhaṇa-Udayāditya on the coins.

As in the case of *Khiṅkhila*, so we have here an Indian appellation used by the side of the foreign name *Lahkhaṇa*. Why this Indian name should have been differently recorded by K., is a question which our present materials do not permit us to answer. But it is certainly curious that copper coins closely resembling in type the coins of the above mentioned Ephthalite rulers actually show the name *Narendra* (see Cunningham, *l.c.*, p. 118 and Pl. ix. 12).

386. Compare the similar expression used iii. 97 with reference to S'reṣṭhasena-Tuñjīna.

387. The shell-shaped form of head is a point of beauty. The simile alludes to the resemblance between the shell and the moon as regards whiteness.

388. His sword (*dhārādhara*) descended on the forests of his enemies' necks, while the eye-cavities of their women were overflowing with water (tears). RAṆĀDITYA.

389. The fire of his glory, which was such as had never been witnessed before, when it entered the enemies' land, put streams of water in the eyes of [their] women, and made the grass sprout in their mansions.

390. When his sword had attached itself to his hand, then there danced none but headless corpses in the force of his opponents.

391. This [prince] of divine appearance had as wife a goddess of an inexhaustible power, the *S'akti* of Viṣṇu, who had come to the earth under the name of *Raṇārambhā*.

392. He namely had been a gambler in a former birth, and once on losing all his property to gamesters had fallen into desperation. Legend of *Bhramaravāsinī*.

393. Though prepared to throw away his life he yet considered how he might gain something. Gamblers do not neglect [a chance of] profit, even to their very end.

394. He desired to see on the *Vindhya* [mountain] the goddess *Bhramaravāsinī*, to see whom would not be fruitless, hoping [to obtain from her] the choice of a boon and feeling indifferent as to his own life.

395. For the mortal who proceeds to her abode, [the way for] five Yojanas is indeed difficult to pass, since he is pierced by bees which have sharp stings, and by other [insects].

396. He wisely thought that it would not be difficult to provide a protection against these [bees], whose stings are [hard as] diamonds, for a body which was bound to be lost.

397. He first covered his body with a metal armour, then with a buffalo's hide, and then put on a plaster of clay mixed with cow-dung.

398. After he had dried the repeated layers of clay on his body in the rays of the sun, he [looking] like a moving clod of earth set out with a strong resolution.

399. Leaving [behind him] the easy path along with the hope of life, he then entered a cave which was terrifying by its dense darkness.

400. Thereupon there issued from the recesses multitudes of bees, deafening the ear by the sound of their wings, which resembled the noise of funeral music.

388. The pun turns on the word *dhārādhara* which means both sword and cloud.

391. The *S'akti* or active energy of Viṣṇu is embodied in *Lakṣmī*.

394. *Bhramaravāsinī* is a form of Durgā better known by the name *Vindhyavāsinī*; comp. references in *P.W.* under the latter word and also *Bhrāmarī*.

395. Geheimrath BÖHTLINGK suggests, *Mélanges asiat.*, vii. p. 474, the emendation *pucchādhyaiḥ* for *pucchādyaiḥ* of the MSS., "which have plenty of sharp stings."

RAṆĀDITYA.

401. Those [bees] whose eyes were affected by the dust [arising] from the dry coat of clay, could not attack with [full] force though they struck out to wound [him].

402. Those bees which had their eyes blinded by the dust, drew off; but the ever fresh [swarms] which flew forth, pierced the coat of clay.

403. While he was proceeding for three Yojanas on the path, the armour of clay being pierced by these fierce [bees] was gradually destroyed.

404. Thereupon arose a fearful and terrifying crackling noise from their striking incessantly at the buffalo's hide.

405. After passing one half of the fourth Yojana he knew by the rattle that the bees were falling upon the metal armour.

406. Then running with full might he lost his war-armour, which was pierced through by the bees, but his mind did not lose its firm resolve

407. When he was only a Gavyūti from the residence of the goddess, he, full of courage and resolution, ran on shaking off the bees with his arms.

408. Then, with his body reduced to sinews and bones and stripped of his flesh by the bees, he reached the shrine of the goddess, protecting his eyes with his arms.

409. When the onslaught of the bees had ceased, and he saw the light, he fell down before the feet of the goddess as his life was about to escape.

410. Then the goddess, in order to restore the little life there remained in him, gave him a fine body and touched his limbs with her hand.

411. As soon as the touch of the goddess's hand dripping with nectar had restored his strength, he cast his looks about in [all] directions.

412. The goddess of terrible appearance whom he had seen just on reaching the edge of the throne, that [goddess] he then saw no more.

413. But, standing in a bower of creepers by the side of a lotus-pond, he saw a playful lotus-eyed young maiden.

414. As an offering (*argha*) she carried the pearls of a necklace; her body had been worshipped by Youth with precious blossoms of beauty, while his folded hands [appeared in the shape of] her swelling breasts.

415. She had feet which were most charmingly [coloured] with red lac (*yāvakāhāriṇau*), which seemed to move with difficulty and which appeared

412. L confirms the reading of A_1 *punaḥ* against *puraḥ* A_2.

414. The pearls are likened to the rice-corns offered at worship before the statue of Durgā; the charms which Youth bestows, to the flowers which are thrown before it from the folded hands of the worshipper. In the pair of breasts which Youth makes swell, the poet sees the folded hands of the worshipper.

415. The pun lies in the word *yāvakāhāriṇau*, which can be taken either as above (*yāvakena, ā-samantāt, hāriṇau*) or as 'feeding on barley' (*yāvaka āhāro yayoḥ*). A diet of

daily to perform austerities in their desire to see her face hidden by her breasts. RAṆĀDITYA.

416. With her underlip which was [red] like a shining (*bhāsvat*) Bimba fruit, with her black (*kṛṣṇa*) locks, with her moon-face, with her waist like that of a lion (*hari*), and with her graceful (*śiva*) figure, she seemed to unite all gods [in her person].

417. Seeing himself alone with this [maid] of faultless body in the bloom of youth, he was overcome by love-desire, which knows not restraint on account of disparity [of birth].

418. Hiding her inaccessibility under the abundance of her beauty's charms, she appeared to him in his thought an Apsaras, but not a goddess.

419. Moved by compassion she spoke to him: "Long have you suffered on the way. Having recovered you shall choose at once, O dear one, a suitable boon."

420. He said to her: "At the sight of you my pain has ceased. But how can you if you are not a goddess grant the choice of a boon?"

421. The goddess answered him: "What troubles your mind, my good friend? Whether I be a goddess or not, yet I can let you choose a boon."

422. Upon these words he made her promise to accede to his prayer, and then asked her, far exceeding the bounds [of propriety], for sexual union.

423. She spoke to him: "O wrong-minded one, what improper procedure is this of yours? Ask for something else, because I am *Bhramaravāsinī*."

424. Even when knowing her to be the goddess, his mind did not take heed Who has [ever] suppressed desires which originate from other births?

425. He said to her: "If, O goddess, you care for your word to be true, fulfil my prayer. My desire is for nothing else."

426. "For the perfume (*adhivāsa*) which becomes once attached to persons in a former [birth], remains irremovable in them even to the end, like that of sesamum-grains (*tila*)."

427. "Be you a goddess or a charming woman, terrible also or beautiful,— as I have seen you before, just so you appear to me."

barley is prescribed at certain *vratas*; comp. *yāvakakṛcchra* in *P.W.* The slow movement of a lady's feet, often likened to the stepping of an elephant, is considered graceful; comp. the expressions *gajagāminī*, *alasagamanā* in *N.P.W*

416. The several compounds describing the goddess also contain the names of the gods Sūrya (*bhāsvat*), Kṛṣṇa, Soma, Hari (Indra) and S'iva.

426. The expression *adhivāsa* alludes to the *vāsanāḥ*, mentioned in verse 424.

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428. When he spoke thus, she knew that his resolve was immovable, and acceded with the words: "So it shall be in another birth."

429. "For those who are of the order of mortals, cannot touch divine women. Therefore go, O you whose determination is strong." Having spoken these words, she disappeared.

430. In the hope that he might obtain a [fresh] birth in union with the goddess, he then sacrificed his body from the end of a branch of the [sacred] fig-tree at *Prayāga*.

431. He was born on earth as *Raṇāditya*, and she, who retained the recollection of her former birth even in her mortal existence, as *Raṇārambhā*.

432. The king of the *Colas*, *Ratisena* by name, when about to pay worship to the ocean, received her from the depth of the sea like a glittering string of pearls.

433. From childhood her divine speech was noticed, and to youth she was an adornment. As worthy of a divine wooer, the king did not give her [in marriage] to rulers of the earth though they asked [for her].

434. When he thus desired to give a refusal to the minister of King *Raṇāditya*, who had arrived on a mission, she herself declared this suit to be the best.

435. For this very reason she related her origin, and thereupon her father sent her in haste to the residence of his friend, the king of *Kulūta*.

436. *Raṇāditya* went with joy to that not distant land, and after celebrating the marriage made her the presiding deity of his seraglio.

437. As she was afraid of the touch of a mortal, she never touched him though his queen-in-chief, but deceived him through magic.

438. She placed on the king's bed a phantom woman resembling her, and she herself went forth at night in the form of a bee.

Story of the *Raṇeśvara* and *Raṇārambheśvara*

439. He being a votary of S'iva built two temples, in his own name and in that of his wife, and had two S'iva-liṅgas prepared by masons.

440. When the event of the consecration was arranged for the next day, a certain astrologer who had arrived from abroad, reviled both these Liṅgas.

441. He declared with firm conviction again and again that the interior of the two sculptured Liṅgas was full of broken bits of stone and frogs.

442. Then when the king felt bewildered as to what was to be done, and disconcerted over the obstacle against the consecration, the queen who was possessed of divine sight, said to him of her own accord:

432. Regarding the land of the Colas, see note i. 300.

435. *Kulūta* is the modern hill-district of *Kullu* in the upper valley of the Biās, comp. CUNNINGHAM, *Anc. Geogr.*, p. 142, and references from *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, *Ind. Ant.*, xxii. p. 182.

436. Read in Ed. *prahṛṣṭo*°.

443. "O king, once at the marriage of *Pārvatī*, *Prajāpati*, who filled the office of Purohita, brought his own divine image for purpose of worship from his store of sacrificial implements."

444. "Then *S'iva* when he saw that it was *Viṣṇu's* image which was being worshipped by him, thought it of no value, as it were, as it represented only the S'akti without *S'iva* [himself]."

445. "Thereupon he (S'iva) put together into a lump the jewels which the invited gods and Asuras had brought as marriage presents, and thus formed himself a Liṅga famous in the universe."

446. "That image of *Viṣṇu* and that Liṅga which *S'iva* had worshipped and which deserved to be worshipped by the Creator (Prajāpati) himself, came in the course of time into *Rāvaṇa's* possession."

447. "The two images which *Rāvaṇa* also worshipped, were long at *Laṅkā*, and were at his death carried away by the monkeys."

448. "The monkeys which lived on the *Himālaya* mountain, stupid as beasts are, after satisfying their curiosity, dropped the [images of the] two gods in the *Uttaramānasa* [lake]."

449. "I already have had those two [Liṅgas] raised from that lake by skilful workmen. To-morrow you will certainly see them brought here."

450. "Those two should [then] be consecrated." Thus spoke the queen to the king, and retiring into the seraglio she addressed her thoughts to the demigods which move in the air.

451. These appeared at her mere thought, and, at the bidding of the goddess, raised the [images of the] two gods *Hari* (Viṣṇu) and *Hara* (S'iva) from the water, and deposited them at the king's palace.

452. In the morning the people seeing the [images of] *Hara* and *Nārāyaṇa* covered with divine blossoms at the royal residence were utterly astonished.

453-454. When the auspicious time (*lagna*) for the consecration was at hand, and when the king, being of the S'aiva persuasion (*māheśvara*), was just preparing to consecrate first the [Liṅga of] *Raṇeśvara*, the [image of] *Raṇasvāmin* through the power of *Raṇārambhā* seated itself miraculously on the base (*pīṭha*), after breaking the sacred diagram (*yantra*).

444. Viṣṇu is considered as an embodiment of S'iva's S'akti or 'energy'; comp. e.g. *Vāyupur.* xxv. 23 sqq.; *Kūrmapur.* II. iv. p. 466.

448. By *Uttaramānasa* is meant the sacred Gaṅgā-lake situated below the E. glaciers of Mount Haramukh and popularly known as *Gaṅg*ᵃ*bal*; see note i. 57. The same designation is given to this lake in the *Haramukuṭamāhātmya* and *Haracar.* iv. 87 sqq. The name is found also in the *Nīlamata*, 910, 970, 1263.

453-454. Compare for the story here related the explanations given in note iii. 350-351.

From the legend related by K. it can be concluded that the shrines of *Raṇeśa* and *Raṇasvāmin* were within or near the city of S'rinagar and at no great distance from each

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455. When thereupon the queen with a wish of testing its power placed property at its disposal, that self-created [image of Viṣṇu] directed itself the grant of various villages by its worshippers.

456-458. In the mind of some people there survives even to this day [another] version, namely, that there lived a magician (*siddha*) called *Brahman*, under the disguise of a waterman; that the queen recognizing [his true character] made him consecrate those two [images]; that finding himself recognized he moved through the air after consecrating the *Raṇeśvara* [Liṅga] and effected the consecration of *Raṇasvāmin* in a secret manner; but that he was noticed by the people to have placed himself on the base (*pīṭha*) in an Avatāra.

459. In honour of this magician who was the very image of Brahman and the foremost of the philosophers (*brahmavid*), the queen caused the exceedingly splendid [hall called] *Brahmamaṇḍapa* to be erected.

other. That of *Raṇeśa* is not mentioned again. The temple of *Raṇasvāmin*, however, appears to have enjoyed greater celebrity, and some of the references permit us to trace its approximate position K.'s mention in v. 394 of a visit paid to Raṇasvāmin by Cakravarman's queen in the month of Māgha, which is the time for the greatest snowfall in the Valley and, therefore, least suitable for travelling, shows that the shrine must have been within easy reach from the palace. In *S'rīkaṇṭhac.* iii 68, Maṅkha, Kalhaṇa's contemporary, refers to his father's worship of Raṇasvāmin, and Jonarāja in his commentary distinctly describes the latter as '*S'rīpravarapurapradhānadevatā*.'

Jonarāja in his own chronicle, 872, has further left us the notice, that Zain-ul-'ābidin carried the canal called *Jainagaṅgā* on which his new 'town' *Jainanagarī* was built, 'as far as Raṇasvāmin.' As Jonarāja indicates in verse 870 with laudable accuracy the *Pradyumnagari* and *Amareśapura*, i.e. the Hārⁱparvat and Amburhēr (see note i. 287), as the extreme limits of *Jainanagarī*, it is clear that this canal is identical with the one now called *Lachᵃm Kul* (Skr. *Lakṣmīkulyā) which brings the water of the Sind river viâ Amburhēr into the quarters of Naushahr and Sangin Darwāza. The latter lies immediately to the W. of the Hārⁱparvat. The canal continues hence its southerly direction to the Jāma' Masjid and ultimately empties itself into the Mār canal near the bridge called *Kādⁱ Kadal*.

If it could be proved that the present termination of the Lachᵃm Kul is the same which Jonarāja († 1459 A.D.) knew in the time of Zain-ul-'ābidin, I should be inclined to identify with the Raṇasvāmin the ruin of an ancient temple which lies in the corner formed by the Mār and Lachᵃm Kul. It owes its partial preservation to the fact that it has been utilized by the Muhammadans as the Ziārat of Pir Ḥājī Muḥammad Ṣāhib. Besides the walls of a raised octagonal cella and the stairs leading to its two doors, the enclosing walls and the gateways of the ancient courtyard are yet standing The building has not been noticed in any of the papers dealing with the remains of the ancient architecture of Kaśmir.

If the Lachᵃm Kul ended in old days further N. in the branch which flows into the Ḍal lake near the Buṭᵃkadal, we might look for the Raṇasvāmin among the numerous ruins of ancient temples found about the Mosque of Mādin Sāhib in the N part of Sangin Darwāza

P. Sāhibrām in his *Tīrthas.* briefly refers to the 'Raṇasvāmiviṣṇu,' as situated to the W. of the Hārⁱparvat without giving any further hint as to its position

455 The image is called *svayambhūḥ*, because it is traced back directly to Prajāpati and was not made by man.

456-458. I have translated *kumbhadāsa*, a word not otherwise known to the dictionaries, by 'waterman' on the ground of its evident etymology. The meaning 'procuress, go-between' given by the Kośas (see *P.W.*) for the fem *kumbhadāsī* does not stand in the way of this explanation. The water-carrying for Brahman families is done to this day in Kaśmir by low-caste Kṣattriyas and their women. The latter having access to the households, might have as well earned the reputation indicated by the meaning of the Kośas, as e.g the barber's wives, comp. *nāpitī* in *P.W.* The feminine *kumbhadāsī*, viii. 1726, seems to designate a low-class servant.

460. This [royal] couple built the [temples of] *Raṇārambhasvāmin* and *Raṇārambhadeva* and a Maṭha for Pāśupata [mendicants] on the hill of *Pradyumna*.

461. This [king] also established a faultless hospital (*ārogyaśālā*) for the healing of sick people and in order to ward off a danger [threatening] his queen *Senāmukhī*.

462. He built at the village of *Siṁharotsikā* a [temple of] *Mārtaṇḍa* which became famous everywhere under the name of *Raṇapurasvāmin*.

463. Another wife of that King *Amṛtaprabhā* built [a shrine of] *Amṛteśvara* on the right side of *Raṇeśa*.

464. She also placed a fine statue of *Buddha* in the Vihāra which had been built by a wife of King *Meghavāhana* called *Bhinnā*.

465. That goddess (Raṇārambhā) once granted to the king who was devoted to her and full of sympathy, the magic spell [called] *Hāṭakeśvara*, which gave command over the under-world.

466. After obtaining this spell, which she had granted in order that the possession of her should not be fruitless for him, he realized for many years the aims of his desire.

467. After undergoing severe austerities at *Iṣṭikāpatha*, he went to *Nandiśilā* and had the benefit of the magic power of the spell during many years.

460. By *Pradyumnamūrdhan* is meant the *S'ārikāparvata* or Har^parvat in S'rinagar (see note iii. 339-349). It is also frequently referred to by the name *Pradyumnapīṭha*, *Pradyumnagiri*, *Pradyumnaśikhara* and similar designations; comp. vii. 1616; *Vikram* xviii. 15, *Jonar.* 587, 870; *S'riv.* i. 631, ii. 88; *Mahādevamāhātmya*, ii. 7, and *S'ārikāmāh.*, *passim*. The latter text does not furnish an explanation of the name. But Somadeva in the *Kathās.* lxxiii. 109 alludes to a story which would connect the hill with the love of Uṣā and Aniruddha, the son of Pradyumna

The E slope and foot of the hill is now covered by extensive buildings, including Sarāis, connected with the famous Muhammadan shrines of Muqaddam Sāhib and Ākhūn Mullā Shāh. These probably occupy the sites of earlier Hindu structures such as the Maṭha referred to in our verse The text leaves it doubtful as to whether the two temples mentioned here were also situated on this hill or elsewhere.

462. The position of *Siṁharotsikā* is unknown, and no mention is found elsewhere of the temple dedicated there to Viṣṇu in his form of Mārtaṇḍa or the sun. Cunningham, misled by an erroneous interpretation of our text and the verse iv. 192, had endeavoured to make out that the temple here mentioned is identical with the central shrine of the famous temple at *Mārtaṇḍ*, and that Lalitāditya only built the enclosing courtyard of the latter (see *J.A S B*, 1848, pp. 259 sqq.). Fergusson, *Ind. Arch.*, p. 289, has already on general and architectural grounds rejected this view, which has no support whatever in the plain words of the Chronicle.

463 I am unable to trace any further notice of the *Amṛteśvara* here mentioned or of the Vihāra of Bhinnā referred to in the next verse.

467. It is not quite certain which localities are meant here. *Nandiśilā* is probably a site connected with the legend of Nandin, located on Mount Haramukuṭa, comp. note on *Nandikṣetra*, i 36. According to the *Nīlamata*, vv. 1061 sqq., Nandin was produced by S'ilāda from pulverized rocks (*śilā*) and performed his austerities in the lake named after him while holding a large rock (*śilā*) on his head. On the other hand it may be noted that *Nandiśilā* is the name given to the modern village of *Nāďhēl* in the Hamal Pargaṇa, 74° 26′ long. 34° 15′ lat., by the *Vitastāmāhātmya*, xxiv. 32; but no sanctity attaches to this place.

In the direction of the sacred Mount Haramukuṭa points also the other name *Iṣṭikāpatha*, by which is probably meant the locality

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468. Gathering unbroken confidence from dreams and supernatural marks, he proceeded to the cave of [the demon] *Namuci* after passing through the water of the *Candrabhāgā*.

469. While the cave was open during twenty-one days, he led the citizens into it and thus first made them partake in the love of the Daitya-women.

470 Thus having ruled the earth for three hundred years, this king obtained the sovereignty over the under-world together with an end which deserved to be praised as [implying] final liberation (*nirvāna*)

471. When the king with his retinue had gone to the company of the Daitya-women, that queen who was Viṣṇu's *S'akti*, went to the 'White Island' (*S'vetadvīpa*).

472-473. Among the numerous royal families there have been two families, and in them only two kings, who showed to perfection utmost care for [their] subjects: [these were] *Raṇāditya* of the *Gonanda* family and *Rāma* of the *Raghu* [race], who even had their happiness in another world shared by their subjects.

VIKRAMĀDITYA.

474. The son of this [king] who had conquered the universe by his valour (*vikrama*), was *Vikramāditya* who built the [shrine of S'iva] *Vikrameśvara* and whose power was like that of Trivikrama (Viṣṇu).

475. This king, who was Indra's equal, protected the earth for forty-two years along with his ministers *Brahman* and *Galūna*.

476. *Brahman* built the *Brahmamaṭha*, and *Galūna*, who destroyed the evil-doers (*lūnaduṣkṛtaḥ*), had a Vihāra constructed under the name of his wife *Ratnāvalī*.

BĀLĀDITYA.

477. After this king there ruled his next eldest brother, the powerful *Bālāditya* who tormented opposing rulers.

478. His glory (*pratāpa*) brought tears into the face (*or* mouth) of his enemies' wives and thus caused excessive thirst, as if [it had made them] drink the salt sea.

479. Even to this day there stand in the eastern ocean his triumphal columns which seemed to have been brought [by him] as poles for [measuring] the unfathomable sensations of his enemies' minds.

referred to in the *Nilamata*, 1081, as *Patheśvara uṣṭaḥ*. The latter place is identified by a gloss to another passage, 1208, with the modern hamlet of *Rāmarādan*, 74° 56' long. 34° 19' lat., in the Lār Pargaṇa, from which the ascent on the Haramukuṭa pilgrimage begins.

468. The cave of the demon *Namuci* regarding whose part in early mythology Prof. Bloomfield's paper in *J.A.O.S.*, 1891, pp. 143 sqq., may be consulted, is supposed to form a part of *pātāla* or the infernal regions. By the *Candrabhāgā* probably the Cināb is meant.

469. The correct reading *praveśya*, required by the context, is supplied by L; A *praviśya*.

475. L reads °*galūnābhyāṁ* as conjecturely restored in Ed. for °*galūrābhyāṁ* of A.

480. Subduing the *Vaṅkālas* by the hook of his power, he founded a hospice (*janāśraya*) called *Kālambī* for the accommodation of Kaśmīrians. BĀLĀDITYA.

481. In *Maḍavarājya* in *Kaśmīr* he founded for Brahmans the Agrahāra of *Bheḍara*, which was distinguished by its wealth.

482. His wife *Bimbā* whose lips were [red] like the Bimba fruit, built at *Ariṣṭotsādana* the [shrine of] S'iva *Bimbeśvara* which removed the people's misfortune (*ariṣṭa*).

483. The three brothers *Khaṅkha*, *S'atrughna* and *Mālava*, who were his ministers, built a Maṭha, a temple and an embankment (*setu*).

484. This king had a daughter called *Anaṅgalekhā* whose beauty was a wonder of the world, and who was like the glitter of the moon on the ocean of love.

485. An astrologer of unerring knowledge, after seeing in the presence of her father this gazelle-eyed maiden and the marks she bore, declared clearly:

486. "Your son-in-law will obtain the rule of the earth. Verily with you ends the sovereignty of those from the race of *Gonanda*."

487. Thereupon the king, who did not wish the sovereign power [to go] to the descendants of his daughter, endeavoured to defeat fate by human effort.

488. Thinking that if she were given to some one not of royal blood, she would not carry away the sovereignty, he did not give the maid [in marriage] to any prince.

489. He then made *Durlabhavardhana*, an official [in charge] of the fodder for horses (*aśvaghāsakāyastha*), his son-in-law, being solely guided by his good looks.

490. The king did not know that he was really born to the throne, [being

480. I do not know which people is meant by the *Vaṅkālas*

481. *Bheḍara* can be safely identified with the present *Biḍ*ᵉ*r*, a large village in the Bring Pargaṇa, 75° 20′ long. 33° 35′ lat. In the centre of the village there is a mound which was pointed out to me in September, 1891, as the site of an ancient temple. Carved slabs are said to have been extracted from it. In the neighbouring village of Hāngalgūnd, which contains a large Brahman colony, an ancient Durgā image is worshipped under the name of *Biḍā Devī*.

Regarding *Maḍavarājya*, see note ii 15.

482. The gloss of A_3 renders *Ariṣṭotsādana* by *Raṭṭosāna*, which is in all probability intended for the name of the modern village of *Raṭ*ᵉ*sun*, situated in the Mānch*hōm Pargaṇa, 74° 38′ long. 34° 4′ lat. (not marked in 'Atlas of India'). P. Kāśī Rām, who visited the place on my behalf in 1891, could not discover ancient remains there

483. By *setu* also a bridge might be meant.

489. The fodder for horses in S'rīnagar is brought chiefly by boats from the neighbouring lakes and marshes, in which suitable grasses and waterplants grow in abundance. This produce is State property, and a tax is levied to this day by a special employé on the people who live by collecting and selling it. Possibly the term *aśvaghāsakāyastha* is to be understood in this special meaning.—Geheimrath BOEHTLINGK proposes in *Mélanges asiat.*, vii. p. 474, for *sa rūpatāṁ* the very acceptable emendation *surūpatāṁ*; the meaning remains the same.

490. The *Kārkoṭa* Nāga is mentioned by the *Nīlamata*, 901, in the beginning of the list of Kaśmīr Nāgas along with Nīla, Vāsuki,

BĀLĀDITYA.

the son] of the Nāga *Kārkoṭa* who had cohabited with his mother when she took her purifying bath.

491. Fate, in fact, as if it wished to triumph, bestows fortune just on that person whom those, who think themselves wise, persist in considering as unfit.

492. The Sun which on setting out of jealousy ignores the planets and deposits his light in the fire, because he sees fitness in the unequal,—he does not understand destiny and deserves to be laughed at Let alone the fire indeed! Even the lamps which it kindles, can at its will make the world forget the sun.

493. *Durlabhavardhana* with a mind bent on success, pursued a politic conduct and attracted the eyes of everybody.

494. In the course of time his father-in-law distinguished him, as he was spreading light by his intellect (*prajñā*), by the name *Prajñāditya*, and made him the master of a fortune resembling that of *Kubera*.

495. But the princess, made overbearing by the excessive love of her parents and the intoxication of youth, did not show proper regard towards him.

496. The company of unrestrained women, pleasures, youths, above all the parental house, the mild disposition of her husband,—what was there not to interfere with her proper conduct?

497. *Anaṅgalekhā* was gradually enticed [into an intrigue] by the minister *Khaṅkha*, who through the familiarity [produced] by continual sight, entered into her heart.

498. Then in the enjoyment of the pleasures of a secret love, she lost shame, fear and regard and increased her boldness from day to day until she became quite absorbed in him.

499. The minister through his gifts and influence got her attendants under his power and conducted himself with her in the seraglio as it pleased him.

500 And the wise *Durlabhavardhana* discovered by degrees the ruin of her moral character by the appearance of indications of her aversion.

501-505. For a wife who has sold her mind to [illicit] love, generally betrays the change [brought about] by the intrusion of the demon of immorality.

Takṣaka. He seems to have been worshipped in different localities. The Kārkoṭa Nāga which gave the name to the Kārkoṭadraṅga (see notes iii. 227; viii. 1596) was probably supposed to reside in one of the small mountain lakes on the Toṣ°maidān Pass, leading to Loh°rin. He is referred to in Fourth Chron. 114 and the *Tīrthas*. (Bāngil Pargaṇa), and has left his name to this day on the mountain ridge *Kākodar* over which that route leads.

Another Kārkoṭa Nāga is mentioned in the *Tīrthas*. at the village of Ut°rus (Skr *Utrāsa*) in the Kut°hār Pargaṇa, 75° 22′ long. 33° 43′ lat.; this spring may be alluded to in *Haracar.* x.

492. The sun when setting is supposed to deposit its light into the keeping of the fire

494. *kauvir°* A L is evidently only a wrong spelling for *kauber°*, explained by Kś. pronunciation.

497. L has *saṁprāyujyata* as emended in Ed.

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Among her companions she smiles secretly; her colour changes when she sees her husband; getting up quite unexpectedly she looks with a smile on the roads; when her husband is angry she indicates contempt by movement of her brows, eyes and chin; when he uses harsh words, she looks down with a smile; she cares nothing for those whose character is like his, but enjoys the praise of his opponents; when noticing that he wishes to enjoy himself with her, she engages in a conversation with her companions; when he kisses her she bends down her neck; she does not yield her body to his arms; in his love-embrace she shows no pleasure, and on his bed she feigns to be asleep.

506. *Durlabhavardhana*, whose body became thin with fears as to his wife's hidden wickedness, on one occasion entered the seraglio at night.

507. He found his wife overpowered by sleep which is easily brought on by the exertions of love-play, and fixed as it were on the body of her paramour.

508. Her deep breathing from which flurry had not [yet] died away and which made her swelling breasts heave, indicated that they had just at that time indulged in sexual enjoyment.

509. When he saw her who in this condition might have caused the anger even of a stranger and who would even [then] not have had a claim to forbearance, he flamed up in wrath.

510. While he was wishing to strike her in fury but was yet held back by reflection, he felt as if he had relieved himself by striking her repeatedly.

511. Then this excess of rage, tumultuous like the ocean, was with difficulty calmed by the tide of his reflection.

512. Honour be to him who overcomes the strong choleraic disease (*viṣūcikā*) brought on by the poison of jealousy. Who but he is to be considered the foremost of the self-controlled?

513. He thought: "Fie on these miserable [women] who are the slaves of their active passions and devoid of reflection, and who quickly drag men down [to hell]."

514. "That [thing] which is called 'woman,' is the object of a sense, like the other objects of senses (*indriyārtha*). As such they are common to all. Why should self-controlled persons feel angry about them?"

515. "Who can restrain women who are fickle by nature? Or by restraining them what is [to be got], worth remembering for wise men?"

516. "If the sense of honour (*māna*) of two [men] in love-passion displays

514. *Indriyārtha* is used in the meaning of *viṣaya* of which the Nyāyaśāstra knows five (rūpa, śabda, gandha, rasa, sparśa); '*strī*' is supposed in our passage to be the sixth.

BÂLÂDITYA

itself like the wrangling of two dogs which are bent on the same thing, then what dishonour (*avamâna*) could be greater than this ?"

517. "Why should men of sense feel, as it were, self-interested attachment for gazelle-eyed [women] ? How can one think this [attachment] to others right when it is improper even to one's own body ?"

518. "If this [woman] appears to me deserving of death because she has caused [me] agitation, then why forget the love-passion which is the root of this tree of agitation ?"

519. "How is the tree of passion which sends its roots down to the seven hells, to be uprooted, if the hatred which is the soil [for its growth], is not destroyed ?"

520. "He who by judgment once triumphs over hatred difficult of attack, destroys in half a minute indeed even the name of passion."

521. "Recognizing by divine intuition this remedy, which must be declared [for the benefit] of those who are subject to passions, one should overcome jealousy. Passion then vanishes of its own account in [all] directions."

522 After he had thus reflected, he wrote these words on the border of *Khaṅkha's* dress · "Remember that you have not been slain, though deserving of death."

523. Then when *Durlabhavardhana* had left without having been noticed by any one, the minister awaking saw and read those written words.

524. In view of the kindness shown by him who had spared his life, *Khaṅkha* then banished *Anaṅgalekhâ* from his mind and instead thought how to requite this kindness.

525. While he searched for suitable means to return this kind act, anxiety entered his mind, but not the five arrows of love ; the attention of his eyes was absorbed by sleeplessness, but never by the princess.

526. At that time *Bâlâditya*, that [prince] of splendid deeds, reached the world of him whose forehead is adorned by the young moon (S'iva), after having been a jewel at the head of royalty for thirty-seven years less four months.

527. When this last descendant of his family died after having previously lost his [male] issue, the *Gonanda* race became an object of pity like a lotus-pond in which first the lotus-flowers have been pressed down by elephants and afterwards their stalks torn out by the violent irruption of a flood of water

528. Then that [minister] to show his gratitude in some way, removed the obstacles created by the dissent of the chief ministers, and according to

523. The correct reading *tân dṛṣṭvâ* is furnished by L

usage performed high above the head of the king's son-in-law the holy and desired coronation rite (*abhiṣeka*) with sacred water poured out from golden jars. BĀLĀDITYA.

529. When this king, begotten by the [Nāga] *Kārkoṭa*, supported the earth with his large arms which were marked by lines of light [proceeding] from the small pearls set in his diadem, and [resembling] the tops of serpents' hoods,—the multitude of golden lotuses in the wreath which adorned him, attracted glances from the corners of the beaming eyes of the *S'eṣa* serpent, who felt joy in the love of his kinsman.

530. Then the earth, gliding away from the pure race of King *Gonanda*, rested on the still purer family of the *Kārkoṭa* Nāga, like the river of the immortals (Gaṅgā) when, descending from its bending course in heaven with which it has long been familiar, [it proceeds] to the diadem of S'aṁbhu (S'iva), the lord of the three worlds.

Thus ends the Third Taraṅga of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, composed by *Kalhaṇa*, the son of the illustrious minister of Kaśmīr, Lord *Caṇpaka*.

Colophon. A note found before the Colophon in A and L gives the total number of verses in the iii Taraṅga as 536. This is probably only an error of reckoning, just as the figure 1069 given here as the total of verses for the first three Taraṅgas. According to the numbers shown *before* the Colophons of these Taraṅgas the total ought to be 1079.

A and L have no entry showing the total period of the reigns described in Taraṅga iii The Poona MS, however, gives this, as already stated by Dr. Hultzsch, *Ind. Ant.*, xviii. p. 99, in the verse: *saikonanavatiścātra varṣāṇāṁ śatapañcakaḥ | daśa māsāśca saikāhā gatā daśasu rājasu* || As the text of this MS. is certainly derived from A, I can see in this verse only a recent addition probably made by the owner of one of the intermediate copies.

FOURTH BOOK.

1. May that body of the Immovable (S'iva)—from which there is no separate existence (*vītavyatireka*), which is united with the body of Pārvatī and which knows no obstacles, remove misfortunes from you [who are] in this [world], —[the body of him] on whose hair-knot the serpent also seems to embrace the form of its own female as it entwines its body with the plaited hair [of Pārvatī], which resembles in its falls and its dark splendour the body of a female snake.

DURLABHAVARDHANA.

2. This king who had received from one family both the earth and a princess, entered in the course of time into the possession of treasures and sons.

3. The king's wife whose fault had been kept secret by her husband and whose dignity proved equal to her good fortune, built the *Anaṅgabhavana* Vihāra.

4. A son of the king called *Malhaṇa* considering the shortness of his life predicted by an astrologer built, while yet a boy, the [shrine of Viṣṇu] *Malhaṇasvāmin*.

5. The king bestowed on Brahmans after paying them honours, the [village of] *Candragrāma* in [the neighbourhood of] the castle of *Pārevisoka* and other [places].

6. Having consecrated at *S'rīnagarī* the [shrine of] Viṣṇu *Durlabhasvāmin*, this lord of the earth died after [a rule of] thirty-six years.

DURLABHAKA-PRATĀPĀDITYA II.

7. Then his son the wise *Durlabhaka*, born from Queen *Anaṅga*[*lekhā*], ruled the earth like [another] Indra.

8. As he had been declared by his mother the son of his maternal grand-

5. The name *Pārevisoka*, which designates here and in vi. 130; viii 2194 perhaps a small territorial division, means literally "beyond the Viśokā." *Viśokā* is the name of the modern *Veśau*, a considerable stream which rises near the Kōnsar Nāg (Kramasaras) Lake on the Pīr Pantsāl range, and after an easterly and then northerly course joins the Vitastā at Gambhīrasaṁgama below *Vij*ⁱ*brōr*; comp. VIGNE, i. p. 297. The *Nīlamata*, 271 sqq., identifies the river with Lakṣmī and gives a story accounting for its name ("free from pain"); see also vv. 230, 491, 1091, etc, and *S'rīv.* i. 226, 228, *Haracar.* iv. 52; xii. 35, *Vitastāmāhātmya*, ii. 17 sqq., etc.

The position of *Candragrāma* and of *Pārevisokakoṭa*, 'the castle of Pārevisoka,' cannot be traced now. Pārevisoka may possibly have been the name of that part of the Divᵉsar district which lies to the E. of the Veśau.

6. The position of the *Durlabhasvāmin* temple, as well as of the other buildings mentioned in the account of this reign, is unknown.

Regarding the use of the form *S'rīnagarī* for S'rīnagara, see note i. 104.

8. As Bālāditya died without male issue, the functions prescribed for a son by religious law devolved naturally on his daughter's son

father, being the daughter's son, he took the name *Pratāpāditya* [II.] in accordance with the usage of that [grandfather's] family.

DURLABHAKA-PRATĀPĀDITYA II.

9. His minister *Hanumat*, the son of *Ūḍa* (or *Oḍa?*), whose good fortune was approved by the pious, founded Agrahāras on obtaining wealth from Aiḍabiḍa (Kubera).

10. This strong-armed king, whose glory (*pratāpa*) tormented his enemies, built the town of *Pratāpapura*, which rivalled the city of Indra.

11. In his land, which was full of merchants of different wares come from all regions, there lived a merchant called *Nona* from the *Rauhītaka* country.

12. That virtuous man built the *Noṇamaṭha*, most eminent for its religious merit, for the accommodation of Brahmans born in the *Rauhīta* land.

Marriage of Narendraprabhā.

13. Once the king invited him in a friendly way to the royal palace, and honoured him for one day with polite attentions such as befit a king.

14. When the king with kindness inquired in the morning as to his being comfortable, he said that the soot from the lamps had caused him headache.

15. When then the king was once in turn invited by him, and stopped at that [merchant's] house, he saw [there] at night lamps formed of jewels (*maṇidīpikā*).

as well as the inheritance; comp. e.g. *Manu*, ix. 131 sqq.

The mixed metal coins bearing the legend *S'rīdurlabhadeva*, described by CUNNINGHAM in *Coins of Med. India*, p. 43 (Pl. iii. 7), belong in all probability not to Durlabhaka-Pratāpāditya II., but to his father Durlabhavardhana. The name of the former is found in the form *S'rīpratāpa* on copper coins of two varieties which have been described *l.c.*, p. 44, and figured Pl. iii. 10, 11. [C. attributes erroneously the second variety to Lalitāditya, whom owing to some misapprehension he believes to have borne also the name of Pratāpāditya].

CUNNINGHAM, *l.c.*, p. 38, has expressed the belief that the king of India named *Tu-lo-pa*, who according to the Chinese Annals (A. RÉMUSAT, *Nouv. Mélanges asiat.*, i. p. 212) was between the years A.D. 627-649 charged with having the envoys of *Ki-pin* (Kābul) conveyed to their own country, was the same as *Durlabhavardhana*. Assuming the identification *Tu-lo-pa=Durlabha* to be correct, it still remains doubtful whether this ruler or his son *Durlabhaka* (or Durlabha, see iv. 44) is meant here. According to K.'s Chronology the above period is divided between the reigns of these two kings

9. The word *Auḍa*, rendered above by "son of Ūḍa," is of doubtful meaning.

10. *Pratāpapura* is identified in the gloss of A₂ with the modern *Tāpar*, a considerable village of the Kruhin Pargaṇa situated on the high road from Varāhamula to S'rinagar, 74° 34′ long. 34° 12′ lat. This identification is confirmed by viii. 820, where Pratāpapura is mentioned as lying on the route of Sussala's retreat from S'rinagar to Lohara (viâ Varāhamula), and by Fourth Chron. 820, where the name occurs in connection with that of the neighbouring Pargaṇa of Bāngil.

When visiting Tāpar in Sept., 1892, I found close to the road between the Ziārats of Sayid Nizām-ud-din and Vatar Bāba Sāhib two large ruined mounds, covered with fragments of ornamented columns, pediments, etc. In the walls of the second Ziārat there was a large number of ancient carved slabs. Most of these remains have since been utilized in the construction of the new carriage road. The local tradition knows of the existence of an old town at this site which it ascribes to a King *Tāp*ᵃ*dat* (Pratāpāditya?).

11 The name *Rauhītaka* or *Rauhīta* is, perhaps, the same as *Rohītaka* mentioned by Albērūnī, *India*, i. pp. 308, 316, as the name of 'a fortress in the district of Multān, which is now deserted'; comp. also *P. W.*, s.v. The name occurs also in the Lakkhā Maṇḍal inscription, edited *Epigr. Ind.*, i. pp. 10 sqq. Prof. Bühler, upon a suggestion of Dr. Burgess, there proposes the identification of Rauhitaka with the modern Rohtāk town and district to the N.W. of Delhi.

15. A lamp is meant in which a shining jewel takes the place of the burning wick.

DURLABHAKA-PRATĀPĀDITYA II.

16. Astonished by his extravagance and such wealth, he then remained as an honoured [guest] in that same [house].

17. Once he espied in the house that [merchant's] wife, the illustrious *Narendraprabhā*, whose body was charming, and whose face was like the moon.

18. In her appeared to be embodied the feast of love and the feast of the household, her breasts representing full cups, and her well-shaped thighs (*sadūrvā*°) giving charms.

19. When he saw this [lady] of faultless body, who in the privacy of her residence moved about freely, desire befell him.

20. She too, when her companions pointed him out [to her], turned her face a little and looked at the beloved of the earth with her eyes the [corners] of which extended to the ears.

21. Whether [it was] on account of the love-bond of a previous birth or through the command of Kāma, by that same look she filled his soul with devote attachment.

22. Though he had not touched her, he felt as if she who was like the nectar of bliss, were fixed [in him] even to the very marrow.

23. After hiding her body for a moment behind a pillar of the house, she moved on, looking again and again at the king with her face turned backwards.

24. Having lost his heart to that graceful [lady] to such an [extent], the king slowly returned to his palace, his eyes glancing sidewise full of car-

25. While his eyes were there absorbed in the imagination of her form, his body became reduced, as well as his affection for his seraglio.

26. He reflected: "Alas, the misfortune, that in the garden of my mind there has grown that evil-producing poison-tree called passion!"

27. "O that lucky course of love, which defeating reason has driven off as enemies judgment and other [mental qualities] which befriended [me]!"

28. "Whence [arises] that irresistible change of righteous conduct in me, who, as king, must be virtuous and afraid of slander?"

29. "If the king himself take away the wives of the subjects, who else should punish trespass of the law?"

30. While the king reflected in this manner he could not forget either the line [of conduct] which the virtuous should follow, or that long-eyed [lady].

31. When the merchant heard the story from the people, he kind-

18. *sadūrvāhitavibhramā* may be dissolved either as indicated by A, *santau tāv ūrū, tābhyām āhito vibhramo yayā*, or *dūrvayā āhito yo vibhramas, tatsahitā* The compound, if taken in the latter sense, contains, as well as the expression *pūrṇakumbhā*° of the other compound, an allusion to a sacrificial feast, at which cups (*kalaśa* or *kumbha*) and *dūrvā* grass (Panicum Dactylon) are used. The latter is also worn in the hair of women; comp. *Kumārasaṁbhava*, vii. 14.

heartedly spoke thus in private to the [king], whose illness had become known, and who was near to death:

32. "You have [now] reached such a state, why do you [let yourself] be restrained by the law? There is nothing that a man may not do when life is at stake."

33. "Even of those whose opinions are desired by the wise on doubtful questions of law, it is known that they abandoned restraint in such circumstances."

34. "Besides, it is not right to neglect one's body for the sake of glory. Far-spread fame is no elixir for the ears of those who are dead."

35. "Do not consider me. For in your cause, O king, no account need be taken even of my life. What need be said about mere objects of the senses?"

36. "If even after this declaration you do not accept her, then you should take her from a temple as a dancing girl put [there] by me on account of her skill in dancing."

37. Thus prompted by that [merchant] and by his own powerful love-passion, he first felt shame, but then reluctantly accepted the beautiful-eyed one.

38. Removing the levity of such conduct by noble works, Queen *Narendra-[prabhā]* built the illustrious [shrine of] *Narendreśvara.*

39. And in course of time the wife of the king bore, through the subjects' merits, a son called *Candrāpīḍa,* just as the earth [produces] a treasure.

40. His bright virtues removed the blot of his descent, just as rubbing with the touchstone [removes] the impurity attaching to a jewel when it comes from the mine.

41. The gathering of the clouds produces clear water from the intensely impure smoke; from the rock consisting of a mass of blunt stones is produced the very sharp iron. Moreover, the shining fire takes its origin from the thoroughly dull water. In truth, the character of the great does by no means conform to the place of their birth.

42. Subsequently she bore the king also a [second] son, *Tārāpīḍa,* and then *Muktāpīḍa,* whose name [ought to have been] *Avimuktāpīḍa.*

43. These sons of *Pratāpāditya,* [namely] *Candrāpīḍa* and the other [two], were also well known by the names of *Vajrāditya, Udayāditya* and *Lalitāditya.*

39. Verses 39-43 have been translated by Prof. BÜHLER, *Ind. Ant.*, ii. p. 105.

42. *Muktāpīḍa* might be interpreted to mean 'he whose diadem is taken off.' Hence K., bearing in mind the greatness of this ruler, says 'his name ought to have been Avimuktāpīḍa.' The proper translation of Muktāpīḍa is, however, 'he whose diadem contains pearls.' See Prof. BÜHLER, *l.c.*

43. By a misinterpretation of this verse, WILSON, *History*, p. 43, made out that Pratāpāditya had seven sons—an error into which Troyer and Lassen have followed him. The correct meaning was first pointed out by Prof. BÜHLER, *l.c.*

DURLABHAKA-PRATÂPÂDITYA II.

44. After ruling the earth for fifty years, King *Durlabha* ascended slowly to the holy celestial world by the stairs of his meritorious deeds.

CANDRÂPÎḌA.

45. Then the illustrious *Candrāpīḍa* became the crest-jewel among the kings. He caused distress to Kali by his fame, which vanquished the light of the moon.

46. He, [like] a clever versifier, completed the law which [other] kings had left like a *samasyā* with [only] one *pāda*, by the [remaining] three *pādas*.

47. Virtues mutually opposed, such as forbearance and valour, equally served him, just as the [different] seasons [equally serve] the celestial garden.

48. His fortune brought equal benefit to all his dependents in their respective place, just as the irrigation-channel to the trees of a garden.

49. Fortune reached him pure after leaving its impurities with other kings, just as a stream [reaches] the ocean after depositing the turbid substances, [brought down] in its flood, on the rocks it passes.

50. Acquainted with affairs, he did not do what by its result might have caused him anxiety, but was engaged in praiseworthy [acts], and [yet] felt ashamed when being praised.

51. He was not instructed by his ministers, but gave them instructions. The diamond is not cut by any other precious stones, but [on the contrary] it cuts them.

52. From fear of [doing] what was not lawful, he thought it necessary to abandon his own case (*pakṣa*) where the law was doubtful, as Garuḍa [abandoned his own wing (*pakṣa*)] from fear of [Indra's] thunderbolt.

53. This king showed the way of justice and removed foolish practices (*mandehāḥ*) from the legal course, as the sun [removes] from its daily course the Mandehas.

54. If this [my] discourse refrains from the description of that [prince's] virtues, it is in order that the connection [of the narrative] may not be broken, but not because only this much was available [for mention].

45. KLAPROTH, *Mémoires relatifs à l'Asie*, ii. pp. 275 sqq., appears to have been the first to recognise the Candrāpiḍa of the Chronicle in the King *Tchen-t'o-lo-pi-li* of Kaśmir, who according to the Annals of the T'ang dynasty applied in A.D. 713 to the Chinese Emperor for aid against the Arabs (see A. RÉMUSAT, *Nouv. Mélanges asiat*, i. pp. 196 sq.). These Annals also record that about the year A.D. 720 the Emperor granted Tchen-t'o-lo-pi-li the title of king. The latter must, therefore, have still been living about A.D. 719, whereas according to K.'s chronology Candrāpiḍa's reign would fall in the years A.D. 686-695. The questions raised by these data as to the accuracy of K.'s chronology of the Kārkoṭa dynasty have been discussed by CUNNINGHAM, *Anc. Geogr.*, p 91; Prof BÜHLER, *Ind. Ant.*, ii. p. 106; Prof. M. MÜLLER, *India*, p. 333; SH. PANDURANG PANDIT, *Gaudavaho*, pp. lxxx sqq. Comp. also the remarks of REINAUD, *Mémoire*, pp. 188 sqq., bearing on the political condition of the north-west of India after the first Arab invasion.

46. *Samasyā* is a favourite poetic exercise, in which a *pāda* or a half-verse, composed for the occasion or taken from some well-known author, has to be worked into a stanza by the composition of the remaining *pādas*.

53. The *Mandehas*, a class of Rākṣasas, are supposed to bar the way of the rising sun on Mount Udaya.

55. When the work on his temple of *Tribhuvanasvâmin* was to be begun, a leather-tanner refused to give up his hut which was on the suitable site.

56. Though he had often promised it to those in charge of the new building, he, obstinate by nature, would not allow the measuring lines to be laid down.

57. When thereupon they went to the lord of the earth and reported the matter, he considered them to be at fault, not the tanner.

58. He told them: "Shame upon the inconsiderate conduct of those who began the construction of the new [temple] without previously asking that [tanner]."

59. "Stop the building, or have it erected elsewhere! Who would stain a pious work by taking away another's land?"

60. "If we, who are to look after right and wrong, do unlawful acts, who should proceed by the right path?"

61. When the king had thus spoken, a messenger, who had come from that leatherworker and whom the council of ministers had sent on, brought this message:

62. "That [tanner] wishes to see the ruler and says: 'If it be not proper for me to come into the audience hall, then let it be at the time when [the king is] in the outer court.'"

63. Then on the following day, the king granted him an audience outside and asked him: "Why are just you obstructing our pious work?"

64. "If that habitation appears to you beautiful, then you may ask for one even better or else for a big sum of money." Thus he told him.

65. When the king then had ceased speaking, he was addressed by the tanner, who appeared eager, as it were, to take the measure of that [king's] noble character with the measuring lines of the rays [proceeding] from his [white] teeth.

66. "O king, if I tell you something just as it is in my mind, then as a true judge you should not stand by proudly."

67. "I am not less than a dog, nor is the king greater than the descendant of *Kâkuts* Why should [then] your courtiers shake, as it were, at [the sight of] this conversation between us?"

68. "The body of man born in the cycle of existences resembles a weak mail-coat, being held together only by the two nails called 'self-sufficiency' and 'selfishness.'"

62. *Bâhyâli* appears to be the general designation of the outer portion of the palace, where an audience may be given by the monarch to people of lower position, outside the proper *âsthâna* or Darbâr Hall. Comp. vii. 385, 392, 926, 966; viii. 46, and the distinction of Diwân-i 'Am and Diwân-i Khâs at the Moghul court.

67. I am unable to trace the particular story alluded to. 'The descendant of *Kâkutstha*' may be Daśaratha or Râma; comp. *P.W.*, s.v. *Kâkutstha*.

CANDRĀPĪḌA.

69. "Self-consciousness such as you have in your splendour of bracelets, pearl-strings, and other [ornaments], lives also in my person though I am a poor man."

70. "As this palace resplendent with stucco is to your Majesty, so to me is the hut in which the window is formed by the mouth of a pot."

71. "Since my birth this hut has been [to me] like a mother, witness of good and evil days. I cannot bear to see it pulled down to-day."

72. "The misery which men [feel] when their homes are forcibly taken away, could be described only by a god who has fallen from his celestial car, or else a king who has lost his kingdom."

73. "Notwithstanding this, however, I should have to give it up if your Majesty would come to my dwelling and ask for it in accordance with propriety."

74. When he had given this answer, the king went to his home and bought up the hut with money. For those who desire happiness, there is no [false] pride.

75. The tanner then spoke to him with hands folded: "O king, your readiness to oblige is proper [and] in accordance with the law."

76. "As in old days *Dharma* in the form of a dog tested the righteousness of the son of *Pāṇḍu*, so have I to-day as a Paria (*aspṛśya*) [tested] yours."

77. "Hail to you! May you long live to show such righteous and pure lines of conduct, worthy to be relied upon by the virtuous."

78. Showing thus a blameless conduct, the king purified the earth by the consecration of [the shrine of] Viṣṇu *Tribhuvanasvāmin.*

79. His wife, whose name was *Prakāśadevī*, [and who deserved this name] from her works, bright like the brilliant ether (*prakāśākāśa*), founded the *Prakāśikāvihāra.*

80. His Guru, [a man] of noble virtues, called *Mihiradatta*, built the [temple of] Viṣṇu *Gambhīrasvāmin.*

81. His city-prefect, called *Chalitaka*, who removed the permanency of all offices (?), built the [temple of Viṣṇu] *Chalitasvāmin.*

70. The tanners of Kaśmīr (*vātal*) form a despised class and lead a gipsy sort of life. Their habitations are built of mud-covered rush-walls in which the necks of big pots are inserted to serve as windows.

76. The story of the Yudhiṣṭhira, as told in a well-known episode of the *Mahābh.* xvii. Adhy. iii, is alluded to.

78. The *Tribhuvanasvāmin* temple stood still in the time of King Uccala; comp. viii. 80. Its position is unknown, and so is that of the *Prakāśikāvihāra.*

80. The gloss of A₂ places the *Gambhīrasvāmin* temple at *Gambhīrasaṁgama*, by which name the *Vitastāmāh.* viii. 6, *Vij̄eśvaramāh.* 151 and Sāhibrām's *Tīrthas.* designate the Tīrtha at the junction of the Vitastā and Viśokā (Veśau) rivers, 75° 8′ long. 33° 50′ lat. It speaks for the antiquity of the name *Gambhīrasaṁgama* that the lower course of the Viśokā, which receives a short distance before this junction the waters of the Rembyār (Ramaṇyāṭavī), is called *Gambhīrā* (Sindhu) already by K. viii. 1063, 1497 and Jayadratha, *Haracar.* x. 192. I have not been able to trace at Gambhīrasaṁgama any ancient remains above ground.

81. I am unable to explain satisfactorily

82. Once a Brahmana woman who was undergoing voluntary starvation (*prāyopaveśa*), and had been questioned [on this account] by the law officers, spoke thus to the king as he was seated in court: CANDRĀPĪḌA. Story of the Sorcerer.

83. "Alas! while you, who remove all reproach, rule the earth, some one has taken the life of my husband as he was peacefully sleeping."

84. "It is verily a great humiliation for a king of righteous conduct, if untimely death overtakes his subjects."

85. "But even if [rulers] like yourself look [quietly] upon that in submission to the power of the Kali age, how can you remain indifferent at this far worse misdeed?"

86. "Ponder as I may [over it], I cannot find any enemy of my husband, because for him, being free from fault, there was peace in all directions."

87. "As he bore no grudges, was free from arrogance, friendly in his speech, fond of virtues, affable and without greediness, he was indeed no object of hatred for anyone."

88. "Suspicion falls on a Brahman residing at *Mākṣikasvāmin*, who knows witchcraft, and who, of the same age as himself, has from early youth been his inferior in learning."

89. "Those mean persons, whose want of distinction does not allow them to sleep, and who are incapable of competing for fame, in their grudge harass the life of those who are distinguished by cleverness."

90-92. "No one is of bad character if not the son of a harlot; no one is in continual fear if not guilty; no one is talkative if not a liar; no one is ungrateful if not a clerk (*kāyastha*); no one is miserly if not the son of a liberal person; no one is ever-wretched if not the jealous; no one is laughed at by all if not the slave of women; no one is of gentle speech if not an old man; no one hates his father if

sarvādhikaraṇasthairyocchettā. The Paris Ed. has *sarvādhikaraṇāsthairyo°*, a reading which is not supported by the MSS. The text is, perhaps, corrupt.

82. Regarding the custom of *prāyopaveśa* used as a means for securing redress of injustice, etc., see JOLLY, *Grundriss*, *Recht u. Sitte*, p. 147. For other references in *Rājat.* see Index, s.v. *prāya* and *prāyopaveśa*.

88. From viii. 1171, it is certain that *Mākṣikasvāmin* was the name of a part of S'rinagar or a suburb immediately adjoining the capital. I believe, therefore, that Mākṣikasvāmin can be safely identified with the island of *Māy'sum*, which lies at the S.E. corner of S'rinagar between the Vitastā and the two branches of the Tsōnṭh Kul or Mahāsarit as explained in note iii. 339-349. The name *Māy'sum* can be traced back without difficulty to *Mākṣikasvāmin* through intermediate Apabhraṁśa forms in which the first part of the name, *Mākṣika-*, was turned, perhaps, into **Māhiya*>**Māhya*>**Māya*.

For the identity of Mākṣikasvāmin with Māy'sum speaks the mention of the former, viii. 1171, in connection with a great fire which arose in *Kāṣṭhila*, the modern Kāṭhul, a quarter of S'rinagar situated nearly opposite to Māy'sum. Long before the island of Māy'sum was taken up for the modern European quarters, there existed a thickly populated suburb at its western extremity near the first city bridge.

A *Mākṣikasvāmin* Nāga is mentioned by the *Nilamata*, 951.

90. For *puṁścaleyo* we have probably to emend *puṁścaliyo*, or with Durgāpr. *pauṁścaleyo*.

CANDRĀPĪḌA. he has not been begotten by another [man]; no one is devoid of shame if not possessed by love-passion; no one is thoroughly wicked but the man of mean learning. This is the summary of things as they really are."

93. After the Brahman's wife had thus spoken, the king had the Brahman, on whom her suspicion had fallen, brought into his presence and ordered him to exculpate himself.

94. Again the Brahman's wife addressed him: "O king, as he is famous for his knowledge of charms (*khārkhodavidyā*), he can get over an ordeal with ease."

95. Then the lord of the earth spoke to that [woman] while his face seemed to grow wan: "What shall we judges do to a man whose guilt has not been shown?"

96. "Not even another person can receive punishment if his guilt is not established: still less a Brahman, who is exempt from capital punishment although guilty."

97. When he stopped after these words, the Brahman's wife spoke again: "Four days have passed, O king, without my having taken food."

98. "I have not followed [my] husband [into death], because I was anxious for retaliation on the murderer. As this [man] has not received punishment, I seek death by starvation."

99. While the Brahman woman persisted in this [course], he (Candrāpīḍa) himself performed a *prāyopaveśa* at the feet of the *Tribhuvanasvāmin* [image].

100. When the king had spent there three nights, the [god], who rides on *Satya* (Garuḍa), and who is the highest of the never-sleeping [gods], spoke to him in his dream these true words, as the night was waning:

94. The practice of witchcraft and the belief in its efficiency have prevailed in Kaśmīr from early times, and have survived to some extent even to the present day; comp. BÜHLER, *Report*, p. 24. Marco Polo records of the people of Kaśmīr: "They have an astonishing acquaintance with the devilries of enchantment; insomuch that they make their idols speak. They can also by their sorceries bring on changes of weather and produce darkness, and do a number of things so extraordinary that no one without seeing them would believe them." See YULE, *Marco Polo*, i. p. 175, with an interesting note giving later references to Kaśmīr magic.

The term *khārkhoda*, in the sense of a kind of deadly charm or witchcraft, recurs in v. 239, and is found also in the *Vijayeśvaramāh.* (Adipur.) xi. 25. In the form *khārkhoṭa* it is quoted by the *N.P.W.* from *Caraka*, vi. 23. *Khārkhoṭa* appears as the designation of a sorcerer or another kind of uncanny person in *Haraear.* ii. 125, along with Kṛtyās and Vetālas.

The word occurs in the form *khakkhorda* in one of the spells preserved on the ancient birch-bark leaves of the 'Bower MS.' There 'destruction by kh.' is mentioned between *kṛtyakarman* 'witchcraft' and evils caused by Vetālas; see Dr. HOERNLE's paper, *Ind. Ant.*, xxi. pp. 356, 368 sq. Two similar spells found in the ancient Central Asian 'Weber MSS.' give the forms *khakkhorda* and *khākhorda*. Compare Dr. HOERNLE's paper, *J.A.S.B.*, 1893, p. 25, where the question of the different spellings is also discussed.

Whether the word *khurkhuṭa* (see note vii. 298) has any connection with *khārkhoda* seems now to me doubtful.

100. Garuḍa, who carries Viṣṇu, bears the name *Satya*, according to the Kośa passage quoted in the gloss of A₂.

101. "O king, such search after truth is not proper in the Kali [age]. Who could place the sun on the sky at night?" CANDRĀPĪDA

102. "On account of your [spiritual] power this shall once take place. Let rice-flour be thrown about in this courtyard of my temple."

103-104. "If on that [person] circumambulating this [shrine] three times there are seen behind his footprints the footprints of *Brahmahatyā*, then he is the murderer and deserves the appropriate punishment. This rite should be carried out at night; in day-time the sun keeps off what is of evil."

105. When he had this done, the guilt of the Brahman became evident, and thereupon the [royal] judge inflicted [upon him] the punishment which, as he was a Brahman, could not be that of death.

106. Then when that earthly Indra had passed judgment on the murderer of the husband, the Brahman woman spoke thus after uttering blessings:

107. "Among so many rulers of the earth as have ever existed, [only] the son of *Kṛtavīrya* (Arjuna) and you, O king, were seen to punish secret crimes."

108. "While you, O king, preside over this earth as judge, no one perishes without having reached the utmost object of [his] enmity or love."

109. Though the reign of this [king] was very short, yet it was thus filled with plentiful stories of his justice which might be thought of as [belonging] to the Kṛta Yuga.

110. Benumbing cold, methinks, [arising] from the contact with the lotus-seat, must have freely penetrated deep into the soul of Brahman.

111 How otherwise could he have ordained that he, who produced the happiness of the different castes (*varṇa*), should disappear as soon as seen, like the rainbow?

112. *Tārāpīḍa*, his younger brother, brought death on this king by making that Brahman, who felt deep wrath over his punishment, use his witchcraft (*abhicāra*).

113. In order to enjoy pleasures, which on account of the [preceding] evil deeds yield no enjoyment, the wicked destroy the virtuous, as the young camels [destroy] the Ketaka-tree in order to get at its thorns.

103-104 The lengthy gloss added here in A by an unknown hand explains the supposition underlying the test recommended by the god. It is that the crime of killing a Brahman (*brahmahatyā*) follows the murderer in the shape of a female spectre According to the story found in the Purāṇas (e g in the Kāśikhaṇḍa of the *Skandapur.*, I Adhy. 31), and alluded to in the gloss (*druhiṇaśiracchedena mahādevavat*), Brahmahatyā appeared first in the pursuit of S'iva, when this god had struck off the fifth head of Brahman

110 Brahman is born from a lotus and is seated on a lotus; *jaḍiman* means both coldness and dulness

111. The epithet *vibhaktavarṇaśobhasya* refers also to the rainbow, 'shining in different colours (*varṇa*).'

CANDRĀPĪḌA.

114. From that [time] onwards, princes lusting for the throne in this kingdom began to use witchcraft and other evil practices against their elder relatives.

115-116. Who does not feel a thrill when he remembers that extreme (*or* last) act of forbearance on the part of the illustrious king *Candrāpīḍa?*—namely, that, when on the point of death, he did not destroy that Brahman sorcerer (*kṛtyādhāyin*), though he had got him [in his power], saying: "What sin is there in this poor fellow whom another has instigated?"

117. Surely, the Creator after forgetting him in the line of the kings of the Kṛta [Yuga], must have inserted him now with a mark of omission (*kākapada*) in the list of kings of the Kali [Yuga].

118. After being for eight years and eight months the benefactor of the earth, that self-controlled [prince] entered heaven and for ever the mind of the righteous.

TĀRĀPĪḌA.

119. Then the earth-disc was held by the cruel *Tārāpīḍa*, who created terror by his glory, mingled with blood on account of the fratricide.

120. When his young glory was born, he carried off the fame of his adversaries, which resembled the full cups [used at the birth-sacrifice], and made the headless corpses dance.

121. Even the brilliant fortune of this evil-working [king] created uneasiness everywhere, like the light of the burning-ground.

122. Thinking that the Brahmans through their spells caused the power of the gods to be present, he in his hatred of the gods meted out punishment to the Brahmans.

123. He ruled on the earth [only] for four years and one month less six days, his merits [from previous births] having been out-balanced by his treachery against his elder [brother].

124. Then the Brahmans made his life sink through secret witchcraft, and he found a death similar to that of his brother, but not his way [to heaven].

125. Whoever makes a plot to injure others, surely perishes [himself] by that very [plot]. The smoke which the fire produces to blind the eyes, after turning into a cloud, extinguishes that very [fire] by its water.

LALITĀDITYA-MUKTĀPĪḌA.

126. Then the illustrious King *Lalitāditya* became the universal monarch, he

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117 *Kākapada*, 'crowfoot,' is the technical term for a mark of omission in MSS. The glossator A_1 represents it as +, and in this form it can be seen, e.g., on fol. 162 of A, reproduced in facsimile in my Ed. The corresponding Kś. term, given in the gloss as *kāvacchedo*, is still used in the form *kāvᵃtsyund*.

120. The *jātakarara* ceremony is alluded to, which is celebrated with a sacrifice and festivities.

122 For the rendering of *daṇḍam atyajat*, comp. gloss of A_3 and viii. 513.

126. The name of *Lalitāditya* or *Muktāpīḍa* is found in the Chinese Annals of the T'ang dynasty. These record the arrival of an embassy from *Mu-to-pi*, King of **Kaśmīr,**

who was [far] beyond the conception of Fate which creates [only] rulers of limited territories.

127. With the shining mass of his glory's rays he adorned, as it were, the elephant [representing the isle] of *Jambudvīpa* with scented powders

128. This king, who carried far his prowess, abandoned his [warlike] fury [only] when the [opposing] kings discreetly folded their palms at his victorious onset.

129. At the sound of his drums [beaten] in attack, the dwellings of his enemies were deserted by the [frightened] inhabitants, and thus resembled women dropping in fright the burden of their wombs.

130. He made the enemies' wives, on whose faces the ends of the [painted] forehead-marks became detached, and whose tears were flowing, perform, as it were, oblations to the Pitṛs (*nivāpa*) with folded hands.

131. The king, eager for conquests, passed his life chiefly on expeditions, moving round the earth like the sun.

132 The Mahārāja, taking the tribute of the eastern region in the presence of his flaming glory, shone forth in the land between the *Gangā* and *Yamunā* (*Antarvedi*), wearing his own fame as head-dress.

during the reign of the Emperor Hiuen-tsung, A.D 713-755, and after the first Chinese expedition against Po-lu (Baltistān), which took place between the years 736-747. The king requested an alliance against the Tibetans, and the despatch of a Chinese auxiliary force, which was to encamp in the midst of his country on the shores of the *Mahāpadma* lake (i e the Vular) He offered to find provisions for an army of 200,000 men, and reported that in alliance with the king of Central India he had blocked the five routes of Tibet Comp the extract of Ma-tu-an-lin in A REMUSAT'S translation, *Nouv. Mélanges asiat*, I pp 196 sq, also KLAPROTH'S *Mémoires relatifs a l'Asie*, II pp 275 sq, *Ind Ant*, II p 102 sqq, and Messrs LÉVI and CHAVANNES, *Journal asiat*, 1895, p 351. Notwithstanding the very different picture which the notice of the Annals gives of the power of Kaśmir at this period, the identity of *Mu-to-pi* with *Muktāpīḍa* cannot be doubted

As the year of the Kaśmirian embassy is not indicated, the above notice does not allow us to check with accuracy the dates assigned by K.'s chronology to Lalitāditya's reign, A D 700-736 That the same Annals necessitate a correction of at least twenty-five years in the date of Candrāpīḍa, has already been shown in note IV 45 REINAUD, *Mémoire*, pp 189 sqq, has rightly indicated the serious doubts which must arise as to the possibility of the extensive conquests ascribed by the Chronicle to Lalitāditya, in view of the general political situation created in the North-West of India by the irruption of the Arabs.

It is very probable that ALBĒRŪNĪ refers (*India*, II p 178) to Muktapida when speaking of the King of Kaśmir called *Muttai*, whose alleged victory over the Turks the people of Kasmir celebrated by a festival on the 2nd of the month Caitra "According to their account he ruled over the whole world But this is exactly what they say of most of their kings However, they are incautious enough to assign to him a time not much anterior to our own time, which leads to their lie being found out" According to Prof Buhler's ingenious suggestion, مُتّى hides here **Muttapu* مُتَّپُ, an Apabhraṁśa form of the king's name, see *Ind Ant*, XIX p 383

In my *Notes on Ou-k'ong*, pp. 5 sq, I have shown that we have probably a reference to Muktāpida also in the Itinerary of that Chinese pilgrim, see below, IV 188, the note on the *Moung-ti* Vihāra

130 At the *nivāpa* ceremony water is offered to the Pitṛs from folded hands, after throwing into the water a small quantity of the powder with which the forehead-marks are painted

132 The puns introduced into this verse cannot be rendered in a translation *Mahā-*

LALITĀDITYA-MUKTĀPĪḌA.

War with Yaśovarman.

133 At that very *Gādhipura*, where [once] the wind-god had made the maidens humpbacked (*kanyānām kubjatvam*), that praiseworthy [king] made the warriors [bend their backs] in terror.

134. King *Lalitāditya*, withering in a moment the mountain-like *Yaśovarman's* troops (*vāhinī*), resembled the fierce sun [when it dries up a hill-stream] (*adrivāhinī*).

135. The thoughtful ruler of *Kanyakubja* showed himself as one of the wise when he [first] showed his back to the fiercely shining *Lalitāditya*, and [then] made his submission.

136 His (Lalitāditya's) companions surpassed even him in abundant pride, as the breeze from a sandal-wood [forest] carries even stronger scent than the spring.

137-138 Thus his minister of foreign affairs (*sāṁdhivigrahika*), *Mitraśarman*, at the conclusion of peace did not tolerate the diplomatic politeness [observed] in the treaty document [drawn up on the part] of the illustrious *Yaśovarman*, as he

rāja is in Kaśmir the conventional title given to the bridegroom during the marriage festivities Similar double meanings attach to the other words The verse must be understood at the same time to mean. "He as bridegroom wearing the [festive] head-dress [white like] his own fame, appeared resplendent in the midst of the sacrificial place (*vedi*), taking before the shining fire the hand of his betrothed (*pūrvadiy iti pūrvādiṣṭā*)"

133. *Gādhipura* is a name of the town *Kanyakubja*, the present Kanauj, derived from its legendary king *Gādhi*. The well-known legend alluded to in our verse, gives an etymology of the name *Kanyakubja*; comp LASSEN, *Ind. Alt*, i p 158. CUNNINGHAM, *Anc Geogr*, p. 376 sq, *Si-yu-ki*, i pp 207 sqq, etc

134 The expression *pratāpādityatām yayau* contains an allusion to the name of Lalitāditya's father, but does not indicate that Lalitāditya, besides his other name (v 42), bore also the name of *Pratāpaditya*, as erroneously supposed by CUNNINGHAM, *Coins of Med India*, p 40

Scarcely any historical data are as yet available regarding King *Yaśovarman* of Kanyakubja apart from the notice in our passage, though we have a 'historical poem' dealing with Yaśovarman's victory over an (unnamed) Gauḍa king in Vakpati's *Gaudavaho*. Regarding the very scanty information contained in this work, see Sh Pandurang Pandit's introduction to his edition, pp. xli-cvi., *passim*

It has been assumed that the king of Central India with whom King *Mu-to-pi*-Muktāpīḍa boasted of having concluded an alliance (see note iv 126), was Yaśovarman In this case Muktāpīḍa's war with Yaśovarman, and the latter's defeat, must fall after the date of Muktāpīḍa's embassy to the Chinese court This date must be later than 736 A D, comp Messrs LÉVI and CHAVANNES, *Journ asiat*, 1895, p 353 Pauthier, in a paper quoted by the last-named scholars (*Examen méthodique des faits qui concernent le Thian-chu*, 1839, p 66), had already suggested the identity of Yaśovarman with *I-cha-fon-mo*, king of Central India, who sent in 731 his minister *Seng-po-ta* to the Chinese court.

According to Prof M MÜLLER, *India*, p 334, Yaśovarman and his court-poet Vākpatirāja (see below iv 144), are mentioned in the Jaina *Tapāgacha Paṭṭāvali* as living about Samvat 800, i e. 744 A D.

Regarding a coin of Yaśovarman, which was found with Sassano-Arab coins in the Mānikyala Stūpa, and is supposed to have been struck by Y of Kanauj, see *Arch. Survey Rep*, ii p 159

135 The simile of the preceding verse is continued Yaśovarman flees before Lalitāditya, as one turns one's face from the shining sun, and seeks afterwards his protection, as one basks in the sun

136 The wind from the south, where the sandal-wood grows, accompanies the spring.

137-138 The translation of these verses is not quite certain. They seem to refer to an objection raised by Lalitāditya's minister at the time of the peace negotiations to the

thought it a slight on his master if it were written 'The treaty of *Yaśovarman* and *Lalitāditya*,' and thus the name [of his king] not shown first.

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139. The king esteemed highly that [minister's] insistence on the proper form, though his generals, who were dissatisfied with the long duration of the war, blamed it.

140 Being pleased, he bestowed upon him (Mitraśarman) the five [offices distinguished] by the term 'Great' (*pañcamahāśabda*). *Yaśovarman*, on the other hand, he uprooted entirely.

141. From that time onwards there have existed over the eighteen offices, which had been created before, the five [new ones], which he instituted.

142-143. These bore the designations 'office of high chamberlain' (*mahāpratīhārapīḍā*); that of 'chief minister of foreign affairs' (*mahāsaṁdhivigraha*); that of 'chief master of the horse' (*mahāśvaśālā*); that of 'high keeper of the treasury' (*mahābhāṇḍāgāra*); and the fifth was called that of the 'chief executive officer' (*mahāsādhanabhāga*). The *S'āhi* (*or* S'āhis) and other princes were the officers in these [high posts]

form of the treaty document to be furnished by Yaśovarman It appears that diplomatic usage would have authorized each of the 'contracting parties' to put his name first in his own copy of the treaty, the copies being subsequently exchanged between the two parties after ratification Mitraśarman refuses to accept the document drawn up in this form by Yaśovarman's chancery, and Lalitāditya thereupon breaks off the negotiations.

140. TROYER, i p. 486, and after him LASSEN, *Ind. Alt.*, iii. p. 998, have assumed that our text shows a lacuna before this verse, because the copy of A, procured by Moorcroft and used for the Calcutta Ed, contained some indication to this effect This mistake has arisen from the accidental fact of A_1 having left here a blank space in the MS., which the writer, however, was careful enough to deprive of all significance by the note *na kiṁcit patitam*. Similar blanks are found elsewhere in A and other Kaśmir paper MSS They are easily explained from the Kaśmir custom of writing MSS not on single leaves as elsewhere in India, but on connected 'forms (see Preface to Ed., p vii) Fast writers like Rājānaka Ratnakaṇṭha save the time otherwise required for the drying of the obverse of each folio by copying alternately in two or more different 'forms' This has the occasional result that small spaces at the end of the forms must be left blank, or *vice versâ* the writing unduly crammed, owing to some slight error in calculating the extent of the text allotted to each 'form.'

140-143 *pañcamahāśabda* —The eighteen earlier offices (*karmasthāna*) are those referred to in i. 120 Among the five new ones, which were scarcely more than mere court-titles, only the first is mentioned again in the Chronicle, iv 485. Collectively the five offices are mentioned in iv 680, comp regarding them, JOLLY, *Weber-Festgabe*, p. 85.

Our passage is of interest, as it clearly establishes, at least for Kaśmir, the significance of the term *pañcamahāśabda* often met with in ancient inscriptions and grants from other parts of India The term has been correctly explained, in the sense indicated by our passage, as 'the five titles commencing with *Great*' by Profs Buhler, Kielhorn, Mr Fleet and others, comp *Ind Ant.*, iv. pp 106, 180, 204; xiii 134 Another explanation first suggested by Sir W Elliot, *Ind. Ant*, v 251, would refer the term to the privilege of using certain musical instruments conferred on vassals as a mark of honour The number five is supposed to be connected with the beating of these instruments five times a day, or to relate to five different instruments used for this purpose The evidence adduced *l.c* and *Ind Ant*, xii p. 95, xiv. p 202, does, however, not appear sufficiently old to establish this interpretation as the original sense of the term

The meaning of the last title, *mahāsādhanabhāga*, is quite uncertain. The above render-

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144 *Yaśovarman*, who had been served by *Vākpatirāja*, the illustrious *Bhavabhūti*, and other poets, [himself] became by his defeat a panegyrist of his (Lalitāditya's) virtues.

145. What more [shall I relate]? The land of *Kanyakubja* from the bank of the *Yamunā* to that of the *Kālikā*, was as much in his power as the courtyard of his palace

Lalitāditya's *Digvijaya*

146. Passing over *Yaśovarman*, just as the Gaṅgā [breaks through] the Himālaya, his army (*vāhinī*) proceeded with ease to the eastern ocean.

147 His elephants, which there saw the land of their birth, were only with difficulty induced by the abuse of their impatient drivers to march on from the *Kalinga* country.

ing was suggested by WILSON, p 45 LASSEN, *Ind Alt*, III 998, would refer the title to a director of public works, JOLLY, *l c*, to a minister of police

S'āhi – In my paper *Zur Geschichte der S'ahis von Kābul* (Festgruss an R v Roth, Stuttgart, 1893, pp 198 sqq), I have shown that the title *S'ahi* is used elsewhere in the Chronicle for the designation of the dynasty, which preceded the Ghazna Sultāns in the rule of Kabul and Gandhāra, and which Alberūni (*India*, II p 13) knows as the 'Hindu Shahiyas of Kābul From Note *J*, v 152-155, it will be seen that *Lalliya*, whom K mentions in the reign of S'amkaravarman as the mighty S'āhi ruler residing at Udabhāṇḍa, is in all probability identical with the king, who appears in Alberuni's account under the name of Kallar as the *first* of the Hindu Shāhiyas The *S'āhi* or *S'āhis* mentioned in our own passage could, therefore, not have belonged to this dynasty

We know, however, from the evidence indicated in the above-quoted paper, that the royal title *S'āhi* had continued in use from Indo-Scythian times through the various dynasties, belonging to the Yue-tchis, Little Yue-tchis, White Huns and Turks, which ruled successively in the Kābul Valley and Gandhara It can, therefore, be safely assumed that the *S'ahi* mentioned in our passage belonged to the dynasty which preceded immediately the Hindu Shāhiyas

Alberūni, *India*, II pp 10 sqq, designates these rulers as 'Turks who were said to be of Tibetan origin,' and his statement has now received full confirmation by the testimony of Ou-k'ong, who, visiting Gandhara in the years 753-764, found that country under the rule of a family of undoubtedly Turkish origin Compare LÉVI and CHAVANNES' paper, *L'Itinéraire d'Ou-k'ong*, *Journal asiat*, 1895, pp 377 sqq The notices in the Annals of the T'ang, quoted in the last-named paper, give the names and dates for these Turkish kings, who ruled Kipin-Gandhāra during the first half of the eighth century. Within this period must have fallen Muktāpīḍa-Lalitāditya's reign (see note IV 126) In one of these rulers we have accordingly to recognize the *S'āhi*, whom K claims as a vassal of the Kaśmirian king.

144 I prefer the reading of L, *kavivākpati*°, to the text found in A, *kavir vākpati*°, which makes Yaśovarman himself a Kavi, see, however, *Subhasitāvali*, *Introd*, p 95.

Vākpatirāja is known to us as the author of the Prākrit Kāvya *Gaudavaho*, which celebrates Yaśovarman's victory over a Gauda king, see note IV 134 *Bhavabhūti* is the famous author of the dramas Mālatimādhava, Uttararāmacarita and Mahāviracarita, comp regarding him Prof Bhandarkar's Preface to the Mālatimādhava (Bombay Skr Series), pp v sqq

145 The *Kalikā* is, perhaps, the present Kāli Nadi, which flows parallel to the right of the Ganges until it joins the latter stream a short distance below Kanauj It might be urged against this identification that the extent indicated by Hiuen-tsiang for the kingdom of Kanyakubja makes it probable that it included territories beyond the Ganges. But the Chinese pilgrim visited it when it was the seat of the great Harṣavardhana. Moreover, K can scarcely be expected to be accurate in his topography when relating legendary expeditions to distant countries; comp CUNNINGHAM, *Anc. Geogr*, p. 376

The subsequent stages of Lalitāditya's wonderful march of victory round India have been discussed already by WILSON, *History*, pp 47 sq, with much care and learning

146 *vāhini* means also a stream, comp. for the same pun, e g IV 134, VII. 2, VIII. 3403.

147 The name *Kalinga* applies to the country on the coast S.W. of Orissa, compris-

148. Numberless elephants joined him from the *Gauḍa* land, as if attracted by friendship for the elephant [carrying] the couch of *Lakṣmī*, who was attached [to the king].

149. When his advanced troops reached the eastern ocean, it seemed as if the trunks of the hosts of his war-elephants grasped in the waves the hair of the ocean.

150. By the sea-shore, dark with extensive forests, he proceeded to Yama's region (south), while his enemies went by his sword to Yama's region (the underworld).

151. The *Karṇāṭas*, who wear their hair-braids high, bent down before him, and dropping their [head-ornaments of] golden Ketaka-leaves, used [instead] his glory as a diadem.

152. At that period there ruled as sovereign over the Dekhan (*Dakṣiṇāpatha*), a far-famed, quick-eyed *Karṇāṭa* [princess] called *Raṭṭā*.

153. This queen, who was, like Durgā, of unlimited power, made the roads over the *Vindhya* mountains adequate and free of obstacles.

154 She too felt satisfied when she bowed down and saw her own person transferred to (reflected in) the round mirror of the nails of *Lalitāditya's* lotus-feet.

155. Sipping the wine of the cocoanut-trees at the foot of the palms, and [fanned] by the breeze on the banks of the *Kāverī*, his warriors forgot their fatigue.

156. The snakes, which dropped from the multitude of the sandal-wood-trees on the *Malaya* mountain (*Candanādri*), appeared like so many curved swords falling from the arms [of that mountain] from fear of his attack.

157 Putting his foot on the islands as if they were crossing-stones, he moved quickly and without difficulty over the ocean just as over a rivulet.

ing the present Madras districts of Ganjam and Vizagapatam, comp. ÇUNNINGHAM, *Anc Geogr*, pp 515 sqq

148 *Gauḍa* is the name of the present Bengal

150. The epithet *vanarājiśyāmalena* must also be taken as referring to *kṛpāṇena*. 'his sword which was dark like an extensive forest' The dark colour of the sword is often alluded to, e.g in *Khaḍgaśataka* (Kāvyamālā Ed.) vv. 16, 17, 23; comp. also below iv. 156.

152. The name *Raṭṭā* evidently represents that of the *Raṭṭa* or *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* dynasty of Mahārāṣṭra, which from the middle of the eighth century had subjected Karṇāṭa or the Canarese country. For the dynastic name Raṭṭa as the equivalent of Rāṣṭrakūṭa, see *Ind Ant*, xii pp 216, 218, etc., and for the history of this dynasty BHANDARKAR, *History of the Dekkan*, pp 62 sqq

153 Durgā *Vindhyavāsini* is alluded to

As K makes Lalitāditya proceed from the Karnatic to the Kāveri (Cauvery) River and hence to the hills of Malabār (*Candanādri*, 'sandal-wood mountains'), the term *Vindhya* can scarcely be meant here for the mountain range of that name in Central India. Probably the Eastern Ghāṭs are intended, as suggested by WILSON, p 47. The real Vindhya mountains are mentioned in their proper place below, iv. 161.

156. The dark colour of the snake and of the sword forms the point of comparison.

157. The expression *uttarāśmānaḥ* is rightly explained in the gloss of A_2 by *utta-*

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158. Then having his triumphal cheers sounded by the music of the ocean waves, he, the first (*apaścima*) of conquerors, proceeded to the western region.

159. His shining majesty, on reaching the seven *Kauṅkaṇas*, dark with betel-nut trees, appeared like that of the sun with his [seven] horses.

160. *Dvārakā*, appearing from the wind-tossed waves of the western ocean, inspired his soldiers with a desire of entering [that holy city].

161. As the atmosphere was filled with the dust [arising] from the minerals trodden down by his forces, it appeared as if Mount *Vindhya* had risen up red with excessive anger.

162. The tusks of his elephants were split only by the light of the moon on the diadem of [S'iva] *Mahākāla*, as they marched in rows into *Avanti*.

163. Then when he saw on all sides most of the kings defeated, he entered by pathless tracks the far-spreading northern region (*uttarāpatha*).

164. There he had, step by step, fights with mighty kings, just as Indra with the chief mountains when bent on the task of cutting their wings.

165. The stables of the *Kāmbojas* were emptied of horses, and their [consequent] darkness made them appear as if filled with [black] buffaloes instead.

166. The *Tuḵkhāras*, who [at his approach] fled to the mountain ranges, leaving behind their horses, ceased to long for the latter when they saw the horse-faced [Kiṁnaras in the mountains].

raṇārtham aśmānaḥ. The Kś. term *ut'vaṭ'pal*, added by A₂ (*uṭavaṭapal*), is still used for crossing stones placed in the bed of small streams

159. I have translated according to the reading of A₂ *kramukaśyāmān*, which seems preferable to that of A₁ L *kramukān sapta* adopted in the text. *Kramuka*, which according to the latter reading would have to be taken as the designation of a country, is not known as a local name According to Wilson 'the seven Konkaṇas' are known in the Dekhan as comprehending the following territories on the Malabār coast *Kerala*, *Tulunga*, *Govarāṣṭra* (Goa), *Konkana* proper, *Kerātaka*, *Varalatta* and *Berbera* —From Mr Fleet's allusions, *Ind. Ant*, ix. p. 130, xxii. p. 182, it appears that the expression 'Seven Konkaṇas' is still known to modern tradition.

160. *Dvārakā* is the name of Kṛṣṇa's city located at the north-western extremity of the Gujarāt peninsula.

162. S'iva in the form of *Mahākāla* was worshipped at a famous shrine in Ujjayini, the capital of Avanti in Mālava; comp. WILSON, *Sel. Works*, ii. p. 142; REINAUD, *Mémoire*, pp. 291 sqq.; ALBĒRŪNĪ, *India*, ii. p. 202.

The verse alludes to the belief that the tusks of elephants are split by the moon-rays

165 The country of the *Kāmbojas*, i e the eastern part of Afghānistān, is famous already in the Epics for its breed of horses. It still sends its annual supplies of the 'Kābulī' horse into all parts of Northern India. K. boldly compares the black emptiness of the stables with dark-coloured buffaloes

166. The order, in which the *Tuḵkhāras* are here mentioned, makes it highly probable that the people meant are the same who are called *Tukhāras* in other Sanskrit texts, the Τοχαροί or Tochari of classical authors The statement of Hiuen-tsiang (*Si-yu-ki*, i. p. 37) about the country of the *Tu-ho-lo* or *Tukhāra*, makes it certain that this people, possibly a branch of the 'Great Yue-tchi' nation, had given its name to the upper Oxus Valley, including Balkh and Badakhshān. This is the territory known as *Tokhāristān* to the early Muhammadan writers. The difficulties besetting the question as to the original application of the name Tukhāra have been fully set forth by YULE, J.R.A.S., N S, vi pp. 94 sqq. Comp. ST.-MARTIN, *Mémoire analytique*, p. 35; LASSEN, *Ind. Alt*, i. p. 1023; *Viṣṇu Pur.*, ii.

167. He thought *Mummuni* defeated [only] after having vanquished him three times in battle. The valorous, indeed, think a single victory over an enemy [as accidental] as a letter [which is traced by the boring] of a wood-worm.

168. The anxiety [felt] by the *Bhauṭṭas* could not be seen on their faces, which are white in their original state, as the anger of the monkeys [cannot be seen] on their faces, reddish-brown by nature.

169. His dignity did not tolerate the continual wine-[drinking] of the *Darads*, [as little] as the rising morning sun [tolerates] the light of the herbs in the [mountain-]gorges.

170. The wind of the northern region, which touched the musk-deer and shook the stamina of the saffron flowers, attended his armies as if they were women.

171. As the town of *Prāgjyotiṣa* was deserted, he saw the smoke of incense rise only from the quantities of black aloes burning in the forests.

p. 186, and for other references Beal's note on *Si-yu-ki*, i. p. 37.

The form *Tuḫkhāra*, with Jihvāmūliya, in place of the usual *Tukhāra*, is found again in iv. 211, and must also have been written originally in the closely connected passage iv 246, where A has *bhuḫkhāra*° and L *tuḫkhāra*°. The same form may be supposed to have been intended in Bilhaṇa's *Vikram* ix 116; xviii 93, where the Ed reads *tukkhāra*. The ancient sign of the Jihvāmūliya closely resembles a superscribed ✱, both in S'āradā and Devanāgari, and is sometimes mistaken for it, comp. the form *khākkhorda* for *khāḫkhorda* referred to in note iv. 94.

No importance need be attached to the *v l.* of A_2, *bhukhkhārāh*, in our own passage and the form *bhuḫkhāra* written by A_1 in iv 246, as the akṣaras *tu* and *bhu* can scarcely be distinguished in old S'āradā For iv. 246, which mentions the birthplace of the minister *Caṅkuṇa*, the form *tuḫkhāra* is proved as the correct one by a reference to iv 211, where the same person is designated as a Tuḫkhāra, and further by the reading of L, *tuḫkhāra* L reads also in our own passage *tuḫkhārāh*, and thus confirms the reading of A_1 accepted in the text.

The apparent connection with the name of *Bukhāra* has induced former editors and interpreters to prefer the reading *bhuḫkhārāh*, though that designation of the ancient Sogdiana has not yet been found in Skr. literature. To Tokhāristān or the upper Oxus regions points distinctly the mention of the mountains in our verse and the reference to the Tuḫkhāras' horses. The latter are mentioned too in the above quoted passages of Bilhaṇa.

167. The name *Mummuni* has been fully discussed in note iii. 332, where also the *v.l.* of L is indicated. The gloss, *Mumen Khān*, given by A_2 on our passage, has apparently suggested to the editors of Ou-k'ong's Itinerary (*Journal asiat*, 1895, p. 351), the identification of Mummuni with the title of the Khalifs, *Amīr-ul-Mūmenīn*. But this glossator is quite modern, and I have shown in Ed, p xii, how little reliability can be claimed for his information on geographical or historical points

168-169. Regarding the *Bhauṭṭas* and *Darads*, see note i 312

The healing herbs of the mountains are supposed to shine at night, comp TROYER's note on this passage.

About the wine-drinking habits of certain Dard tribes, see DREW, *Jummoo*, p. 430

170 The musk-deer is found on the high mountain-plateaus to the N. and E of Kaśmir. The saffron flower is cultivated in the Valley of Kaśmir itself, see above note i 122

171-175 After bringing Lalitāditya to the countries of the Bhauṭṭas and Darads immediately bordering on Kaśmir in the N and E., K. makes the king conclude his march of conquest by expeditions into purely mythical regions, which Hindu tradition locates in the far North and East The land of the *Uttarakurus* figures in the mythological geography of the Indian Epos as a kind of Hyperborean paradise; comp. LASSEN, *Zeitschr. f. d Kunde d Morg.*, ii. p. 62 sq; also *Ind Alt*, i p. 846 sq., and in particular V DE ST.-MARTIN,

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172. In the 'sea of sand' (*vālukāmbudhi*), where the mirage produced the illusion of a stream, his lordly elephants appeared like a host of large crocodiles.

173. The women-folk in *Strīrājya* made the resolute hearts of his warriors melt, not by displaying the fronts of their elephants, but by [showing] their high breasts.

174. On seeing the emotion [shown] by the queen of *Strīrājya* in his presence by trembling and otherwise, no one could decide whether it were terror or love-desire.

175. In fright of him the *Uttarakurus* betook themselves to the trees, which had given them birth, just as the snakes terrified by the snake-destroying [Garuḍa] [hide themselves] in holes.

176. Then with the treasures obtained by his conquests he proceeded to his own land, as the lion goes to the mountain with his claws full of the pearls [taken from the frontal protuberances] of the destroyed elephants.

177. He made his attendants kings by granting them *Jālaṁdhara*, *Lohara*, and other territories.

178. This mighty [king] made the [conquered] rulers, in order to indicate their defeat, adopt various characteristic marks, which they [and their people] wear humbly even at the present day.

179. Clearly it is by his command, to display the mark of their bondage, that the *Turuṣkas* carry their arms at their back and shave half their head

Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr., Sav. Étrang., vi. pp. 259 sqq., 272 sq., on the 'Orroρoκoppai of Ptolemy.

The 'land of the Amazons' (*Strīrājya*), where no man may dwell longer than half a year, is mentioned also in the Mahābhārata and in Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*; comp. LASSEN, *Ind. Alt.*, i. pp. 851 sq.

For *Prāgjyotiṣa*, see note ii. 147. The 'sea of sand' (*vālukāmbudhi*) mentioned in verse iv. 172, and again in the story related iv. 279 sqq., is distinctly placed in the north (see iv. 306), and seems to imply a distant knowledge of the desert tracts of Eastern Turkestan and Tibet.

173. The word *kavāṭin*, 'elephant,' not found in our dictionaries, is derived from *kavāṭa*, which according to Maṅkha's Kośa designates the temple of elephants (*ibhagaṇḍhadvārapaṭṭayoḥ kavāṭaḥ syāt*).

177. The name of *Jālaṁdhara* is preserved in that of the present town and district of Jālandhar in the Panjāb. But the ancient kingdom of Jālamdhara included in the centuries preceding the Muhammadan conquests, as Hiuen-tsiang's account (*Si-yu-ki*, i. 175 sq.) and other evidence recorded by CUNNINGHAM, *Anc. Geogr.*, pp. 136 sqq., shows, also the hill territories on the upper course of the Biās and in particular Kāṅgra or *Trigarta*. Compare note iii. 100 and Prof. BÜHLER's remarks, *Epigr. Ind.*, i. pp. 11, 102.

The position of *Lohara*, the present *Lohᵃrin*, has been fully discussed in Note *E*.

178-180. WILSON quotes, p. 49, a similar legend from the Harivaṁśa which relates how the various tribes of Mlecchas were forced by King Sāgara to dress their hair in different distinguishing fashions. The observations underlying K.'s story still hold good. Yarkandis and Tibetans are fond of walking with their hands folded at their back, and can often be seen in this attitude about the Bazaars of S'rīnagar. Among Kaśmīris, whether Brahmans or Muhammadans, this habit is very unusual.

The *dhōtis* or waistcloths worn by *Dakhanis* (and Bengālis), the ends of which are allowed to hang down behind to the ground, still excite the amusement and wonder of Kaśmīris.

180. On the waistcloth of the *Dākṣiṇātyas* that king put the tail which sweeps the ground, to mark that they were like beasts.

181. There is no town, no village, no river, no sea, and no island where he did not consecrate a shrine.

182. That proud [ruler] gave generally to his foundations names which in some cases had an appropriate relation to his doings and in others were in keeping with the [special] occasion.

183. When he had resolved (*kṛtaniścaya*) upon the conquest of the world, he built the [town called] *Suniścitapura*; feeling proud, he built *Darpitapura* with a [shrine of] *Keśava* (Viṣṇu).

184. When receiving fruit (*phala*), the king constructed *Phalapura*; when taking a leaf (*parṇa*), *Parṇotsa*, and while at play (*krīḍan*), the Vihāra of *Krīḍārāma*.

185. And in the land of the Amazons (*Strīrājya*) he placed an image of *Nṛhari* (Viṣṇu), which was suspended in the air, by fixing a magnet which drew it upwards and one which dragged it downwards.

186. While this protector of the earth was [absent] in another region, his architect built a town, called after him [*Lalitapura*], and [thereby] incurred his anger.

187. Swelled with pride, the king granted the land of *Kanyakubja* with its villages to the [shrine of] *Āditya*, [which he erected] at that [town of] *Lalitapura*.

183. The position of neither of the two places here mentioned is known; the name of *Darpitapura* occurs again vii. 966; viii. 1940

184. Regarding *Phalapura*, which must be located near *Parihāsapura* and the confluence of the Vitastā and Sindhu, see Note *I*, v 97, also the gloss of A_2, iv. 673.

Parṇotsa is undoubtedly the modern town of *Pūnch*, 74° 9′ long. 33° 46′ lat., called *Prūnts* by Kaśmīris. The place has given its name to a small hill-state situated to the S W. of the Pir Pantsāl range, and at present under a branch of the Jammu family. The territory is mentioned under the name of *Pun-nu-tso* by Hiuen-tsiang, who visited it on his way from Kaśmīr to *Rājapurī* (Rajauri), and probably reached it by the Tos̆maidān route; comp. *Si-yu-ki*, i p. 163. In his time it was directly subject to Kasmir. Subsequently the town appears to have been included in the hill-district of *Lohara*; comp. vii. 1300; viii. 914, 917, 1630, and Note *E* on Lohara (iv. 177).

Hiuen-tsiang's reference in the first half of the 7th century proves that the name *Parṇotsa* is older than the time of Lalitāditya CUNNINGHAM, *Anc. Geogr.*, p. 128, has correctly identified *Pun-nu-tso* with *Pūnch*, but has not recognized in it the *Parṇotsa* of the Chronicle. The identity of the latter name with *Prūnts* is well known to the Paṇḍits of S'rinagar. Kaśmīris represent a large percentage in the population of the town and territory of *Prūnts* This is evidently the result of the close political connection which has since old times existed between the latter and Kaśmīr. Parṇotsa is frequently mentioned by S'rīvara, see i. 67, 322, 607, 736; ii. 68, 105; iv. 145, 612.

The *Krīḍārāmavihāra* is not referred to again, and its position is unknown.

186. The gloss of A_2 identifies *Lalitapura*, referred to under the name of *Lalitādityapura*, vi 219, 224, with *Lat*ᵉ*pōr*, a village of the Vihi Pargaṇa, situated 75° 1′ long. 33° 58′ lat. on the right bank of the Vitastā. The local tradition of the place tells of a large town, which King 'Laltādit' had built here and on the adjoining Udar. No ancient remains can be traced at present above ground.

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188. At *Huṣkapura* this noble-minded king built the splendid [shrine of Viṣṇu] *Muktasvāmin* and a large Vihāra with a Stūpa.

189. Having taken one crore when he proceeded for the conquest of the world, he presented on his return eleven crores to the [shrine of S'iva] *Bhūteśa* as an expiatory offering.

190. The lord of the earth erected there a lofty temple of stone for [S'iva] *Jyeṣṭharudra*, and made a grant of land and villages.

191. At *Cakradhara* he made an arrangement for conducting the water of the

188 Regarding *Huṣkapura: Uṣkūr*, see note i. 168

The Stūpa mentioned in our text is in all probability identical with the one referred to by CUNNINGHAM, *Anc. Geogr*, p. 100, as having been found still intact by the Rev Cowie near *Uṣkūr* A photograph of it (1868) is given by COLE, *Anc. Build* On a visit paid in August, 1892, I found about 400 yards to the W of the village the scanty remains of a Stūpa which according to the villagers' statements was dug into and partly levelled down 'years ago' by some Sâhib. From a notice quoted by Mr LAWRENCE, *Valley*, p 163, it appears that these excavations, of which I have not been able to trace any report, were conducted by Mr Garrick in 1882

Another ancient monument in the shape of a colossal Liṅga, about 10' high and still upright, is found between *Uṣkur* and the present Tonga terminus of Barâmula, at a distance of about half a mile from either place Walls of old buildings can be traced on the ground in various places of the neighbouring fields

In my *Notes on Ou-k'ong*, pp 3 sqq, I have fully stated the reasons which suggest the identity of the Vihâra referred to in our passage with the *Moung-ti Vihāra* mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim at the commencement of his list of Kaśmir monasteries. Ou-k'ong distinctly informs us that 'this monastery was built by the king of Northern India after he had obtained the dignity,' and there can be no doubt as to *Moung-ti* being intended to represent the name of this king

There is a curious resemblance between Ou-k'ong's notice and the manner in which Albērunī in a passage quoted above in note iv 126 (*India*, ii. p 178) refers to Muktâpiḍa. This, as well as the consideration of points connected with the Chinese transcription of Indian names, makes it probable that we have in Moung-ti an attempt to represent a Prakritized, i e. Kaśmiri, form of the shortened name, **Mutta* or **Muttā* for *Mukta* or *Muktā* Both the latter forms are found as abbreviations (*bhimavat*) of *Muktāpiḍa* in the names of temples mentioned by K; see *Muktākeśava*, iv. 196, 201, and *Muktasvāmin* in our passage.

The great Vihâra which our verse mentions, is the only one in the long list of Muktâpiḍa's foundations of which the name is not specifically indicated by K. From this particular circumstance, and the analogy of the name *Muktasvāmin* given by the king to his Viṣṇu shrine at the same place, it may be concluded with great probability that the name of this Vihâra was *Muktavihāra*, the original of Ou-k'ong's *Moung-ti Vihāra*.

The other great Vihâra which the king is subsequently said to have built at Parihâsapura, iv 200, seems to have received the name of *Rājavihāra*, 'the king's Vihara,' in evident contradistinction from our *Muktavihâra. The proposed identification is further confirmed by Ou-k'ong's mention of the *Moung-ti* Vihâra at the commencement of his list, and the reference he makes to the studies he carried on there. Ou-k'ong entered Kaśmir through the 'Western Gate' of the kingdom at Varâhamûla. Muktâpiḍa's Vihâra at *Huṣkapura* was, therefore, likely to have been his first place of rest and study in the Valley.

189. The figures given in the text must be taken as referring to the *dīnnāra* currency; regarding the latter, see Note *H*, iv 495.

The king is supposed to perform a *prāyaścitta* on his return from his expeditions into the lands of impure barbarians, as Kaśmirian Brahmans did until recent years on all occasions when returning from journeys outside the Valley

190 This passage shows that the ancient Liṅga of *Jyeṣṭheśa* or *Jyeṣṭharudra*, referred to in note i. 113, must have been in close proximity to the shrine of Bhûteśvara at Buth'śēr. From the evidence discussed in note v. 55, it will be seen that of the two groups of ruined temples found in that locality, the western one was connected with the worship of Jyeṣṭharudra. The principal building of this group may therefore be identified with Lalitâditya's temple mentioned in our passage.

191 For *Cakradhara*, the modern Tsak*dar

Vitastā and distributing it to various villages by the construction of a series of waterwheels.

192. That liberal [king] built the wonderful [shrine] of *Mārtāṇḍa*, with its massive walls of stone within a lofty enclosure (*prāsādāntar*), and its town swelling with grapes

193. After constructing at *Lokapuṇya* a town, which was provided with the

below Vij'brōr, see note i. 38.—The system of irrigation here referred to is explained by the configuration of the ground near that locality. On account of the high alluvial plateaus or Uḍars, which stretch in a semicircle from Vij'brōr to below Tsak'dar, the land enclosed between them and the left bank of the river cannot be irrigated by the ordinary means of canals. The expression *ambhaḥpratāraṇa* is used in a similar sense, i. 157. At present the fields and gardens between the two places are irrigated by means of wells.

192 The ruins of the temple of Mārtāṇḍa, here mentioned, form the most striking remains which have survived of the ancient architecture of Kaśmīr. They are situated near the N. edge of the alluvial plateau (Uḍar) of *Maṭan*, 75° 17′ long. 33° 45′ lat. About one mile to the N.W. of the temple, and at the foot of the Uḍar, lie the sacred springs of the *Mārtāṇḍa* Tīrtha. The name given to the temple and its site leaves no doubt as to its having been erected in honour of Viṣṇu-Sūrya, who has evidently been worshipped since early times at the above Tīrtha under the form of *Mārtāṇḍa*.

The Tīrtha has remained to the present day one of the most celebrated pilgrimage-places in the Valley, and annually attracts crowds of visitors from all parts of India. The legend related in the Mārtāṇḍamāhātmya connects the springs with the story of the production of the sun from the lifeless egg (*mṛtāṇḍa*), which Aditi, the wife of Kaśyapa, had brought forth as her thirteenth child. The Tīrtha of *Mārtāṇḍa* is already mentioned in the *Nīlamata*, 1036, among the places sacred to Sūrya.

The ruins of Lalitāditya's temple have on account of their size and architectural beauty been more frequently described than any other ancient building of Kaśmīr; comp. HÜGEL, *Kaschmir*, ii. p. 458 sqq.; VIGNE, *Travels*, i. pp. 360, 394 sqq.; CUNNINGHAM, *J.A.S.B.*, 1848, pp. 258 sqq.; COLE, *Anc. Build.*, pp. 19 sqq., etc. They consist of a lofty central edifice, with a small detached shrine on either side of the entrance, and of a quadrangular courtyard of imposing dimensions surrounded by colonnades To this magnificent enclosure K. clearly refers in the expression *prāsādāntar*. Cunningham assumed, owing to a misinterpretation of our passage and of iii. 462, that the temple had been built by Raṇāditya, and that Lalitāditya had only added the enclosure. FERGUSSON in his account of the building (*Ind. Arch.*, p. 285 sqq), has already rightly rejected this view on purely architectural grounds.

[There is nothing about the ruins to justify the suspicion to which Cunningham has given expression, *l.c.* p 273, that the interior of the quadrangle was once filled with water, and the temple thus 'placed more immediately under the protection of the Nāgas.' There are no Nāgas or springs anywhere on the arid plateau, and the water brought to it once by an ancient irrigation canal from the Lid"r river could never have taken their place according to traditional notions]

The temple of Mārtāṇḍa is mentioned again by K. in the time of King Kalaśa, who died there; comp. vii. 709, 715, 722. The shrine escaped being plundered under Harṣa, vii. 1096. Subsequently it appears to have been used as a fortified position by a rebel force in K.'s own time, on which occasion the temple-enclosure (*prāngaṇa*) is specially mentioned; comp. viii 3281, 3288, 3295. Jonarāja, 599, mentions the temple among those which Sultān Sikandar, 'The Idol-breaker,' destroyed, but refers also subsequently to the locality under the name *Mārtāṇḍa*; see vv 875, 979. So does also Fourth Chron., 520, 532, 850 A doubtful allusion is contained, perhaps, in *S'rīkaṇṭhac.* iii. 15

The temple as well as the Tīrtha bears now the Kś. name *Maṭan* (from Mārtāṇḍa), found already in *Āīn-i Akb*, ii. p 358, whereas the village round the springs is popularly known as *Bavan* (Skr. *bhavana*) The ancient temple is no longer a place of pious interest for the pilgrims, who visit instead the modern temple dedicated to Mārtāṇḍa by the side of the Nāga.

A writes the name as *mārtāṇḍa*° in all passages, except our own, where it is given as *mārtaṇḍa*°. As L has *mārtāṇḍa*° here too, the latter form ought to be adopted. The Māhātmya and Nīlamata also read throughout Mārtāṇḍa.

193. *Lokapuṇya* is repeatedly referred to

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rihâsapura and its buildings.

requisite accessories, the victorious [king] made it, together with villages, an offering to Viṣṇu.

194. Then again that Indra of the earth, when given to merry jesting (*parihāsa*), built the town of *Parihāsapura*, which mocked the residence of Indra.

195. The glorious silver [image of Viṣṇu] *Parihāsakeśava* shone like the god [Viṣṇu], when flooded by the strong light of the pearls during his sleep on the ocean.

196. The famous [image of] Viṣṇu *Muktākeśava*, made of gold, shone as if it had taken its lustre from the many stamina of the lotus [rising from Viṣṇu's] navel.

197. Clad in a golden armour, the [image of Viṣṇu] *Mahāvarāha* shone forth like the sun when he puts on his radiant light to overcome the darkness in the world below.

198. He had a silver [image of the] god *Govardhanadhara* made, which was white as if [coloured] by the streams of milk [flowing] from [his] herds of cows.

199. After raising a great stone [pillar] fifty-four hands high, he put on the top of the standard a [representation of] Garuḍa, [the bird] of the enemy of the Daityas (Viṣṇu).

200. That king, who was free from passions, built the ever-rich *Rājavihāra*, with a large quadrangle (*catuḥśālā*), a large Caitya, and a large [image of the] *Jina* (Buddha).

201. Into the image of *Muktākeśava* he put eighty-four thousand Tolakas of gold.

202. And collecting as many thousands of Palas of silver, that pure-minded [king] made the famous [statue of] *Parihāsakeśava*.

203. With just as many thousands of Prasthas of copper he made the glorious [statue of] the 'Great Buddha' (*Bṛhadbuddha*) which reached up to the sky.

in the later portion of the Chronicle, see vii. 1239, 1357; viii. 523, 1429. The gloss of A_2 on the first-named passage identifies *Lokapuṇya* with *Lokᵃbavan* (Skr. **Lokabhavana*), a fine spring or Nāga situated near the village of Lārikpūr, 75° 12′ long. 33° 38′ lat., in the Bring Pargaṇa. Near the basin formed by the spring, are the ruins of a small summer house erected by one of the Moghul Emperors, apparently with materials of some earlier building. Fragments of ancient stone images lie in the water near the spring, which is visited by the Brahmans of the neighbourhood.

194-204. Regarding the site of *Parihāsapura* and the identification of its shrines with the ruins on the Parᵃspōr Uḍar, see Note *F*.

195. *Vireje* must be taken as *viseṣena reje*; comp. e.g. *Kathāsar.* xxv. 173.

198. Kṛṣṇa bears the epithet of *Govardhanadhara*, because he held Mount Govardhana as a shelter over the cows, which Indra threatened by a storm.

200. This colossal image is referred to as *Bṛhadbuddha* below, iv. 203; comp. Note *F* (iv. 194-204), and vii. 1097 sq.

201-203. The *tolaka*, the modern Tola, is in Kaśmīr still as in Abu-l-Faẓl's time (*Āīn-i Akb.*, ii. pp. 354, 366) = 16 *māṣa* = 96 *raktikā* (*ratī*). The *pala*, which according to the

204. He built the quadrangle (*catuḥśālā*) and the sacred shrine (*caitya*), in each case with such expenditure that his five structures were alike [as regards cost].

205. He, like another Kubera, placed as attendants by the side of the chief deities [other] images of gods, which in some [shrines] were of silver and in others of gold.

206. Who could determine accurately in number how many treasures, villages, and establishments he bestowed on these [shrines]?

207. The ladies of the seraglio, his ministers and princely attendants, consecrated there in hundreds images [of gods], wonders of the world.

208. His queen *Kamalavatī*, she who founded *Kamalāhaṭṭa*, put up the large silver image of *Kamalākeśava*.

209. His minister *Mitraśarman*, too, put up the S'iva-[Liṅga called] *Mitreśvara*. The king of *Lāṭa*, called *Kayya*, made the famous [shrine of Viṣṇu] *Kayyasvāmin*.

210. By this very [king] was built also the wonderful and famous *Kayyavihāra*, where subsequently the Bhikṣu *Sarvajñamitra* resided, who appeared as another *Jina*

211. The *Tuḥkhāra Caṅkuṇa*, who founded the *Caṅkuṇavihāra*, made a Stūpa loftier even than the mind of the king, and golden [images of the] *Jinas*.

authorities quoted in *P.W.*, corresponds to 4 *karṣa*, each of 16 *māṣa*, must be taken as =4 *tolaka*. The *prastha* is usually estimated at 16 *pala*; see *P.W.*, s.v. The term *pal* is still used in Kaśmīr for $\frac{1}{16}$ *Sēr*.

204. Comp. for the significance of the terms *catuḥśālā* and *caitya* the description of the Parᵉspōr ruins, Note *F*.

208 *Kamalāhaṭṭa* means 'the market of *Kamalā*.' Its position can be traced as little as that of the other minor shrines and Liṅgas mentioned in the following vv. in connection with *Parihāsapura*.

209. Regarding *Lāṭa*, an ancient name of the territory of central and southern Gujarāt, Ptolemy's Λαρική, comp. YULE, *Marco Polo*, ii. p 353; *Ind Ant.*, xiii. p. 183.

211. K.'s subsequent references to Caṅkuṇa, iv. 215, 246-262, show clearly the important position, which this minister from the Tuḥkhāra land occupied at Lalitāditya's court. Messrs Lévi and Chavannes, in their notes on Ou-k'ong's Itinerary (*Journal asiat.*, 1895, vi. p. 352), have already pointed out the curious agreement between these statements of K. and the indications given by Ou-k'ong as to the connection of the *Tou-kioue* or Turks with Kaśmīr in the middle of the 8th century.

It was specially in view of these relations that I felt induced to propose in my *Notes on Ou-k'ong*, pp 19 sq., the identification of K.'s *Caṅkuṇavihāra* with the monastery, which in Ou-k'ong's list of Kaśmīr Vihāras figures as 'le monastère du général (*tsiang-kiun*, senāpati).' The syllables *tsiang* and *kiun* could, according to the authorities indicated *l.c.*, be looked upon as the exact representatives in Chinese transcription of the syllables *Caṅ* and *kuṇ*, respectively. As Caṅkuṇa is clearly described as a Tuḥkhāra, it appeared to me that "we have in the name given by the Chronicle only the Sanskritized transcription of a Turkish name, of which *Tsiang-kiun* is an equally exact rendering in Chinese characters." In support of this identification it may be mentioned that the Vihāra of Tsiang-kiun is named in Ou-k'ong's list immediately before the pious foundations ascribed to members of the royal family of the Turks.

Prof. LÉVI was kind enough to inform me in a letter dated 2nd October, 1896, that he agrees with the equation Caṅkuṇa=Tsiang-kiun, but looks upon the Sanskrit name as a transcription of the Chinese title. Prof. Lévi holds that as this title is very frequent and well known, no Chinese would have ever thought

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212. His wife *Īśānadevī* constructed a well, the water of which was pure as nectar and gave health to the ailing.

213. *Cakramardikā*, the wife of King *Lalitāditya*, built there *Cakrapura* with seven thousand dwellings.

214. A learned teacher, *Bhappaṭa* by name, made the [Liṅga of] *Bhappaṭeśvara*. Many other [Liṅgas], too, called *Rakchaṭeśa*, etc., were put up by a host of people.

215. *Caṅkuna*, his chief minister, built also in the other capital (S'rīnagara) a Vihāra, distinguished among meritorious works, together with a Caitya.

216. The physician *Īśānacandra*, a son-in-law of the minister *Caṅkuṇa*, built a Vihāra after obtaining wealth through the favour of *Takṣaka*.

217 The lord of the earth, who thus made the earth golden, surpassed Indra by his generosity, valour, and other great qualities.

218. Never was an order of this monarch, though it had escaped from his mouth through mere carelessness, disobeyed even by the gods.

Story of Kapittha fruit.

219 Thus, once when he was encamped with his army on the shore of the eastern ocean, he chanced to order Kapittha fruits to be brought.

220. Then while those [in attendance] upon him stood blind with perplexity, a person of divine appearance brought up Kapittha fruits.

of combining these characters to express a foreign name We should accordingly have to see in K.'s Caṅkuṇa the Sanskrit reproduction of a Chinese title, which, it may be assumed, had found its way into the Tuḥkhāra country, and was taken in Kaśmir to be a personal name of the Tuḥkhāra minister (comp. regarding the similar use of the term *Hammira*, note vii 53). Possessing no knowledge of Chinese, I can only accept with due deference the opinion of my learned friend We may hope that future research will throw light on the strange connection of races and civilizations, which might account for the appearance of a Chinese title in our narrative

A second Vihāra built by Caṅkuṇa at S'rīnagar is referred to below, iv. 215. This, too, bore the founder's name, as seen from viii 2415 sqq. Which of these two Vihāras Ou-k'ong may have meant, cannot be determined

215. By 'the other capital' (*adhiṣṭhānāntare*), only S'rīnagara, the real capital, can be meant, in contradistinction from Parihāsapura, which during the reign of its founder temporarily ranked as a royal residence, and had also a *Caṅkuṇavihāra* (iv 211)

Caṅkuṇa's Vihāra at S'rīnagar survived to the time of K., and was repaired by *Sussalā*, the wife of the minister Rilhaṇa, under King Jayasiṃha; see viii. 2415 sqq Its position cannot be traced It is certain that it was at this Caṅkuṇavihāra, and not at that founded at Parihāsapura, that K saw the Buddha image referred to in iv. 259 sqq. Parihāsapura was deserted and its temples in ruins in K.'s time; see Note *F* (iv. 194-204).

216 Regarding the worship of the Nāga *Takṣaka* in Kaśmir, see note i. 220.

219 *Kapittha*, according to the dictionaries, is the name of the Feronia elephantum Correa, and its fruit the 'Elephant-apple.' From iv. 237, it is clear that K. meant a fruit, which grows in Kaśmir and is rare in India proper. Now the elephant-apple is common throughout the greater part of the plains of India, but does not grow in Kaśmir, comp. WATT, *Dict. of Econ. Prod.*, iii. p. 324.

The reference, which K. makes, iv. 237, to the Kapittha fruit being obtainable in Kaśmir only for a short time at the commencement of the summer, suggests that the fruit he really meant was the cherry Both varieties of the latter (Prunus Avium and P. Cerasus) are commonly cultivated in Kaśmir, 'where it flowers in April-May, and the fruit ripens in June;' see WATT, *l.c.*, vi. p 346. Apart from the mountains of the North-West Himālaya, the cherry seems wholly unknown in India.

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221. Directed by a sign of the king's brows, the doorkeeper stepped forward, and receiving the offering in the presence [of the king], asked that person whose [servant] he was.

222-223. He replied to him: "The great Indra has to-day sent me, the keeper of the *Nandana* garden, after giving the Kapittha fruits, which the king likes. I am to deliver in private a message of the great Indra." Hearing this, the doorkeeper removed everybody from the audience-hall.

224. Then the divine one spoke: "O king, Indra sends you this message: 'Kindly forgive these words, which are rude though appropriate.'

225. 'Hear, O king, the reason why we, though guardians of the quarters, receive even in the present fourth Yuga your command with reverence.'

226. 'Once in a previous birth you were, verily, the ploughman of a village householder who possessed great wealth.'

227. 'At one time in the hot season the close of the day found you in a waterless waste, weary after driving your oxen.'

228. 'Then while you suffered from hunger and thirst, there came to you from the master's house somebody carrying a jug of water and a loaf.'

229. 'Thereupon, when after washing hands and feet you were at the point of taking food, you saw before you a wandering Brahman, whose breath was about to escape.'

230. 'He spoke to you: "You should not eat. Starved by famine, I must let my life pass away unless [I get] food."'

231. 'Though kept back by your companion, you offered in charity half the loaf and the jug of water to that [Brahman], with comforting words.'

232. 'By this gift which you made with a cheerful heart to a worthy recipient, a succession of hundred uncurtailed wishes was [secured] for you in heaven.'

233. 'On account of that gift of water, sweet streams appear at your mere wish even on desert tracks'

234. 'O king, even the wishing-trees are surpassed by that gift-tree which, if planted in the right soil (*or* worthy person), provided with a series of watering trenches [in the shape] of kindly words and moistened with the water of true heart-[felt] charity, rewards, though ever so young, the giver at the time with whatever he desires.'

235. 'Now, O king, but few commands are left over to you, as you waste heedlessly here and there your orders, which must not be infringed.'

236. 'Whence does also in your mind, who are truly great, arise that thoughtlessness which, indeed, is common in other kings?'

237. 'How could there be [found] in the cold season on the eastern ocean

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those fruits, which in Kaśmīr are produced [only] for a few days on the approach of the clouds?'

238. 'Whichever region you penetrate, the guardian of that [region] is anxious to take your orders on account of the efficacy of your previous gift.'

239. 'Since you are now in the eastern quarter, which is under the great Indra, this your order, however insignificant, has now somehow been fulfilled by Indra, whose power is never baffled.'

240. 'On this account you should in no case again thus give out orders without serious import, as they are few [now].'"

241. When after these words [that] messenger disappeared, the large-minded king thought over the great power of a gift and fell into utmost surprise.

242. Henceforth filled with an ardent desire to secure such valuable results, he established permanently at *Parihāsapura* a great festival.

243. At this, which is well-known under the designation of *Sahasrabhakta*, a lakh and one dishes of food (*bhakta*) are given away besides Dakṣiṇās.

244. With this object he built towns in salty wastes, so that anyone suffering from thirst may ever find water to drink.

245. He collected from [different] countries various wise men, as the wind [collects] masses of full-blown flowers from the trees.

Story of *Caṅkuṇa*

246. He brought from the *Tuḫkhāra* land the brother of the magician *Kaṅkanavarṣa* ('he who rains gold'), who bore the name of *Caṅkuṇa* and excelled by his great qualities.

247. Producing plenty of gold in the [king's] treasury by magic power, he gave him comfort as the lotus tank [gives] to the lotus.

248. Once the king was stopped in the country of *Pañcanada* (Panjāb) by streams, which had united and could not be crossed, and finding his army arrested on the bank, was for a short time filled with apprehensions.

249. When he then asked his ministers for means of crossing the waters, *Caṅkuṇa*, who stood on the bank, threw a charm (*maṇi*) into the water, which was very deep.

250. The water of the streams parted asunder through the force of that [charm], whereupon the king crossed and quickly reached the other shore.

251. *Caṅkuṇa* drew that charm out again by means of another charm, and in a moment the water of the streams was as before.

252. After witnessing this miracle, the king, whose mouth poured forth praise, courteously asked *Caṅkuṇa* for those two charms.

246. The reasons which induce me to adopt the reading of L, *tuḫkhāra*°, for *bhukhāra*° of A, have already been stated in note iv. 166.

253. Smiling, he answered him: "These two useful charms do their work only when in my hands. What use would it be to you to take them?" LALITĀDITYA-MUKTĀPĪḌA.

254. "A thing of excellence obtains renown only among ordinary people. What merit has it for the great ones who possess manifold excellent things?"

255. "The flow [of moisture] from the moonstone is valued only as long as that [stone] is in some place on the shore of the ocean. If the latter takes up that [stone], then its flow, even if exuberant, cannot be noticed in the [ocean's] water."

256. When he had concluded his words, the king spoke in wonderment: "Do you then think that I own a gem even stronger than these two?"

257. "Or,—if you see something in my possession that is superior to these, take it and give up these two charms in exchange."

258. Then *Caṅkuṇa* said: "This is a great favour. The two gems are in the power of the lord. But let a wish be granted to me."

259. "Favour your humble servant by giving him that image of *Sugata* (Buddha), which was brought on the shoulders of an elephant from *Magadha*."

260. "Let your Majesty take this charm which gives a means for crossing the waters. May to me be given the [image of] *Sugata*, which opens a way for crossing the [ocean of] mundane existence (*saṁsāra*)."

261. At this appropriate request the king granted the image of the *Jina*. Who is able to resist the words of the eloquent?

262. He (Caṅkuṇa) then placed in his own Vihāra the image of the Blessed [Buddha], which [still] shines in its brownish (bronzen) beauty as if clothed in the brownish-red garment [of the mendicants].

263. Even to this day metal bands are seen fastened round the seat [of the image], showing that it was once fixed on an elephant's back.

264. O wonder, [even] the earth follows the desires of the kings of great might and shows them favour

265. Once that [king], who was proficient in the knowledge of horses, took out himself and alone an untrained horse into a waste in order to break it in. Story of Viṣṇu images.

266 There far away from men he saw one maid of lovely form singing, and another dancing.

267. And after a short time, while he was exercising the horse, he noticed

254. *saṁprathāṁ*, for which *suprathāṁ* is proposed as a conjectural emendation in *P.W.*, s.v., can well be explained as *samyak-prathām*.

255. The moonstone (*candrakānta*) is supposed to exude cooling moisture when touched by the rays of the moon.

259. The kingdom of *Magadha*, comprising the modern districts of Gayā and Patna south of the Ganges, was the scene of Buddha's early career; comp. e.g. CUNNINGHAM, *Anc. Geogr.*, pp. 452 sqq.

262. The Vihāra built by Caṅkuṇa at S'rinagar, which still existed in K.'s time, must be meant here; comp. iv. 215 and viii. 2415 sqq.

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that the two gazelle-eyed ones, after completing their song and dance, bowed slightly and went.

268. Mounting that horse, he came day by day to that place, and seeing the two beautiful girls exactly in the same fashion, came up and questioned [them] in his surprise.

269. They told him: "We are dancing-girls belonging to a temple. Here in the village of *S'ūravardhamāna* is our home."

270. "By the direction of our mothers, who got their living here, we perform at this spot the dancing, which our descent makes incumbent."

271. "This custom, handed down by tradition, has become fixed in our family. Its reason we cannot know, nor can anyone else."

272. When the king had heard from them this information, he was astonished, and the next day had the whole ground, in accordance with their indication, dug up by workmen.

273. Then when they had made a deep excavation, the king saw, as announced [by them], two decayed temples with closed doors.

274. On opening the folding doors, he saw there two [images of] Keśava, which, as the letters engraved on the bases (*pīṭha*) showed, had been made by *Rāma* and *Lakṣmaṇa*.

275. The illustrious king, after erecting a separate stone building by the side of the [temple of] Viṣṇu *Parihāsa[keśava]*, had the [image of] *Rāmasvāmin* consecrated [there].

276. Thus too the [image of the] god *Lakṣmaṇasvāmin* was put up by [Queen] *Cakramardikā* by the side of [S'iva] *Cakreśvara*, after she had obtained it by request from the king.

Expedition into the 'Sand-ocean.'

277. During the [expedition for the] conquest of the world, a man, who [appeared] to have undergone a recent punishment, threw himself before the king, who was mounted on an elephant.

269. The locality here referred to is unknown.

276. The position of the Liṅga called *Cakreśvara* cannot be ascertained. From the references in the *Nīlamata*, the Māhātmyas and the *Tīrthas*, it appears that S'iva was worshipped under that name in not less than four distinct localities. These are:—the bank of the *Madhumatī* (probably the stream of Band'pūr; comp. note vii. 1179), according to *Nīlamata*, 1151; the neighbourhood of *Vijayeśvara*, see *Vijayeśvaramāh.* 156; *Vitastāmāh.* ii. 11; v. 23, the spring called *Cakratīrtha* close to *Īśeśvara* (Iś'bar), near S'rīnagar, see *Īśālayamāh.* and *Sureśvarīmāh.*, passim; and in a cave near the *Harṣeśvara* Tīrtha above *Khun'moh*, according to *Tīrthas*.

277. The Zopyrus story told in the following verses agrees most closely with the one related by Albērūnī, *India*, ii. pp. 11 sq., about the expedition of *Kanik* (Kaniṣka) against the king of Kanauj. We have here clearly an ancient story transferred to the hero of popular tradition in Kaśmīr, comp. Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, iii. p. 995. The resemblance of the details is so close as to justify the supposition that the story in the form recorded by K. was taken originally from the same source as the one heard by Albērūnī.

278. The king, moved to pity, questioned this man, who was streaming with blood from the wounds [caused] by the cutting of his hands, nose and other [limbs] and imploring protection, about his story.

279-280. He related to him that he was the minister of the king, who ruled near 'the Ocean of Sand' (*sikatāsindhu*), and well-known as his faithful servant, and that on giving the right advice of submitting to *Lalitāditya*, he had [thus] been punished by that king.

281. The king then promised him to punish his master, and made his wounds heal by hospitable treatment, which restored his health.

282. The minister, who had met with [such] kind reception, once thus addressed the lord of the earth, while he was on the march and no one near:

283. "O king, if I preserve such a body, it is only because I am deluded by the hope of revenge."

284. "Having accomplished my object, I should, verily, abandon the life, which disgrace has crushed, after offering my tears like a sacrificial oblation of water to Happiness as well as to Misfortune."

285. "A small injury [inflicted] by the enemy should be surpassed by a greater injury, just as the mountain [surpasses] the sound of a person's shout by its mighty echo."

286. "How can that land, which lies at a distance of three months from here, be reached quickly? Or if it were reached, would indeed the enemy remain there?"

287 "Therefore I indicate to you a route [thither], which can be traversed in half a month. But as no water is met on it, it is [only] passable for armies provided that water is taken along."

288 "My relatives, who live in that region, will not betray your approach. By this stratagem the king, together with his ministers and seraglio, can be captured."

289. By such words he induced him to march into the 'Ocean of Sand,' and when half a month had passed, the army found itself without water.

290. Even in this condition the king moved on for two or three days; and [then] seeing the army exhausted by thirst, spoke thus to the minister:

291. "Since days over the appointed time have been spent [on the march], the army is at the point of death. How much of the way remains?"

292. He thereupon replied with a laugh: "O you, who wish to be a conqueror! Do you inquire about the way remaining to the enemy's land or about that to the kingdom of Yama?"

293. "Because I, [acting] only for the advantage of my lord, and sacrificing

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my own life, have brought you by cunning with your army before the face of death."

294. "This is no mere desert-land. This is the terrible 'Ocean of Sand.' Nowhere is water to be found here. Who will, O king, now protect you?"

295. Hearing this, the whole army was deprived of all vigour, resembling a rice-field, on which the corn has been destroyed by a hailstorm, and only the stalks remain.

296. Then the king, raising his arm, stopped the loud lamentations of the frightened [soldiers], who had lost all hope of life, and spoke:

297. "O minister, we are pleased with what you have done in your desire to help your master, and are thrilled [with delight, so much] that we feel cold, as it were, even here in the desert."

298. "But on my impregnable firmness certainly even such an effort of yours breaks down, as the iron on the diamond."

299. "This day yet you will surely regret the limbs, which you had cut off to no purpose, just as a person, who seizes a spark of fire, mistaking it for a gem, [laments] his burned fingers."

300. "Look, at my mere order the earth produces water to-day, just as the soil, which contains beryls, [yields up these] precious stones at the thunder of the cloud."

301. Saying this, he dug up the ground with his lance to draw out the water, as S'iva with his spear [broke open the earth] when he wished to bring up to the surface the water of the *Vitastā*.

302. Thereupon there came forth from the subterraneous region, along with the soldiers' hope of life, a stream, which appeared like the coquettish smile of hell's goddess of beauty.

303. This stream removed the distress of his soldiers, as well as the hope of that minister, who had sacrificed his limbs in vain.

304. The foiled minister, with his limbs cut off, and uttering curses, was the first to enter his master's city, and behind him [came] Death.

305. The king punished that deceitful ruler, and reduced him too to the same condition as his own minister.

306. To this day there flow in the northern region the streams [produced] by

300. L *nideśenaiva*, as emended in the text from A. *dineśenaiva*.

301. The river *Vitastā*, according to the legend told already in the *Nīlamata*, 247 sqq., was brought to the surface from the subterraneous world (*rasātala*) by S'iva striking the ground near the *Nīlanāga* (Vērnāg) with his trident; comp. note i. 27.

306. The term *kuntavāhini* seems to contain some local allusion, which is obscure to us. WILSON, *History*, p. 60, has assumed that *Kuntavāhini* was a river name.

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his spear (*kuntavāhinī*), which had been brought forth by him from place to place as necessity required.

307. Other wonderful stories also are [current] about him in thousands, but have not been related, as they would unduly break up the connection [of the narrative].

308-309. Just as noble streams are observed to produce with their [naturally] silent waters a mighty roar only, where the ground is made rugged by great rocks, and as they, pure [originally], are seen turbid and spoilt only when the weather is obscured by clouds,—thus, indeed, even the great must also conform in their conduct to those two, place and time. Or was it owing to the power of the Kali [Yuga] or of the regal throne that he, too, committed acts of terrible wickedness?

Attempt to burn *Parihāsapura*.

310. On one occasion when the king was stopping at *Parihāsapura* in the company of the ladies of his seraglio, he gave, while intoxicated by drink, the following order to the ministers:

311. "That [town of] *Pravarapura*, which *Pravarasena* made, burn it down if you think that its beauty is like that of mine."

312. On hearing this terrible order of the lord of the earth, whose command could not be disobeyed, they went to *Vātulānaka* and set on fire ricks of grass [stored] for horses.

313. As he viewed this [fire] from the top of his palace, with his face lit up by the flames of the conflagration, he appeared like a meteor-faced spectre (*ulkāmukha*) mad with exultation and laughter.

314-315. When a person, though of good character, is affected by morbid hatred and the like [passions], another person, O wonder, appears to him by error excessively great. He sees before himself the moon and other [heavenly bodies] double. His eye, though naturally full of light, is indeed struck with the fault of darkness. If it were not thus, why should he, the founder of innumerable towns, have thought even that single town of King *Pravara*[*sena*] too much?

316. Then when his intoxication had passed away, and he thought of the guilt of having burned the town, he was touched by the fire of regret, which is accompanied by hot sighs.

317. Those, whose inner [self] is hollow, do [acts], by which they are secretly consumed and [in the end] completely annihilated, just as old trees are [burned] by the fire, which lives in their [hollow] interior.

318. In the morning, when the ministers saw him tormented by misfortune,

311. *Pravarapura* is S'rinagar; see note iii. 339-349.

312. The position of *Vātulānaka* is unknown.

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they told him, in order to relieve his sorrow, that the burning of the town had only been a fiction.

319. When the king heard that the town was not destroyed, he felt freed from pain, as one, who after dreaming that he had lost his son, wakes up [to find] him standing before him.

320. Praising the ministers for their wise action, he told them not, on any account, to carry out an order which he might give while drunk.

321. Fie over those servants, who, eager to benefit their own position, make the king, who holds the earth only for a short time, as if it were a prostitute, indulge in unseemly pleasure! By those noble-minded [servants] the earth is purified, who, unmindful even of their own life, persist in protecting here their king when he moves on the wrong path.

Affray at Parihāsapura.

322. This king, who reached a greatness surpassing even [that of] Indra, committed also another fault, which might have befitted another ruler.

323. This was, that he killed by assassins the king of *Gauḍa* (Bengāl) at *Trigrāmi*, though he had made the glorious [image of Viṣṇu] *Parihāsakeśava* a surety [for his guest's safety].

324. Wonderful was at that time the heroism of the *Gauḍa* [prince's] servants, who courageously sacrificed their lives for the sake of their departed lord.

325. Having come to *Kaśmīr* under the pretext of visiting the [shrine of the goddess] *S'āradā*, they invested in a body the temple of the god, who had been [made] a surety.

326. Seeing them eager to enter while the king was away in a foreign country, the attendant priests closed the gate of the [temple of] Viṣṇu *Parihāsa*[*keśava*].

327. They reached in a vigorous onslaught the silver [statue of Viṣṇu]

323 *Trigrāmi* is undoubtedly the modern village of *Trigām* situated in the *Par*ᵉ*spōr* Pargaṇa, 74° 43′ long 34° 10′ lat., about one and a half miles to the N E of the ruins of the Parihāsapura temples (see Note *F*, iv. 194-204) This identification is rendered certain by the passage v. 97, which mentions *Trigrāmi* as the place, where the Vitastā and Sindhu rivers met previous to Suyya's stream-regulation; comp also viii. 3356

The place is visited in connection with the pilgrimage to the Kapālamocanatīrtha (at *Digōm: Dvigrāma*), and accordingly mentioned in the Māhātmya of that Tīrtha and in Sāhibrām's *Tīrthas*.

For the custom of making a particular divine image the surety for a promise of safe conduct, see vii. 1515, where the term *sākṣin* corresponds to the *madhyastha* of our passage.

The word *tīkṣṇa* is very frequently used in the Chronicle in the meaning of 'desperado,' 'assassin,' 'bravo', comp vi 171; vii. 627, 629, 655 sqq, 1016, 1045, viii. 1282, 1326 sq., etc (see Index). A characteristic expression is the derivative *tīkṣṇatva*, viii 2085.

Maṅkha's Kośa gives for *tīkṣṇa* also the meaning *abhisara*, which the commentator explains in the sense *jīvanirapekṣa*, 'desperado'

This use of the word *tīkṣṇa* is evidently referred to also by the author of the *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa*, iii. i 14 (*rājāṅgha*).

324. It appears from the subsequent account that the *Gauḍas* came to Kaśmir after the murder of their king, with the object of revenging his death by the destruction of the favourite object of Lalitāditya's devotion, the image of Parihāsakeśava

325. Regarding the famous shrine of *S'āradā* in the Kiṣangaṅgā Valley, comp. note i. 37

Rāmasvāmin, and mistaking it for [that of] *Parihāsa[keśava]*, they overturned it and broke it into dust. LALITĀDITYA MUKTĀPĪḌA.

328. After reducing it to particles, they scattered them in all directions, while they were all being cut up by the soldiers who had come from the city (S'rīnagara).

329. As these dark-coloured [men] were falling blood-covered to the ground under the strokes, they resembled fragments of stone, [falling] from an antimon-rock taking a bright colour from liquid red chalk.

330. The streams of their blood brilliantly illuminated their uncommon devotion to their lord, and enriched the earth.

331. The danger of the lightning (*vajra*) is averted by the diamond (*vajra*); the ruby produces prosperity; various kinds of poisons, too, are counteracted by the emerald. Thus each gem accomplishes its task in accordance with the power bestowed upon it. But what cannot be accomplished by those jewels of men who surpass [all] by their immeasurable power?

332. What of the long journey which had to be accomplished, and what of the devotion for the dead lord? Even the creator cannot achieve what the *Gauḍas* did on that occasion.

333. At that time kings everywhere possessed such jewels of servants, who had the power of superhuman devotion to their lords.

334. At the sacrifice of [the image of] *Rāmasvāmin*, the famous [statue of] *Parihāsakeśava* which was dear to the king, was preserved in that affray [caused] by the *Gauḍa* devils.

335. To this day even the temple of *Rāmasvāmin* is seen empty, whereas the whole world is filled with the fame of the *Gauḍa* heroes.

336. Thus over various affairs the king passed his days, a few in his own city but most in foreign regions.

337. Seized by curiosity to view lands which no one else had reached, he set out again towards the boundless regions of the north. Lalitāditya's e[...]

338. He had then various adventures with demons, which Kubera and other [guardians of quarters] sent forth to test his power.

339. Even in those lands which, indeed, to this day have not been seen even by the rays of the sun, the command of this king met with no resistance.

340. A messenger, who had been dispatched by the ministers when they had been long without news, reported to them the following on return from his presence.

341. 'Thus the lord speaks to you: "What a delusion is this, that people like you should expect my return after I have reached this country!"

335. L correctly *rāmasvāmisurāspadam*; A °*purāspadam*.

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342. "What task do you see for me, that I should return to my kingdom and abandon the winning of new victories every day?"

343. "For the rivers which leave the country of their [origin], the ocean is the goal. But nowhere is seen [a goal] for those who wish to be true conquerors."

344. "Therefore, I shall communicate to you in abstract the principles of government adapted to my own country. Complying with them, you may carry on the rule without hindrance, without blame."

345. "Those who wish to be powerful in this land, must always guard against internal dissension. Because of [foreign] enemies (*paraloka*) they are as little in fear as the Cārvākas of the world beyond (*paraloka*)."

346. "Those who dwell there in the [mountains] difficult of access, should be punished, even if they give no offence; because, sheltered by their fastnesses, they are difficult to break up if they have [once] accumulated wealth"

347. "Every care should be taken that there should not be left with the villagers more food supply than required for one year's consumption, nor more oxen than wanted for [the tillage of] their fields."

348. "Because if they should keep more wealth, they would become in a single year very formidable *Dāmaras* and strong enough to neglect the commands of the king."

349-352. "When once the villagers obtain clothes, women, woollen blankets, food, ornaments, horses, houses, such as are fit for the town; when the kings in madness neglect the strong places which ought to be guarded, when their servants show want of discrimination; when the keep of the troops is raised from a single district; when the officials are closely drawn together by the bonds of intermarriage; when the kings look into the offices as if they were clerks (*kāyastha*),—then a change for the worse in the subjects' fortune may be known for certain."

353. "Keep in mind the distinction between [my] royal descendants which I [now] indicate, after having secretly ascertained from their conduct the disposition of their hearts."

344. It is of interest to compare the brief code of political wisdom given in vv 344-353, with the description of the traditional system of Kaśmir administration, given by modern writers; comp. e.g. MOORCROFT, *Travels*, ii. pp. 289 sqq.; LAWRENCE, *Valley*, pp 399 sqq.

Our verses, as well as many incidental references in the *Rājat.*, show clearly that the principles which prevailed until recent changes in the fiscal and political management of Kaśmir, and which are indirectly likely to influence it yet for some time longer, go back to a far earlier period than is assumed by some of those writers.

345. Comp. i. 39; regarding the materialistic sect of the *Cārvākas*, see COLEBROOKE, *Miscell. Essays*, ii. pp. 402 sqq.

348. Regarding the significance and use of the term *ḍāmara*, see Note G.

The Ḍāmaras have played, as the narrative of the viii Book amply shows, a chief part in all political troubles witnessed by K. From the reference made here, we can see clearly that K. in making Lalitāditya set forth these principles of Kaśmir policy, is thinking in reality of his own times.

354. "The vicinity of a mad elephant is indicated by the wind carrying the scent of his temple-juice; the rise of the thunder from the cloud by the lightning displaying its brilliancy. [Thus too] a person's unalterable turn of mind which is acquired from a previous birth, is clearly [indicated] by his conduct, the true nature of which must be traced by the skill of a thoughtful person."

355. "*Kuvalayāditya* and *Vajrāditya* are equally my sons, but the mind of these two brothers, who are born from different mothers, is of different character."

356. "The elder should be placed on the throne, and when he should prove of violent nature, then you must needs resist his commands."

357. "Whether that king renounces his life or his throne, nobody is to lament him. Remember this my word."

358. "Do not make the younger king. If, [however], through a fault of judgment, this should happen, then his commands should be obeyed and he [himself] protected, though he may be of bad character."

359. "*Jayāpīḍa*, who is the youngest among my grandsons, and a small boy still, should ever be told to become like his grandfather.""

360. Filled with despair, they bowed and accepted with praise this the king's last direction, which was full of meaning, while dropping tears which appeared like the grains [thrown] at a sacrificial oblation (*argha*).

361. After assembling all the subjects, *Caṅkuṇa* addressed [them], moistening with tears the earth, which was tormented by the hot [fever of] separation from its master:

362. "Let Prince *Kuvalayāpīḍa* be installed on the throne. That pious king of auspicious name has gone to heaven."

363. "Therefore the magic power which the gods had granted me in order to increase the riches of this wise [king], has suddenly vanished."

364. Through some power of fortune that king, indeed, though far away, accomplished with ease even difficult tasks.

365. The sun, though hidden by dense clouds, comforts the lotus-flowers. The cloud, though far away, gives a touch of coolness to the sunshine. There is, certainly, some unimpaired power of the great by the force of which even the remotest tasks are freely carried out without hindrance.

366. This moon of his subjects vanished, after comforting the earth in this fashion during thirty-six years, seven months and eleven days.

367. Some have reported that he perished in the country called *Āryāṇaka*, through excessive snow, which fell out of season.

367. TROYER and LASSEN, *Ind. Alt.*, iii. p. 1004, have supposed that *Āryāṇaka* corresponds to the *Ariana* of Greek geographers, i.e. Eastern Irān generally. This identification is, however, very doubtful, as the name, if ever used in India in that meaning, could

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368. Some [have reported] that in a certain critical situation he burned himself in order to preserve the foremost position which he had long held among kings.

369. In the belief of some, that ruler of the earth entered, along with his army, those regions in the farthest north which are of easy access to the immortals [alone].

370. Indeed, just as most wonderful deeds are related of this king, so the reports about his end are also very astonishing.

371. When the sun sets, some say that he descended into the waters of the ocean; others that he entered the fire; and others again that he has proceeded to another world. O wonder, even when the great meet with their end, there arise, as they whimsically insist on an unparalleled departure, stories indicative of the uncommon grandeur possessed [by them].

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372. Then the illustrious *Kuvalayāpīḍa*, the son of *Kamaladevī*, enjoyed the rule over the earth-disc (*kuvalaya*), just as Indra, the son of Aditi.

373. By his liberality he gave spotless brightness to the royal fortune, which is an object of attachment (*anurakta*), as the snake [when abandoning] its skin, gives to it [spotless brightness] though it is dark-coloured by nature.

374. For some time he was deprived of lustre by his brother, who held equal power, as a lamp does not shine brilliantly when approached by the glow of a fire.

375. While the courtiers, lusting for presents (*dāna*), moved to and fro between the two [princes], their treasure fared badly, like the temple-juice from the two temple-holes of an elephant in rut, when the bees, lusting for the fragrant secretion (*dāna*), move to and fro between them.

376. Then after a short time King *Kuvalayāpīḍa* subdued his younger brother, as well as the intrigues of the minsters, who were appropriating the riches of both.

377 When the king had freed the kingdom from his enemies and had attained power, he, feeling his strength, collected forces for the conquest of the world.

378. One minister at that time acted against his orders, either from a recollection of his father's words or from an access of arrogance.

379. When the night had come, the king, full of anger, thought on his couch of that disobedient [minister] and could not, even for a moment, find sleep.

scarcely have survived till the time of Lalitāditya or K., without leaving a trace in other Sanskrit texts.

368. The version here alluded to is told at length vii. 1428-49.

373. The pun is in the word *anurakta*, which also means "coloured."

375. The several puns contained in the verse make it necessary to render it by a paraphrase.

380. While he was thus planning the destruction of that guilty [minister], it appeared to him in his rising anger that many [others] ought to be killed on account of their connection with that [minister]. KUVALAYĀPĪḌA

381. As from the ocean, when it was churned [by the gods] with the mountain [Mandara], there appeared after the [poison] Kālakūṭa the nectar (*sudhā*), so there arose from his soul, when stirred up by reflection, resignation after rage.

382. Thereupon his wrath vanished and he thought: "What is it then, for whose sake it appeared to me that I ought to carry out so great a destruction of living beings?"

383. "That body, for the benefit of which ill-deeds are accomplished and sinfulness earned, for whom is it lasting?"

384. "Who, while in possession of his memory, would think of destroying the eternal paths [of righteous conduct] for the sake of this ungrateful body?"

385. "Alas, men do not know that at every moment the condition of their self is brought about by the cook 'Death' (*Kāla*), who prepares them for the end!"

386. "Surely long-lived beings laugh when they see this our face, yesterday bright with the causeless smile [of a child] and resembling [in rosy colour] the calyx of a lotus, to-day suddenly hard with a bristling beard and heated by a bronzen glow, next morning changed by withered white hair and resembling the head of an old goat."

387. Caring [only] for the bliss [gained] by the resignation with which such thoughts of eternity inspired him, he left his kingdom and went to the *Plakṣaprasravaṇa* forest.

388. "Go straight to the forest, O my good friend! Devote your soul to austerities. Such fortune like this is bound to decay, and vanishes in a moment."

389. By writing this verse on his throne before leaving his kingdom, he indicated his deep feeling of indifference for the world.

390. The king who had secured supernatural perfection (*siddhi*) by the unbroken intensity of his quietism, shows himself, even at the present day, to the eyes of the pious on *S'rīparvata* and at other holy places.

391. When the son of his king had thus departed, *Mitraśarman*, overtaken by grief, abandoned life at the confluence of the *Vitastā* and *Sindhu*, and was followed by his wife.

387. The gloss of A₂ identifies *Plakṣaprasravaṇa* with the *Naimiṣāraṇya*, well known to the Epics and Purāṇas as a retreat of holy men.

390. For Mount *S'rīparvata*, see note iii. 267.

391. The place where the *Vitastā* and *Sindhu* rivers meet (now at the village of *Ṣâd'pūr*, recte *Shahābuddīnpūr*), enjoys in Kaśmīr the same sanctity as the confluence of Gangā and Yamunā at *Prayāga*. The latter name is directly applied to the Kaśmīr Tīrtha in the *Nīlamata*, 299 sq.; *Vitastāmāh*. xxi. 74; *Vijayeśvaramāh*. ii. 170, etc., and in other texts. Regarding the old site of the river-junction, comp. Note *I*, v. 97.

KUVALAYĀPĪḌA.

392. This pious lord of the earth, after ruling for one year and half a month, obtained that perfection which is the stair leading to final beatitude.

VAJRĀDITYA (BAPPIYAKA)

393. Then *Vajrāditya*, who was also known [by the names of] *Bappiyaka* and *Lalitāditya*, and whose mother was *Cakramardikā*, became king.

394. This [king] of a cruel character differed certainly from his brother, who was the comforter of his subjects, as Durvāsas [differed] from the moon.

395. The wicked king, a slave to avarice, withdrew from *Parihāsapura* the various foundations [granted] by his father.

396. This sensuous ruler had a large number of women in his seraglio, with whom he diverted himself in turn, like a stallion with the mares.

397. He sold many men to the *Mlecchas*, and introduced into the country practices which befitted *Mlecchas*.

398 After ruling the earth for seven years, the sinful king ended his days through consumption, which was caused by excesses in sensual enjoyment.

PṚTHIVYĀPĪḌA

399. Then his son *Pṛthivyāpīḍa*, who was born from Queen *Mañjarikā*, a destroyer of his subjects, was king for four years and one month.

SAṂGRĀMĀPĪḌA I.

400. After overthrowing him, there ruled for seven days the son of *Bappiya* from [Queen] *Mammā*, called *Saṃgrāmāpīḍa* [I].

401. When the royal power reached these two brothers it did not shine forth brilliantly, [as little] as the sun-disc when it has entered the seasons of Hemanta and S'iśira (winter and early spring).

JAYĀPĪḌA.

402. After *Saṃgrāmāpīḍa's* death the illustrious King *Jayāpīḍa*, the youngest son of *Bappiya*, ascended the throne in due succession.

403. Remembering the words of the ministers: "May you be like your grandfather," he, full of ambition, collected an army and set out for the conquest of the world.

404. When on the point of leaving his country, accompanied by the feudatory chiefs, this prudent [monarch] asked the old men dwelling near the 'Gate (*dvāra*) of *Kaśmīr*':

394. The story of the Purāṇas makes the vindictive and ill-tempered Muni *Durvāsas*, a brother of *Soma*, the moon-god.

395. The endowments made for the temples of Parihāsapura in the form of sacerdotal apparatus, grants for establishments, etc., are probably meant.

400. The reading of A₁, *vāsarān*, accepted in the text, is confirmed by L. The reading *vatsarān* of A₂, which has been preferred by Troyer, Lassen and Durgāpr., would extend Saṃgrāmāpīḍa's rule to seven *years*. It must, however, be rejected, as it does not agree with the total of 1828 years which K.'s chronological scheme assumes for the aggregate of the reigns described in Taraṅgas ii-viii. This has already been correctly pointed out by Dr. HULTZSCH, *Ind. Ant.*, xviii. p. 99. Compare also note i. 50, and Introduction.

402. According to iv. 517, *Jayāpīḍa* also bore the name of *Vinayāditya*.

Mixed metal coins of *Jayāpīḍa* showing this second name are very common; comp. CUNNINGHAM, *Coins of Med. India*, p. 45, and pl. iii 14.

404. Regarding the significance of the term *dvāra*, see notes i. 122, 302. Comp. also v. 137.

405. "How great was the army of my grandfather when he marched forth? You who counted the troops at his expeditions, should now tell me this." JAYĀPĪḌA.

406. They answered him smiling: "O king, why this question? Nobody is able now to equal the things that are passed."

407. "At that ruler's expedition there were one lakh and a quarter of litters (*karṇīratha*), but now at that of your Majesty there are [only] eighty thousand."

408. Hearing this, *Jayāpīḍa* did not take his defeat to heart, as [he knew that] the earth is quickly being reduced [to smaller dimensions] through the overpowering force of Time.

409. When the old men noticed such character in the king as he set out for conquest, they realized the deep judgment [shown] by King *Lalitāditya*.

410. When that [king] had moved far away, his brother-in-law, *Jajja* by name, entered *Kaśmīr* by treachery and forcibly usurped the throne. Usurpation of *Jajja*

411. Then day by day, soldiers who were longing for their own country, and were neglectful of their duty towards their lord, turned back from the royal army.

412. *Jayāpīḍa*, however, eager to prove his own power without [the help of] dependents, devised some clever plan.

413. The self-reliance of this strong-minded [king] could not be broken, and by it he overcame even the disfavour of Fate.

414. He dismissed the princes who had followed him on his expedition, each to his own land, and proceeded with limited forces of his own to *Prayāga*.

415. Collecting there the swift horses which remained, he gave a lakh less one of them to the Brahmans, along with rich Dakṣiṇās.

416-417. And he gave a seal engraved with the words: "Of the illustrious King *Jayāpīḍa*," [which was to be used for sealing the vessels] of Ganges water carried to distant lands, and ordained: "If anyone else should grant here [at Prayāga] a complete lakh of horses, my seal may be replaced by his own."

418 Proud princes drink even to this day the holy Ganges water [from vessels] marked with that [king's] seal, and feel pained in their mind.

419. After leaving with a trusted [servant] an order permitting his soldiers to return to their country, he went forth at night, alone, from the midst of his army.

407. "The inhabitants of Kaśmīr are pedestrians, they have no riding animals nor elephants. The noble among them ride in palankins called *Katt*, carried on the shoulders of men."—Albērūnī, *India*, I p. 206. Is the word *Katt* here, perhaps, a corrupted rendering of a Pr. derivative from *karṇīratha*?

416-417. The sacred water of the Ganges is still carried at the present day in sealed pots and bottles to distant parts of India. It would be interesting to find evidence for K.'s statement that a seal with Jayāpīḍa's name was still used in his own time for the sealing of such pots at Prayāga. Troyer and Lassen make Jayāpīḍa throw his seal into the river.

JAYĀPĪḌA.

Jayāpīḍa's tour of adventure.

420. Searching for a place suited for displaying his brilliancy, he moved about (?) in the countries (*maṇḍala*) of kings, as the sun in the masses (*maṇḍala*) of the clouds.

421. Then in due course he entered the city of *Pauṇḍravardhana*, subject to the kings of *Gauḍa*, and [at that time] protected by a prince called *Jayanta*.

422. Pleased there by the wealth of the citizens, which was rendered enjoyable by a good government, he went to the temple of Kārtikeya to view the dancing.

423. Seeing dancing and singing [performed there] in accordance with [the precepts of] *Bharata*, and being [himself] acquainted with this S'āstra, he then quickly seated himself on a stone at the gate of the temple.

424. As the people, rendered uneasy by his [look of] exceptional dignity, withdrew from his side, a dancer, *Kamalā* by name, noticed the beautiful [prince].

425. With astonishment she noticed that the hand of that distinguished-looking man reached, from time to time, quickly to the back of his shoulder.

426. She then thought: "Surely this must be a disguised king or a Rājaputra born from a great family."

427. "He is accustomed to take thus the rolled betel-leaves from [attendants]

420. We owe the partial restoration of the text of this passage to L, which adds after verse 419 and before verse 420, as printed in the Ed., the two *pādas*: *baddhāma sthānam anviṣyan pratāpākhyāpanocitam*. These fill the lacuna in the text of A which had already been indicated in Ed., but wrongly placed in verse 423. The arrangement of the half-verses in the text should be corrected accordingly.

The first three Akṣaras in the newly gained text, *baddhāma*, certainly contain some fault and give no sense, but the general meaning of the verse is not obscured by this corruption. As a verb expressing motion seems wanted by the context, *babhrāma* might be suggested as a conjectural reading.

421. The name of King Jayanta does not appear to be otherwise known. LASSEN, *Ind. Alt.*, iii. p. 720, has proposed to identify him with a *Jayadhara* who appears in a list of Bengal kings given by Abu-l-Fazl, *Āīn-i Akb.*, ii. p. 145, as the last of the dynasty preceding the Pālas.

The name *Pauṇḍravardhana*, for which other texts (see *P.W.*, s.v.), also show the form *Puṇḍravardhana*, is certainly identical with that of the kingdom of *Pun-na-fa-tan-na* which Hiuen-tsiang visited in Bengal to the north of the Ganges (see *Si-yu-ki*, ii. p. 194). The name appears to be connected with that of the *Puṇḍra* people. From the indications furnished by Hiuen-tsiang, it appears that *Pauṇḍravardhana* must be located somewhere in the present district of *Rājaṣāhi*. As to the exact position of the capital, different opinions have been expressed by those who have had occasion to examine this portion of the ancient topography of Bengal; comp. Beal's note, *Si-yu-ki*, *l.c.*; CUNNINGHAM, *Anc. Geogr.*, p. 480, and *Arch. Survey Rep.*, xv. pp. 102, 110 sqq.

422. In accordance with the corrected arrangement of the text, we must adopt the reading *tasmin* of A_1 and L in place of A_2 *yasmin* shown in Ed.

423. I prefer now to divide the words of the first half-verse (corrected text) with the other Edd., as *bharatānugam ālakṣya nṛttagītādi śāstravit*, and to translate as above. If the whole is taken as a compound we should have to translate: "As he was learned in the S'āstra of dancing and singing which was to be seen [there] by following the players (*bharata*)," etc.

The Muni *Bharata* is the traditional founder of the art of dancing and acting.

427. Regarding the chewing of betel as a habit of men of good birth, see vii. 1067.

standing at his back, and therefore his hand moves at every moment to the back of his shoulder." JAYĀPĪḌA.

428 "The elephant moves the lobe of his ear to and fro, even when the attack of the bees, eager for his temple-juice, has ceased. The lion turns his looks to the back even when the elephant-herd does not follow him. The peacock does not cease to send forth cries from his throat, even when his expectation of the cloud has passed. Habits fixed by long practice are not likely to cease, even when their reason is gone."

429. Thus she thought in her mind, and after having consulted with an intimate friend she sent the latter close up to him.

430. When his hand moved [again] as before, she put betel-nuts into it. These *Jayāpīḍa* put into his mouth, [and then] turning round he noticed that [girl].

431. When he had asked that fair-browed [maid] by a sign of his brow to whom she belonged, he was told by her about that [dancer] who sent the betel-rolls.

432. Rousing in him kind feelings by her various sweet words, she led him gradually to the dwelling of her friend, who had finished her dance.

433. That charming person, who was of surpassing beauty, and who talked with delicacy and tenderness, so attended upon him that even he felt surprised

434. Then when the face of the night became white in the moon[light], she took the king by the hand, and proceeded to the bed-chamber.

435. While he lay there on the golden couch, he did not loosen his under-garment, though she, heated by intoxicating drink, requested it.

436. Thereupon the long-armed [prince] embraced her, who felt ashamed, as if he were going to enclose her in his broad chest, and spoke slowly the following:

437. "O you, whose eyes are like lotus-leaves, indeed, you have captured my heart. But regard for the [proper] time makes me offend [you]."

438. "O lovely one, I am your slave, bought by [your] unaffected charms. Before long you will learn [my] story, and experience [my] tenderness."

439. "O you proud one, know that I have resolved not to enjoy any pleasures until I have completed some task which remains [for me] and is close at hand."

440. After these words he sighed, and [then] playing a tune as it were with his beringed finger on the couch, he recited this verse:

441. "How should a strong-minded [man] bent on conquest, think of women? The Sun does not approach its love, the Evening, until he has passed over the whole world."

442. From this verse which the king recited to himself, she, who was versed in [all] arts, knew him verily to be some great person.

443. And when the king in the morning desired to leave, that affectionate [girl] beseeched him earnestly and prayed him not to go away for a long time.

JAYĀPĪḌA

444. Once when he had gone to the river-bank to perform the evening devotion (*saṁdhyā*), and was late in returning to the house, he found her in great concern.

445. When asked by him about this, she told him with a bright smile: "There is a very large lion here which attacks and kills living beings."

446. "Day by day he has destroyed men, elephants, horses. When you were late in returning, this danger frightened me."

447. "Kings and Rājaputras in this place are made uneasy by this danger, and do not leave their houses when the night has come"

448. When the lovely one spoke thus, *Jayāpīḍa* stopped her and laughed at her, and [subsequently] passed the night as if in embarrassment.

449. On the next day at nightfall he left the interior of the town and waited under a great Ficus Indica tree for the coming of the lion.

450. Then there appeared in the distance the king of the animals, who shone like a Bakula-tree in blossom, and seemed, as it were, a moving [embodiment] of the laughter of Death.

451. When the lion passed along another way at a slow pace, the royal lion called to him recklessly with a loud shout.

452. With straightened ears, open mouth, shaking mane, and glittering eyes, the roaring [lion] rushed at him, raising the fore-part of his body.

453. When that [lion] fell upon [him] in fury, *Jayāpīḍa* with a quick movement thrust his elbow into the hollow of his mouth and cut open his breast with a dagger.

454. Cut up with one stroke, that [lion] died, while his flowing blood appeared as if it were the red colour [smeared on the foreheads] of the elephants he had devoured.

455. Then he hid his [wounded] elbow by putting on a bandage, and returning to the house of the dancing girl, passed the night in sleep as before.

456. When the morning dawned, King *Jayanta* heard with joy that the lion was killed, and in curiosity went forth in person to see it.

457 When he saw that the big [beast] had been killed by one stroke, he felt astonished, and was convinced that its slayer was superhuman.

458 His attendant handed him a bracelet found between the teeth of that [lion], and with astonishment he saw that it bore the illustrious name of *Jayāpīḍa.*

459. When the king inquired how that ruler of the earth could be present in this locality, the town, dreading the approach of *Jayāpīḍa*, was distracted by fright.

460. Then after reflection King *Jayanta* spoke thus to his citizens: "O fools, why are you frightened when there is occasion for joy?"

JAYĀPĪḌA

461-462. "It is reported that King *Jayāpīḍa*, relying on the strength of his arm, is for some reason wandering about quite alone in foreign lands, calling [himself] a Rājaputra *Kallaṭa* [by name]. Having no son, I have decided to give to him [my daughter] *Kalyāṇadevī*."

463 "If he who would have to be searched for, has arrived, then [it is as if] one finds a treasure hidden in [one's own] house when on the point of starting for the 'Isle of jewels' with the wish of gathering precious stones."

464. "The lord of the universe must be in this very town If anyone would search him out and report him [to me], I would grant that person his wish."

465. The citizens, who gave credence to the word of their truth-speaking king, searched for that [disguised king] and reported that he lived at the house of *Kamalā*.

466. The king went to him, along with his ministers and the ladies of his seraglio, beseeched him earnestly, and then ordering a feast, conducted him to his own residence.

467. Then he made that [prince] who was bound [to enjoy] prosperity (*kalyāṇa*), accept the hand of *Kalyāṇadevī*, as if it were that of the royal fortune which he had [previously] abandoned.

468. He (Jayāpīḍa) showed there his valour by defeating, even without preparation, the five *Gauḍa* chiefs, and by making his father-in-law their sovereign.

469 He was joined by *Devaśarman*, the son of *Mitraśarman*, who had remained [behind] collecting the forces which were left after the departure [of the others], and which were without their leader.

470. Then at the request of this [minister] he set out thence towards his own country, leading in front the goddess of Victory, [and] behind those two beautiful-eyed ones.

471. After defeating the king of *Kanyakubja* in battle, that king of surpassing valour carried off his throne, the ensign of royal power.

472. When he (Jayāpīḍa), after [such] display of mighty prowess, entered his own country, *Jajja*, with troops ready for battle, marched forth to fight [him]. *Jajja overthrown.*

473. For many days *Jayāpīḍa* fought with him in fierce contest at the village called *S'uṣkaletra*.

474. The king, who had the attachment of his subjects, was followed in the fight by a large number of villagers and men from the forests who were unable to bear *Jajja's* rule.

462. I have translated above in accordance with the reading of L *uktvā* for A *uktā*.

464. The correct reading *samanviṣya* for A *samānveṣya* is supplied by L.

471. This throne is referred to again, viii. 81.

473. For *S'uṣkaletra*, the modern *Hukh'-litᵊr*, see note i. 102.

JAYĀPĪḌA

475-476. *S'rīdeva*, a village Caṇḍāla, had asked his mother for food, with the words: "I am off to help the king," and had joined after assuring her, as she laughed, that he would kill *Jajja*. Arriving at the battle with [his] villagers, he moved about in all places asking the soldiers where *Jajja* was.

477. They showed to him from afar that [prince] who, pained by thirst, was drinking water from a golden jug in the midst of the battle, while mounted on a horse.

478. Letting go his sling, he hit the face of the [prince] with a stone, and unfailing in his aim, shouted: "There, I have slain *Jajja*"

479. *Jajja*, with his face fearfully injured, fell from his horse, and when he rolled on the ground in a dying condition, his followers left him and fled.

480. He, who had always been troubled by the apprehension of an attack from [his] powerful enemy, after three years lost the kingdom which he had gained by treachery.

481. Fortunes which merchants obtain by abstracting deposits, or courtesans by cheating their lovers, or princes by treachery, are in truth inconstant.

482. When *Jajja* was slain, *Jayāpīḍa*, returning to his royal dignity, took upon his shoulder the burden of [ruling] the land, and [gained] the hearts of the virtuous by his righteous acts.

483. In that land where the king met with good fortune (*kalyāna*) after the destruction of his enemy, *Kalyāṇadevī* founded *Kalyāṇapura*.

484. The king built *Malhāṇapura* and established the [shrine of] *Vipulakeśava* Also, *Kamalā* founded a town, called after her own name *Kamalā*[*pura*]

475 The expression *Caṇḍāla* is here evidently used for a person belonging to the inferior castes from which to this day the watchmen (Kś. *ḍūmb*, Skr. *ḍomba*) and other village menials are taken in Kaśmīr. Notwithstanding their low social status, Dūmbs and men of related castes are generally superior to the ordinary villagers in natural intellect and energy; comp. LAWRENCE, *Valley*, p. 311.

L shows verse 475 (Ed 478) in its proper position after 474 In the Ed. I had adhered to the order of the verses as given by A₁, though a marginal note of A₂ already indicated the transposition now effected. The agreement of L with A₂ proves that the arrangement of the text in Ratnakaṇṭha's original was that now adopted in the translation

483. *Kalyāṇapura*, which is repeatedly mentioned in the viii. Tar, can be identified with certainty with the present village of *Kalampōr*, situated in the S'ukru Pargaṇa, 74° 54' long 33° 48' lat., close to the high road leading from S'upiyan to S'rīnagar. This identification is proved by viii. 2814, and specially by *S'rīv.* iv 466. The position of Kalyāṇapura is clearly indicated in the last-named passage by the reference to *Drābhagrāma*, the modern *Drāb*ᵃ*gām*, about two miles to the N W of *Kalampōr*.

It is very probable that the gloss *Kalamapuram*, which A₂ has written above *Kamalākhyaṁ puraṁ* in the following verse, referred in the original MS. to *Kalyāṇapura*, and was only by a mistake of A₂ copied in the wrong place.

484 *Malhāṇapura* is identified in a note of A₁ with the modern village of *Malur* situated on the left bank of the Vitastā, 74° 47' long. 34° 7' lat. The position of the shrine called *Vipulakeśava* (thus also L) can be traced as little as that of *Kamalāpura*.

485. Out of polite attention he exalted *Kalyāṇadevī* even further by installing her in the dignity of *Mahāpratīhārapīḍā* (office of Chief Chamberlain). JAYĀPĪḌA.

486. By him learning, which had hidden itself far away, was made to appear [again] in this land which was its original home, just as the *Vitastā* by *Kaśyapa*. Jayāpīḍa's literary patronage

487. When he gave to a person who openly said: "I am a fool" . . . . . ., he made all anxious for learning.

488. The king, by bringing from abroad [competent] expositors, restored in his own country the [study of the] *Mahābhāṣya*, which had been interrupted.

489. Receiving instruction from a master of grammatical science, called *Kṣīra*, the learned (*paṇḍita*) *Jayāpīḍa* gained distinction with the wise.

490 That pure-minded [king] did not allow any king to compete with himself, but was proud of being able himself to compete with the learned.

491. So much [greater] was his fame from the title of scholar than from that of king, that notwithstanding his various faults it has not faded like other [things] subject to time.

492. As the king was attached to the learned, the princes who came to serve him and desired to reach his presence, frequented the houses of the scholars

493 The king searched for and collected all scholars to such an extent, that in the lands of other kings there was a dearth of learned men.

494 He attached to himself, and elevated on account of his learning, *Thakkiya*,

485. The translation of this verse is doubtful. In order to gain an acceptable sense, I have followed above the readings of A₃ °*devīṁ* and °*dadhikonnatām*, though L supports those of A₁ as adopted in the text. The gerund *pratipadya* has been taken in a causative sense; comp note on *udetya*, ii 60

L gives the name of the office in the form shown above, which agrees with the one found iv. 142.

486. A legend told in the *Nilamata*, 255 sqq., relates how the Vitastā, after having been brought originally to Kaśmir by S'iva (see above iv 301), disappeared again several times on meeting sinners of various descriptions. Kaśyapa's prayer induced the divine stream each time to return to Kaśmir and to flow forth from a fresh source. The story is also mentioned in the *Vitastāmāh*

487. The meaning of the verse is obscure, and the text at the commencement of the third Pāda probably corrupt For *sarvajñānān dada*°, which does not allow of a suitable construction, L reads the still less intelligible *nāmahadbahada*°. I have left the doubtful words untranslated.

488. Comp. with the reference here made to the study of Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya, note i 176.

489. *Kṣīra*, Jayāpīḍa's teacher in grammar, is identified by the tradition of the Kaśmirian Paṇḍits with *Kṣīrasvāmin*, son of *Īśvarasvāmin*, the author of a well-known commentary on the Amarakośa and several smaller grammatical treatises still extant Compare Prof BUHLER's *Report*, p 73, Prof M MÜLLER, *India*, p. 334, and Aufrecht, *Cat. Catalog.*, p 134 The gloss of A₂ on our passage shows that this tradition, which confirms a suggestion made already by WILSON, *Essay*, p. 55, is old In the *Vaṁśastuti* which *Rājānaka Ānanda* appended to his commentary on the *Naiṣadhacarita* (composed A D 1654), the grammarian *Kṣīrasvāmin* is claimed as one of the great scholars produced by the *Rājānaka* family of Kaśmir, along with Kaiyyaṭa, Uvaṭa and Mammaṭa (see Poona MS., Coll 1875-76, No. 143, fol. 673).

494 The term *bhaktaśālā* seems to designate a place where food (*bhakta*) is regularly distributed in charity Compare the expression *dharmabhakta* used i 347 by the glossator in explanation of the term *akṣayiṇī*, which has to be understood in the same sense; also iv. 243.

JAYĀPĪḌA. who had been superintendent in the charity foundation (*bhaktaśālā*) of the minister *S'ukradanta*.

495. The learned *Bhaṭṭa Udbhaṭa* was this king's Sabhāpati (chief Paṇḍit), and received a daily allowance of one lakh Dīnnāras.

496. He took the Kavi *Dāmodaragupta*, the author of the [poem] *Kuṭṭinīmata*, as his chief councillor, as *Bali* [had taken] *Kavi*.

497. *Manoratha*, *S'aṅkhadanta*, *Caṭaka*, and *Saṁdhimat* were his poets, and *Vamana* and others his ministers.

498. When he saw in his dream the sun rise in the west, he thought that [some] exalted teacher of the law had luckily entered his land.

499. This king, who was full of intelligence, and possessed a clever judgment [based] on experience, knew the different tastes of [all] things which can be enjoyed.

500. Those kings who have no eyes for things of great charm, and cannot judge what is sweet, what can they know but eating, just as blind oxen?

501. What the embrace of the wife who is eager to follow [her husband] unto death, is to the [dead man] raised on the funeral pyre; what the drink [prepared] from the juice of the sugar cane is to him who has lost all consciousness in a complete swoon; and what the fragrance of a multitude of garlands is to him whose life has passed away,—that is the natural beauty and greatness of things to the fool.

495. The gloss of A₂ rightly designates *Bhaṭṭa Udbhaṭa* as an *alaṁkārika* or writer on poetics. His *Alaṁkāraśāstra*, a short treatise, has been discovered by Prof. Buhler; see *Report*, p. 65.

Regarding the term *dinnāra* (dināra), and the currency designated by it in Kaśmīr, see Note *H*

496. *Dāmodaragupta's* Kāvya ('Reflections of the procuress'), referred to in the text, has been discovered by Prof. Peterson in the Cambay Temple library. It has been printed in the *Kāvyamālā*, iii. pp. 32 sqq.; comp. Prof. PETERSON'S *Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS.*, 1883-84, pp. 23 sqq.

Dāmodaragupta is quoted in several anthologies; see AUFRECHT, *Cat. Catalog.*, p. 251.

Bali is the Daitya whom Viṣṇu established as ruler in the under-world. *Kavi*, i.e. the planet S'ukra, figures as Bali's minister.

497. Verses of *Manoratha* are quoted in Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvali*; see p. 85 in the edition. The names of *S'aṅkhadanta*, *Caṭaka* and *Saṁdhimat* do not appear to be known otherwise.

Vāmana, the minister of Jayāpīḍa, has been supposed to be the same as the Vāmana whom we know as one of the two authors of the *Kāśikāvṛtti*, the famous commentary on Pāṇini's grammar. Comp BOEHTLINGK'S *Pāṇini* (1st Edition, p liv) and *Report*, p 72, where Prof. Buhler refers to a Kaśmīrian tradition to the same effect. On the other hand, it has also been suggested (first by Wilson, *Essay*, p. 55), that the Vāmana of our passage was the author of the *Kāvyālaṁkāravṛtti*, a work containing a set of poetical Sūtras and a gloss upon them; comp. *Report*, p. 65. The questions involved by these identifications have been fully discussed by Prof. M. MÜLLER, *India*, pp. 239 sqq. His discovery of a reference to the *Kāśikāvṛtti* in the work of I-tsing, whose latest date is A.D 690, makes it difficult to attribute any longer a share in the authorship of that commentary to a contemporary of *Jayāpīḍa*; comp., however, Prof BHANDARKAR'S *Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS*, 1883-84, p. 58.

498. L has actually the correct reading, *dharmottarācāryaṁ*, which A₂ gives as 'taken from another MS.'

499. L correctly °*vivektṛtvo* for A °*vivaktṛtvo*.

500. Read with L *svādvavivekibhiḥ* for A *svāduvi*°.

502. His one form being reflected in council and valour, as [if it were] in two mirrors, was multiplied a thousandfold. JAYĀPĪḌA.

503. Once he directed an envoy who stood before him, to bring five Rākṣasas from the king of *Laṅkā*, [and the former] accepted the impracticable order. Foundation of *Jayapura*.

504. This envoy, then, on his way fell from the ship into the sea, was devoured by a great fish, freed himself by destroying that fish, and reached the shore.

505. *Vibhīṣaṇa*, the friend of mortals, through his attachment to *Rāma*, sent that envoy who brought him the king's written order, back to his own land, together with the Rākṣasas, which he had granted.

506. The king richly rewarded his ambassador with money, filled a deep lake with the help of the Rākṣasas, and built the castle (*koṭṭa*) of *Jayapura*, which equalled heaven [in beauty].

507. That pious [king] set up three *Buddha* images and a large Vihāra, and built in the town a [shrine of] *Jayādevī*.

508. In his town [of Jayapura] *Keśava*, showing his quadruple form as well reclining on the [serpent] *S'eṣa*, has truly taken up his abode, abandoning his residence in Viṣṇu's world.

509. Some relate that after having had some other works executed by the Rākṣasas, he had the water [of the lake] covered up by [ordinary] workmen.

510. For having been told in a dream by the foe of Kaṁsa (Viṣṇu): "Make me in the water a *Dvāravatī*," he had such a work executed.

511 Thus it is that all the people speak to this day even of the 'Outer Castle' (*bāhya koṭṭa*), [which is] the famous residence of *Dvāravatī*, and of the 'Inner Castle' (*abhyantara koṭṭa*), which is *Jayapura*.

506-511. JAYAPURA-DVĀRAVATĪ. — The description given here of the twin towns *Jayapura* and *Dvāravatī*, which Jayāpīḍa founded, has been fully discussed by Prof. BÜHLER, who, in the course of his tour in 1875, succeeded in tracing their site and remains near the village of *Andᵊrkōṭh*, situated on the Sambal lake, 74° 42' long 34° 13' lat. Referring for all details as regards the topography and ruins of the place to the exhaustive and accurate account given by Prof. BÜHLER, *Report*, p. 13 sqq., it will be sufficient to notice here the following points directly bearing on the identification.

Andᵊrkōṭh is the name given to a village which lies partly on an island rising from the Sambal lake, and partly on the low-lying strip of land separating that lake from the Vitastā. On the island referred to are the ruins of numerous temples, which the tradition of the villagers distinctly attribute to a king '*Jayāpiḍ*.' This tradition, which I verified on the spot at several occasions, fully agrees with the one current among the Paṇḍits of S'rīnagar, who all look upon Andᵊrkōṭh as the site of Jayāpīḍa's capital. We can attach all the more importance to this tradition as it is borne out by the old gloss of A_2, iv. 511, which explains *abhyantara koṭṭa* by '*Andarkōṭ*.' Its survival is sufficiently accounted for by

508. The Vaiṣṇavas worship Viṣṇu in four forms (*caturātman*)—as *Saṁkarṣaṇa*, *Aniruddha*, *Vāsudeva*, *Pradyumna*; comp. e.g. *Viṣṇu Pur.* v. p. 16; *Mārkāṇḍeya Pur.* iv. 43 sqq., and also below v. 25.

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512. *Jayadatta*, a minister of the lord of the earth, who held the five [offices designated] by the word 'Great' (*pañcamahāśabda*), built a Maṭha at this castle of *Jayapura*.

513. *Āca*, the pious son-in-law of *Pramoda*, lord of *Mathurā*, who was the king's chamberlain, had a [shrine of] S'iva *Aceśvara* constructed.

514. After completing his preparations, he set out once more for the conquest of the world, while his forces, with their large elephants, seemed to prolong the hill-range of the sea coast.

515. The army which followed him, shone yet in unbroken [line] on the

the fact that the place was still known in the time of S'rivara, i e towards the close of the 15th century, by the name of *Jayāpīḍapura* or *Jayapura* (see *S'rīv.* i 240, 250, 257, iv. 540, 545)

Verse 511 records that *Dvāravatī*, which was built in the water and called after Kṛṣṇa's town, was popularly known in K.'s time as *bāhya koṭṭa*, the 'Outer Castle,' and *Jayapura* as *abhyantara koṭṭa*, the 'Inner Castle.' The latter name is undoubtedly preserved in the modern *Andᵃrkōṭh*, which in Kś. has the same meaning. The term *Bāhyakoṭṭa* Prof. Buhler thought to have recognized in the name '*Bahirkūṭ*,' which according to the information obtained for him by his Kaśmirian assistant (see *Report*, p 15) was applied to the village situated on the above-mentioned island

Careful inquiries made by me on several occasions, both at the village and in its neighbourhood, have shown that this supposed name 'Bahirkūṭ' is wholly unknown, and that both portions of the village are called *Andᵃrkōṭh*, as indeed Prof Buhler himself had been rightly told by his boatmen. The name 'Bahirkūṭ' is thus, in all probability, due only to some misunderstanding on the part of Prof. Buhler's informant As a Kaśmiri village name it would have been all the more curious, as Kś. does not know the word *bahir*, but uses *nebᵃr* as the contrast to *andᵃr*.

With Bahirkuṭ we must abandon also Prof. Buhler's proposal of placing *Dvāravatī* on the island and *Jayapura* on the opposite lake-shore. All the buildings which K. specially mentions, iv. 507, 508, 512 sq., such as the Vihāra, the temples dedicated to *Jayādevī*, *Brahman* and *Keśava*, the Maṭha of *Jayadatta*, are distinctly placed at *Jayapura*. Ruins corresponding to such structures can be traced in far greater number on the island plateau of Andᵃrkōṭh than on the opposite shore, and it is, therefore, more probable that the former was the site of Jayapura. The largest ruin situated at the N.W. corner of the plateau has already by Prof Buhler been rightly recognized as a temple dedicated to Viṣṇu, on the evidence of a large sculptured block bearing representations of that deity This ruin may now be assumed to correspond to the temple of *Keśava* referred to by K. in iv. 508.

The epithet *koṭṭa*, which K gives to *Jayapura*, iv 506, 512, and again in vii. 1625, and which is reflected also in S'rivara's expression *durga* (*S'rīv* iv. 540, 545), receives its proper significance if we take into account the strong position occupied by the plateau of *Andᵃrkōṭh*, surrounded as it is on all sides by water. Jayapura served also in later times as a royal residence (*Jonar.* 300, 357), but its buildings were already in ruins in the time of Zain-ul-'ābidīn (*S'rīv* i. 250)

Of *Dvāravatī* no further mention is found either in the Rājat. or in the later Chronicles. We may conclude from this circumstance that the place had lost its importance already at an early date. This again accounts for the comparative insignificance of the ruins extant at the probable site of Dvāravatī. The latter is indicated by a few detached hamlets, all belonging to Andᵃrkōṭh, which stretch in a semicircle along the edge of the lake to the N. of the Andᵃrkōṭh island. During a short visit paid to the site in May, 1896, I could trace remains evidently taken from ancient structures in the ruined Ziārat of Saiyid Habibulla, and in the foundations of an old building known as the Qāzī Hamām. From the central hamlet at which the latter is situated, a causeway (*suth*), about 400 yards long, leads across the 'Sar' to the island of Andᵃrkōṭh. It is built entirely of old stone-material. The tradition of the villagers attributes the ruins here named, like those on the island itself, uniformly to King 'Jayāpiḍ.'

512. For *pañcamahāśabda*, see note i. 140.

515. King *Bhagīratha* made the Gaṅgā descend from heaven to the Himālaya, and hence led her to the ocean.

Himâlaya, even when it had reached the eastern ocean, just as the Gangâ [following] Bhagîratha. JAYÂPÎḌA.

516. *Mummuni* and other chiefs roamed with fierce Caṇḍâlas outside his army, and formed his guard at night.

517. Proclaiming *Vinayâditya* as his other name, the king beautified the eastern region by [a town called] *Vinayâdityapura*.

518. The fortunes even of great kings are exposed to danger, when from the excessive self-confidence due to glory they resolve upon inconsiderate acts.

519. Thus, disguised as an ascetic, together with other ascetics, he entered noiselessly the fortress of the king of the eastern region called *Bhîmasena*. Expedition against *Bhîmasena*.

520. A brother of *Jajja*, *Siddha* by name, who had long resided there, recognized him as he was looking for the weak points [of the fortress], and going to the king, denounced him.

521. Thereupon King *Bhîmasena* suddenly threw that prince (Jayâpîḍa) into fetters, just as the serpent *Nahuṣa* [caught] *Bhîma*, of formidable strength.

522. Fate, which hates heroic characters, raised its head, I know, when this valiant [prince], the foremost of heroes, was thus bound in fetters.

523. But *Jayâpîḍa*, undismayed even in this most severe adversity, and looking forward yet for a rise of his fortune, considered various stratagems.

524. In the meantime there arose in the country of King [Bhîmasena] a plague caused by the *lûtâ*-disease, which much distressed his citizens.

525. This disease is, owing to a defect of [that] country, contagious and fatal. Hence, whoever is attacked by *lûtâ* is abandoned.

526. On hearing this, *Jayâpîḍa* fixed his mind on the means [of escape thus] offered, and had secretly the required articles brought by his servant.

527. By eating those [articles] which produce excessive bile, he excited his bile and brought on a fever, and then putting on his body the juice of the Vajravṛkṣa (Cactus Opuntia), he produced boils.

528. When his opponent heard from the mouth of the jailors that he was attacked by *lûtâ*, he thought that he would certainly die, and had him removed from the country.

529. When he had thus by the power of his own mind escaped from the ocean of calamities, he took the enemy's fortress, which reached up to the sky, and [with it the enemy's] glory.

530. That tree of learning which is ever laughed at by fools, does, indeed,

516. For *Mummuni*, see note iii. 332.

517. It has already been stated in note iv. 402, that all known coins of *Jayâpîḍa* bear the name *Vinayâditya*.

521. For the story how *Bhîma*, one of the Pâṇḍavas, fell into the power of Nahuṣa, see *Mahâbh.* III. clxxviii. 1 sqq.

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not show roots, blossoms, and the like, but bears its fruit at the time of distress by removing a man's misfortune at one stroke.

Expedition against Nepāl.

531. King *Aramuḍi*, who ruled *Nepāl*, and who was possessed of wisdom and prowess, wished to prevail over him by cunning

532. When that [king, i.e Jayāpīḍa,] had entered his land, he did not pay homage, but retired with his army to a great distance.

533. While he (Jayāpīḍa), eager for conquest, thus pursued him, he defeated one ruler after the other without having to undertake special expeditions.

534. He followed the enemy, who sometimes kept in hiding and sometimes showed himself, in pursuit from land to land, as the eagle [pursues] the dove in the thicket.

535. When that [enemy] had no place left to fly to, the conqueror of the world marched his army to the bank of a stream where it neared the ocean.

536. After two or three days he started, and led his troops towards the eastern ocean, their flags fluttering touched by the breeze of the sea-coast.

537. Then on the [opposite] river bank, which was on the king's right, there was [seen] *Aramuḍi* in position, displaying his army together with his royal parasol.

538. When *Jayāpīḍa* saw that [king's] mighty force, he flamed up, just as the fire when fed with liquefied butter.

539. As he saw before him the water of the river only knee-deep, and [hence] offering no obstacle, he stepped into it to cross, angry as he was, and unacquainted with the country in which he had not been before.

540. When the king reached mid[-stream], the river, which was near the sea, was filled by the tide rising at an unexpected hour, and became unfordable.

541. Then the king's army, with its mass of men, elephants, and horses, was washed away by the swollen river, and destroyed in a moment.

542. The king, whose ornaments and clothes were torn off by the breaking waves, was carried far away by the flood, while cutting through the billows with his arms.

543. The pitiable cries of one army, the triumphant shouts of the other, and the din of the river's waves, spread uproar in all directions.

544 And the quick [foe] from the other bank dragged out and captured *Jayāpīḍa* by means of [men] who stood ready with [inflated] skins, and [thereupon] celebrated a feast.

545. The practice of fate and the cloud is not directed towards giving favours. The former displays something pleasant, and prepares for man at the same moment

531. The name *Aramuḍi* does not occur in the traditional lists of Nepāl Rājās as given by PRINSEP, *Ind. Antiquities*, ii. pp. 268 sqq.; WRIGHT, *Hist. of Nepal*, p. 312 sqq.

dire distress; and the latter, after promising relief from the painful heat of a long summer day, brings about the destruction of the tree by lightning. JAYĀPĪḌA.

546. He (Aramuḍi) placed *Jayāpīḍa* in the hands of trusted jailors, in a castle which was [built] of stone on the bank of the *Kālagaṇḍikā*, and very high. Jayāpīḍa imprisoned.

547. The *Kaśmīrian* king, thus once more submerged in misfortune, felt confused in his helpless state, and was inwardly consumed by grief.

548. The prudent king kept him so [close], that even the moon among the artful (*kalāvat*) and the sun among the glorious could not see him.

549. When he came forth a little [from his place of confinement] and attached his eyes to the window, he saw the river close by, and thought of means [of escape].

550. Scholars are even to this day moved to sadness when remembering the verses which the king composed there, and in which he described his condition.

551. While he was [kept] in this state, the self-respecting *Devaśarman*, alone among the ministers, remembered the honours [received] from the king, and felt grieved day and night.

552. Anxious to help his master at the sacrifice of his own person, he enticed *Aramuḍi* through messengers, who used soft words.

553. His messengers told that [king] that he (Devaśarman) would deliver to him the rule over the country of *Kaśmīr*, along with *Jayāpīḍa's* treasures.

554. When an agreement had been arrived at, on the arrival of the envoys sent in return [by Aramuḍi], the minister, accompanied by an army, proceeded to the land of *Nepāl*.

555. After placing the army on the near side of the *Kālagaṇḍikā* river, he went with a small following to the opposite bank.

556. After he had been conducted to the assembly-hall by the feudatory princes who went to receive him, and had made his obeisance, *Aramuḍi* greeted him, and made him take his seat.

557. He quickly took his leave from the king on [the ground of] being tired from the journey, and after [receiving] the complimentary presents despatched by him, spent that day at his residence.

546. By the *Kālagaṇḍikā* is evidently meant the river *Gaṇḍakī* which drains the western part of Nepāl, and is said to bear in its upper course also the name *Kālī*; see LASSEN, *Ind. Alt.*, i. p. 75.

548. In the word *kalāvat* there is an allusion to the moon's crescent (*kalā*). The sense intended is that neither craft nor force could penetrate the king's prison.

549. *Āloka* must be taken with the gloss as the designation of a small window, (called *vātāyana* in iv. 568)—a meaning not recorded in the dictionaries.

550. The *Subhāṣitāvali* of the Kaśmīrian Vallabhadeva contains a verse (661) attributed to a Jayāpīḍa. It is probable that King J. is intended by this attribution; see Prof. Peterson and Durgāprasāda's edition, p. 40.

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558. On the following day he and King *Aramuḍi* mutually took an oath by sacred libation (*pītakośa*), and in privacy settled the affair.

559. The minister then said to the king: "The treasure acquired by *Jayāpīḍa* is with the army, and its [place] known [only] to his trusted servants or to himself."

560. "Under the pretence that his liberation will be effected by payment, I will, therefore, ask him where the treasure is deposited."

561. "For this reason I have not brought [here] the army in a body, because those who keep the deposited [treasure], could not be caught while in its midst."

562. "If we call them one by one away from it and imprison them, the [remaining] soldiers, not knowing our intent, will not be excited, and will be ready to tell."

563. When the clever [minister] had obtained the consent of the duped [Aramuḍi], he went to the imprisoned King *Jayāpīḍa*.

564. Full of resolution, he hid the pain which the king's sight caused him, and after removing all people from the place, asked him quickly:

565. "Have you not yet lost your natural energy? For it is required for the success of bold plans, just as a wall for paintings."

566. He answered him: "O minister, unarmed as I stand here, what wonderful exploit could I perform, even if I had preserved energy?"

567. The minister spoke to him: "If your strength has not departed, you shall see that the ocean of your misfortune is crossed at this very moment."

568. "Are you able to reach the [opposite] shore after dropping yourself into the water of the river from this window? For there is your own army."

569. The king replied to him: "If one dropped oneself from this [window], one could not rise from the water without an [inflated] skin, and a skin must burst here on account of the height of the fall."

570. "Therefore, there is no means [of escape from] here. Nor, indeed, do I care to abandon life while disgraced and before having destroyed the enemy."

571. Then, after reflection, the minister addressed him: "O king, may you under some pretence tarry outside for two Nālikās."

572. "Then return alone, and you will see that I have prepared a device for crossing the water. This you should then use without hesitation."

573. Hearing these words, he went outside, proceeded to the privy, and by tarrying there managed to pass outside the time indicated by that [minister].

558. For an explanation of the term *pītakośa*, see note v. 326.

571. A *nālikā* corresponds to twenty-four minutes.

574. Returning thereupon alone, he saw him lying on the ground, and dead, [strangled] by a strip of his garment, which he had tied round his neck. JAYĀPĪḌA.

575-577. And on the strip of cloth tied round the neck, he saw and read the following direction written [by the minister] with blood from his own body, which he had torn with his nails: "I, having died just now, with my body still full of breath [serve you] as an indestructible skin. Mount me and cross the stream! As a hold for your thighs when mounted, I have bound the cloth of my head-dress round my loins. Put [your legs] into this and quickly drop into the water." Jayāpīḍa's escape.

578. The king first fell into the emotions of astonishment and affection, then [threw himself] into the current of the stream, and reached the opposite bank.

579. As soon as he had reached his army, he at once invaded the kingdom of *Nepāl*, and destroyed it completely, together with its ruler.

580. While his jailors did not even know that he had escaped from prison, he had turned that kingdom into [a thing of the past], which survives only in stories.

581. When the king had freed himself from his prison, there took place a battle-feast, at which the dancers were headless corpses, the garlands those bestowed [on the dead heroes] by the celestial maids, and the music that of the kettle-drums.

582. O wonder! When in summer time other hills abound in forest-fires, and must be avoided, just then rises Mount Himālaya moistened by the melting masses of snow and [therefore] particularly fit to be resorted to.

583. At the very time when *Jajja* and others were born, who betrayed their master, then, O wonder, [was born] that wise minister *Devaśarman*.

584. For the son (Devaśarman) did not differ from his father *Mitraśarman*, as the dark *S'anaiścara* (Saturn) [differs] from [his father,] the shining sun.

585. When that minister, who was like a protecting amulet, had died, the king thought that he had lost the royal power, though he had [just] received it.

586. When that conquest of the world was ended, the blemish on his honour passed from the king's mind, but not the service [done] by his minister.

587. Wonderful it is that after he had conquered a large territory in the 'Land of the Amazons' (*Strīrājya*), the [other] kings esteemed [still more] highly his victory over the group of his senses (*indriyagrāma*).

588. And he established the office called *Dharmādhikaraṇa* ('administration of justice'), fixing [there] the regal cloth of *Karṇa* (? *karṇaśripaṭa*) which he had carried away from the conquered *Strīrājya*.

584. Read with L *nābhūd visadṛśaḥ*, for A *nābhūddhi sadṛśaḥ*.

588. The meaning of *karṇaśripaṭa* is quite uncertain; *paṭa* (for *paṭṭa*) may also

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589. He also created another office called *Calagañja* ('moving treasury'), to serve on expeditions when his own treasury (*gañja*) was far away.

590. What more [need I relate]? While the goddess of victory rested in the embrace of his arms, the four oceans served [her] as jewel-studded mirrors for play.

591. After having again returned to *Kaśmīr*, the king, surrounded by the [tributary] princes, enjoyed for a long time the glory earned by his conquests.

Story of the Nāga Mahāpadma.

592. Once the king, who had acquired might by the conquest of all regions, was addressed in his dream by a person who bore a divine appearance, and had his hands folded [in supplication]:

593. "I am, O king, the Nāga-prince called *Mahāpadma*, residing peacefully in your dominion, along with my relations I apply to you for protection."

594. "A *Draviḍian* sorcerer wishes to lead me away from here, in order to sell me for money in an arid tract requiring water."

595 "If you protect me from him I shall show you in your own land a mountain which contains gold ore, [in return] for your great favour."

596. Having learned this in his dream, the king sent out spies in all directions, and when that [sorcerer] had been found somewhere and brought up, he asked him about his intentions.

597. When after a promise of safety that [sorcerer] had in due form related all that the Nāga had told, he was questioned once more by the king himself, who felt astonished:

598 "How can you drag out that very powerful Nāga from the depth of the lake, which extends over many Yojanas?"

599. He replied to him: "Incomprehensible are the powers of magic. If you wish to see them, come, and you will quickly see a wonder"

designate a plate bearing a picture or edict Karṇa, the king of Aṅga, one of the Kauravas, might be alluded to But I am unable to trace any story regarding him which could be connected with our passage.

593 The Nāga *Mahāpadma* is the tutelary deity of the *Vulur*, the largest of the Kaśmīr lakes, which has received from it its ancient name *Mahāpadmasaras* The *Nilamata*, 928 sqq., tells at great length the story how Nila, the king of the Nāgas, granted to Mahāpadma and his relatives a residence at the site which was first occupied by King Viśvagaśva's town, *Candrapura*, and after the submersion of the latter converted into a lake Compare the abstract given in *Report*, p. 10. Other legends about the lake are related by Jonarāja, 909-944, in connection with the artificial Laṅkā island constructed in it by Zain-ul-'ābidin.

From *Rājat* v. 114, and the passages discussed in the note thereon, it appears that the Mahāpadma Nāga supposed to inhabit the lake was identified with the *Kāliya* Nāga subdued by Kṛṣṇa. The lake itself is referred to as *Mahāpadmasaras* in v. 68, 103 sqq., 118; viii. 3128; *S'rikaṇṭhac.* iii. 9; *Jonar.* 909-913, 949; *S'riv.* iii 292, 528; iv. 200, etc., and its name is mentioned under the form of *Mo-ho-po-lo-no-kung* (Mahāpadma) in the Annals of the T'ang dynasty, quoted in note iv 126.

For a description of the lake, see MOORCROFT, *Travels*, ii. pp. 223 sqq.; VIGNE, *Travels*, ii. pp. 153 sqq.; LAWRENCE, *Valley*, p 20. Its modern name *Vulur* is derived from the Skr. designation *Ullola*, scil. *saras*, [the lake] 'with high-going waves.' This is found first *Jonar.* 938 sqq. (see also Jonarāja's commentary on *S'rikaṇṭhac.* iii. 9), and is frequently used in the Māhātmyas.

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600. Then he went up close to the lake, followed by the king, and after closing all quarters [by magic formulas], dried up the water by means of arrows discharged under [proper] spells.

601. Thereupon the king saw wriggling in the mud a human-faced snake, a span long, together with many other small snakes.

602. That [sorcerer] said: "O king, I take him now reduced as he is by the spell." But the king kept him back with the words: "You must not take him."

603. Then, upon the king's order, he quickly withdrew the force of the magic spell, and the lake resuming its former state, extended again in all directions.

604. The king gave money to the *Draviḍian*, and when he had sent him away, thought: "Should not that Nāga this very day give the mountain containing the gold mine?"

605. While he thought over this, the Nāga spoke to him in his dream: "For what favour should the gold-producing mountain be shown to you?"

606. "Continued residence produces in the mind of living beings, through [the logical processes of] connection and exclusion, [the conceptions]: 'This is my own country; this is a foreign country.'"

607. "I came to you for protection from fear of dishonour. But that has been put [upon me] just by you who were to be my protector."

608. "The subjects think that their master can as little be disturbed as the ocean What disgrace else can be greater than for him to be humiliated before them by others?"

609. "How shall I in self-respect see the faces of those women who have seen me incapable of offering protection when another disgraced them?"

610. "We, who ought to be [looked upon] by you as alike to the prime causes (*kāraṇa*), are exposed by you senselessly to ridicule and jesting, as if we were beings of no consequence."

611. "However, what is there to wonder at in the haphazard conduct of kings, who are blinded by the intoxication [due] to royal power and who act without previous consideration?"

612. "Kings consider the humiliation of noble beings a sport, while the latter take it for a living death as long as their life lasts."

613. "Honour is for kings among the things which may be neglected for the

600. The *digbandha* or 'closing of the quarters' against the influence of evil spirits, etc., figures frequently as a preparatory rite for magic performances in Tantra works, e.g. in the *Nityārcanapaddhati* of Rājānaka Takṣakavarta (Poona MS., Coll. 1875-76, No. 76, erroneously called Bhṛṅgeśasaṁhitā, *Report*, p. v.). Comp. also Rāghavānanda's *Paddhatiratnamālā* (Jammu MS. No. 5293), foll. 38, 40, 54, etc.

Regarding the drying-up of the waters by means of fiery darts, comp. *Mahābh.* VII. CCI. 25 sqq.

610. Read *ye kāraṇa*°. For the meaning of *kāraṇa*, see vii. 661 and gloss.

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sake of their advantage. But for self-respecting persons it is one of those things which must be saved, even at the sacrifice of life."

614. "Who can imagine what those feel in their mind who are disrespectfully treated by some great person, and are brought into contact with [others] in dishonour?"

615. "But even under such conditions it is not profitless to see us as [it is profitless to see] you. Hence I indicate to you a mountain which abounds in copper ore."

616. After these words, he gave to him such directions in his dream that after waking up in the morning he found the mountain with a copper mine.

617. From this mountain, which was in *Kramarājya*, he obtained copper [sufficient] to coin hundred crores less one Dinnāras which bore his name.

618. In order to break the pride of kings, he offered the bet that whoever would produce a complete hundred of crores would triumph over him.

619. Thus [it seemed] as if the king by his actions, in which something remained for completion, set *samasyās* for [other] kings, in order to abate [their desire for] works of equal greatness.

Jayāpīḍa's oppressions.

620. Then suddenly, by a change in [his] subjects' fortune, the protector of the earth left his grandfather's course and followed the conduct of his father.

621. The officials (*kāyasthas*) beseeched him: "What is the use of [undergoing] the hardships of universal conquest and similar [enterprises]? Riches may be got from your own land." Thereupon he oppressed his own kingdom.

622. Greedy officers of finance, such as *S'ivadāsa* and others, excited his desire for treasures beyond measure, and he became a prey to avarice.

623. From that time onwards the kings of *Kaśmīr* became habituated to looking at the faces of their officials [for guidance], and to following the direction of their servants.

624. The king's plans, [before] directed towards the capture of various princes, were now fixed on the imprisonment of [his own] citizens.

625. Learning, which for the virtuous procures tranquillity of mind, led *Jayāpīḍa*, [when he turned] wicked, to passionate obstinacy in tormenting his subjects.

626. Though he destroyed the lives of many people, like [another] son of

617. It is curious that while Jayāpīḍa's coins of mixed metal (with silver as chief alloy) are still abundant, no genuine specimens of his copper coinage have yet been discovered. Comp. CUNNINGHAM, *Coins of Med. India*, p. 29 The attribution to Jayāpīḍa of the unique copper coin with the supposed legend *S'rī Jaya* shown there, pl. iv. 18, is quite uncertain.

For *Kramarājya*, the present *Kamrāz*, see note ii. 15.

619. For *samasyā*, see note iv. 46.

626. For the legend of *Kalmāṣapāda*, see *Mahābh.* I. clxxvi. 35 sqq.

Sudāsa (Kalmāṣapāda), he did not, even in his sleep, feel satisfied with his deeds of evil.

627. Fie, if lascivious women only once, out of curiosity, indulge in loose conduct, and if princes only once commit cruelty,—although resolved in their mind to commit only this one transgression,—then wickedness enters so deep into their soul that, deprived of all shame, the former feel no remorse, even when they embrace the vilest person, nor the latter even when they slay their own parents.

628. In his persistent greed he went so far in cruelty, that for three years he took the [whole] harvest, including the cultivator's share.

629. With his mind merged in greed, the king took for friends the officials (*kāyasthas*), who carried off all property [of the subjects], while delivering only the smallest fraction of what they realized.

630. The fishes of the sea and kings are alike [in this]: the former think the cloud liberal when it sends down [some] drops from their own water which had been drawn up. The latter too, alas, believe inwardly in the faithful services of the wicked tribe of officials when it gives up a few trifles after openly looting everything

631. O, that never relaxing courage of the Brahmans who braved even this merciless ruler.

632. Those who remained behind after [others] had emigrated, did not cease to die under loud complaints, nor the king to plunder.

633. Then the king spoke in fury: "Let it be reported [to me] if a hundred Brahmans less one die in a single day."

634 As the cruel king reversed his conduct, so the scholars, too, in their Kāvyas inserted laudatory verses, which might be reversed [into satirical reproach], in the following fashion·

635 "What difference is there between the glorious kings *Jayāpīḍa* and *Pāṇini*? The former has completely accomplished all his tasks (*kṛtakṛtya*), and has caused the increase of virtues (*guṇavṛddhi*; or has destroyed all works and removed virtues), and the latter has treated exhaustively of *Kṛtya*-suffixes, and has prescribed the rules for *guṇa* and *vṛddhi*."

636. Such a disguised attack was [also] made upon him by learned persons in

632 Suicide by voluntary starvation (*prāyopaveśa*) is referred to.

635-637. The epithets contained in the first halves of the two verses quoted, give each a threefold meaning. As applied to Pāṇini they allude to grammatical topics discussed in his Aṣṭādhyāya. Taken as referring to Jayāpīḍa, they can be understood again either in a laudatory or in a satirical sense, according to the alaṃkāra called Vyājastuti (*Kāvyaprakāśa*, x. 112). The threefold interpretations intended in these specimens of poetic malice have been indicated by the above paraphrase.

In verse 635 the words *kṛta* and *vṛddhi* must be derived from the roots *kṝ* (*hiṃsāyām*) and *vardha* (*chedane*), respectively, in order to yield the sense unfavourable to the king.

Verse 636 seems to indicate that the second quotation is from the introduction of some

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connection with an exposition of the [*Mahā*]*bhāṣya*, by means of skilfully appropriated verses, and put into the following form:

637. "What difference is there between the glorious king *Jayāpīḍa* and *Pāṇini*? The former has subordinated himself to the Brahmans (*kṛtaviprop asarga*), and has brought about the perfection of beings (*bhūtaniṣṭhāvidhāyin*; *or* has produced calamities for the Brahmans, and has accomplished the destruction of beings), and the latter has treated of the prepositions (*upasarga*) *vi* and *pra*, and has prescribed the rules for the [terminations called] *niṣṭhā* of the past tense (*bhūta*)."

638. When he was appropriating [the land of] *Tūlamūlya*, he heard, while on the bank of the *Candrabhāgā*, that a hundred Brahmans less one had sought death in the water of that [stream].

639. Thereupon he desisted from confiscating Agrahāras, but did by no means give up the land which he had taken from [individual] inhabitants.

Jayāpīḍa's end.

640. Once the Brahmans residing at *Tūlamūlya*, struck by the hands of the doorkeepers, broke out in loud complaints before him at the time of the audience:

641. "*Manu*, *Māndhātṛ*, *Rāma* and others were great sovereigns. But even before them the Brahmans were not subjected to humiliation."

642. "For the Brahmans, if enraged, are able to destroy in a single moment heaven with Indra, the earth and its mountains, hell and its Nāga-princes."

643. On hearing these words, the vassals left [their places] behind the king. But he, frowning with one eyebrow, proudly spoke:

644. "What fever of arrogance is this that you, rogues who live upon a beggar's crumbs, should like Ṛṣis speak here words to proclaim your power?"

commentary on the Mahābhāṣya, and an adaptation of the one previously quoted from a Kāvya.

In verse 637, *upasarga* must be taken in the first case as equivalent to *upasarjana*, 'subordination, accommodation.' Verse 637 is quoted by the Commentator of the *Maṅkhakośa*, s.v. *niṣṭhā*.

638. *Tūlamūlya* is undoubtedly the present village of *Tulᵃmul*, situated 74° 48' long. 34° 13' lat. among the marshes through which the Sind River passes before joining the Vitastā. The large spring of Tulᵃmul is sacred as the habitation of *Mahārājñī*, a form of Durgā extensively worshipped among the Brahman population of Kaśmīr, and is accordingly to this day the object of frequent and popular pilgrimages. The name is written as *Tūlamūlaka* in Fourth Chron. 527, 531, and in the *Rājñiprādurbhāvamāh*. The etymology (*tūla* and *mūlya*) indicated in the Māhātmya shows that K.'s form is the correct one.

The context makes it evident that the *Candrabhāgā* of our passage cannot be meant for the Cināb river to the S.E. of Kaśmīr, which is elsewhere mentioned by that name (e.g. iii. 467; viii. 554, 626), but must be some stream close to *Tulᵃmul*. The designation might have applied to that branch of the Sind River which flows past *Tulᵃmul*. It must, however, be mentioned that among the numerous passages of the *Nīlamata* and other Kaśmīrian texts which contain the name *Candrabhāgā*, I have found only one in which a stream different from the Cināb is clearly intended. This is *Nīlamata*, 1399, where a *Candrabhāgā* is named immediately after the Haramukuṭagaṅgā or Sind River (see note i. 57), as one of the Kaśmīr rivers, flowing into the Vitastā.

641. *Māndhātṛ* is often referred to as one of the great kings of the heroic age: see v. 1122; viii. 331, 3362. For his story, comp. *Mahābh.* III. Adhy. cxxvi., and for references in Buddhist texts, Prof. WINDISCH'S *Māra und Buddha*, pp. 277, 281.

645. Then when they, frightened by his terrible frown, kept silent, the twice-born *Iṭṭila*, a treasure of Brahmanical dignity, thus spoke to him: JAYĀPĪḌA.

646. "O king, we are by no means Ṛṣis, since we conform, just as you [yourself do] as king, to the [change of the] Yugas, taking [from them] what we are, and what we are not."

647. Haughtily the king asked him: "Who art thou then? *Viśvāmitra*, perhaps, or *Vasiṣṭha*, or *Agastya*, a treasure of asceticism?"

648. Thereupon he seemed to flame up. His body became difficult to look at, on account of the fire which burst forth [from it], and resembling a snake when it raises its hood, and choking with fury, he spoke to the king:

649. "If you are *Hariścandra*, *Triśaṅku*, or *Nahuṣa* too, then I singly can be more than *Viśvāmitra* and the other [Ṛṣis]."

650. The king replied to him with a laugh: "By the anger of *Viśvāmitra* and the other [Ṛṣis], *Hariścandra* and the rest perished. What is to happen on account of your wrath?"

651. Then the Brahman spoke in anger, striking the ground with his hand: "Why should not, through my wrath, the staff of Brahman fall [upon you] at this very moment?"

652. On hearing this the king laughed, and spoke in anger to the Brahman: "May that staff of Brahman fall! Why does it tarry even for this one day?"

653. "Well, surely here it falls, you wretch!" Thus cried then the Brahman, and on the king's limb fell a golden pole which had broken off from the canopy.

654. In consequence of the wound which this produced on the limb, his body decomposed through inflammation, and masses of worms had to be removed from it by the use of saws.

655. After he had for a number of nights been made to feel pains which indicated his future torments in hell, life, eager to escape, passed from him.

656. The chief of princes (*daṇḍadhara*), who had brought [upon himself] sudden punishment (*daṇḍa*), then went into the presence of Yama (*daṇḍadhara*), after having suffered the punishment produced by Brahman's staff (*brahmadaṇḍa*).

657. Such was for thirty-one years the reign of this famous king, who could not restrain his will.

658. Princes and fishes, when their thirst is excited by riches and impure water [respectively], leave their condition (place) and follow evil ways, with such

649. The Epic legends relate the fall of the Kings *Hariścandra*, *Triśaṅku* and *Nahuṣa* through the curse of the holy seers Viśvāmitra, Vasiṣṭha and Agastya, respectively.

654. I translate according to the reading of A, *visarpa*°, which is also found in L.

JAYĀPĪḌA. [result] that they are brought into the strong net of hell (death), the former by changes which fate dictates, and the latter by the troops of fishermen.

659. Seeing him depart from life in sinfulness, his mother, *Amṛtaprabhā*, built the [temple of] *Amṛtakeśava* for the deliverance of her dead [son].

LALITĀPĪḌA. 660. Then *Lalitāpīḍa* became the ruler of the earth, who was a son of *Jayāpīḍa*, born from the queen named *Durgā*.

661. During the reign of this [prince], who was the slave to his passions, and did not attend to his regal duties, the kingdom became the prey of courtesans, and was defiled by immorality.

662. He squandered the riches which his father, condemned to hell, had accumulated by wicked deeds, on buffoons and the like, and thus made the use [of these riches] conform to [their mode of acquisition].

663. Parasites, who got a foothold in the royal palace through their relationship with courtesans, initiated him in the arts of whoredom.

664. Dropping diadem and bracelets, he thought his body [sufficiently] decorated on having his hair torn by the teeth of women, and his breast marked by their nails.

665. Whoever was well-versed in stories about courtesans and clever in jesting, was taken into his friendship, but no valiant man nor a scholar.

666. This king, who was not satisfied with a few women, and who was full of violent desires, thought *Jayāpīḍa* an imbecile for having left the 'Land of the Amazons' (*Strīrājya*) after he had conquered it.

667. He, who was happy in the enjoyment of prostitutes, and kept in the company of like-minded [persons], laughed at the former kings and their efforts to subdue the world.

668. The parasites, who hurt modest old men by their jesting words, and thus kept them away, earned his affection and received from him presents.

669. Clever, like a market-slave, at open mockery, he, with his company of courtesans, made the old among the councillors feel ashamed in his audience-hall.

670. He in his wickedness made councillors worthy of respect dress themselves in pretty cloaks and other [garments] which bore the footprints of courtesans.

671. The self-respecting councillor *Manoratha* alone avoided him, as he was unable to restrain him, and averse to [any] intercourse [with him].

672. Wicked acts, want of fitness, desperate condition, treacherous conduct . . . . There is no other remedy against a wicked lord but to shun him.

672. I am unable to trace a proper connection between the two halves of this verse. It is probable that our text shows here a lacuna.

LALITĀPĪḌA.

673. This king, who granted to Brahmans the [Agrahāras of] *Suvarṇapārśva*, *Phalapura* and *Locanotsa*, ruled for twelve years.

SAṀGRĀMĀPĪḌA II.

674. Then *Saṁgrāmāpīḍa* [II.], a son of King *Jayāpīḍa*, born from the Queen *Kalyāṇadevī*, became the lord of the world.

675. This king, who also bore the second name of *Pṛthivyāpīḍa*, reached the end of his sovereign sway after seven years.

CIPPAṬAJAYĀPĪḌA (BṚHASPATI).

676. Then the illustrious *Cippaṭajayāpīḍa*, also called *Bṛhaspati*, the child-son of *Lalitāpīḍa*, became king.

677. His mother was *Jayādevī*, the daughter of a spirit-distiller (*kalyapālī*). She had been the concubine of King *Lalitāpīḍa*, who was in the clutches of the crocodile 'sensuous passion.'

678. For she was the daughter of a spirit-distiller, called *Uppa*, of the *Ākhuva* village, and had been taken by that king, who was lusting for her beautiful form, [into his seraglio] as a concubine.

Padma, Utpala, etc., in power.

679. He (Cippaṭajayāpīḍa) was guided, while he was a youth, by his maternal uncles *Padma*, *Utpalaka*, *Kalyāṇa*, *Mamma*, and *Dharma*, who shared the rule over the land.

680. His eldest [uncle], *Utpalaka*, took the five [offices distinguished by] the term 'Great,' and the others usurped the other offices.

681. The king's mother, *Jayādevī*, whose directions were respected by her brothers while in possession of the royal power, built the [shrine of S'iva] *Jayeśvara*.

673. *Suvarṇapārśva* is identified by the gloss of A_1 (*sunapāh*) with the modern village of *Sun°pāh*, situated 74° 40′ long. 34° 1′ lat. in the Biru Pargaṇa. No ancient remains can now be traced at the place.

I have no suggestion to offer regarding the site of *Locanotsa*, which like *Suvarṇapārśva* is mentioned only in this passage. The identification of the latter name, as proposed by the glossator, is supported by phonetic rules of Kś. Skr. *suvarṇa* (gold) > Kś. *sun°*; regarding the change *ś* > *h* in *pārśva* > **pāśva* > *pāh*, see note i. 100.

The position of *Phalapura*, indicated by the gloss of A_1 *Parihāsapurasamīpe*, has been discussed in Note *I*, v. 97-100.

677. The term *kalyapāla* as the designation of a spirit-distiller has survived in the modern Kś. *kal°vāl*, as indicated already in the gloss of A_1. The occupation was practised by Muhammadan inhabitants of the Valley until the establishment of a state-monopoly, and was in recent times not attended by any special social stigma. The term *kalyapāla* occurs in a verse quoted by the Commentator of Maṅkha, with reference to *kalya* (*surāyām*).

678. The word *avaruddhā* designates throughout the Chronicle (vii. 104, 724, 727, 858, 1461; viii. 210, 966, 1936) a concubine, i.e. a woman who, owing to her being a widow, of low origin, or from some other reason, cannot be legally married. In vii. 858; viii. 1936, reference is made to courtesans received as *avaruddhās* into the royal seraglio. For a widow of high rank taken as an *avaruddhā* by Prince *Bhikṣācara*, see viii. 966. Regarding the derivation of the term, which is also used by Kṣemendra, *Samayam.* ii. 21, 24; iii. 30; viii. 110, comp. *avarodha*, 'seraglio.' The modern Kś. *urudz*, which is used in the same sense as *avaruddhā* both among the Hindus and Muhammadans of Kaśmir, is the direct phonetic derivative of Skr. *avaruddhikā* (for the latter form comp. vii. 725, 850). A man who receives a divorced woman of a widow, is called *urud* (**avaruddha*); comp. vi. 286.

The position of *Ākhuva* is unknown.

679. The context requires the conjectural emendation *bālakaḥ* for A L *bālakaiḥ*, as already indicated by Durgāpr.

680. For *pañca mahāśabdān*, see note iv. 140.

CIPPAṬAJAYĀPĪḌA (BṚHASPATI).

682. That royal treasure which has been defiled by the accession of money [extorted] in avarice, is quickly wasted by some new comers.

683. Those riches of *Jayāpīḍa*, which his son (Lalitāpīḍa) had partly squandered, were subsequently plundered entirely by his son's brothers-in-law.

684. These lucky [men] obtained the enjoyment of lasting advantages, through the power which the charm of their sister's loveliness had secured [for them].

685. These low-born persons, who knew no restraint in their actions, feared their fall as the king, their nephew, gradually emerged from childhood.

686. Then these wicked men conspired together, and in their desire [to secure] the regal power, destroyed by sorcery the king, who was both their sister's son and their lord.

Cippaṭajayāpīḍa killed (A.D. 813/4).

687. This [king] after a rule of twelve years thus being killed, those [brothers], nourishing mutual jealousy, did not wish [to give] the throne to anyone.

688. They having possession of the land struggled with each other to put up various persons of high birth as nominal rulers.

AJITĀPĪḌA.

689-690. *Tribhuvanāpīḍa*, the son of King *Bappiya* and Queen *Meghāvalī*, had, though the eldest [son], been excluded from the throne, as he was not given to intrigues. He had a son from *Jayādevī*, [called] *Ajitāpīḍa*. This [son] was then made king by *Utpala* by means of force.

691. To the king they gave food and dress from the [income of] the fifth account-office, which received the surplus from the other [four] account-offices, [called] *S'eḍa*, etc.

692. The king, who, being dependent on them, had a difficult position, did not wish that they should be [all] on the same footing, as, day by day, if he spoke with one, the others felt annoyed.

693. They who carried off the revenue of the country founded towns, temples, and other [edifices] while *Ajitāpīḍa* was king.

694. They, with their descendants, feasted in mutual jealousy on the masterless kingdom, like wolves on a dead buffalo in the desert.

683. Comp. viii. 1952.

689-690. *Bappiya* was another name borne by King *Vajrāditya*; comp. above iv. 393 The *Jayādevī* here mentioned is a different person from *Jayādevī*, the sister of Utpala, Padma, etc.

691. The exact meaning of this verse cannot be ascertained, as no information has come down to us as regards the details of the finance-administration alluded to here. An interpretation similar to the one given above appears to be intended in the curious gloss of A_2. This mentions names for the other four offices (*śalasthūla*, *nāmelyāṇaka*, *mithāna*, *navagrāmādi*), and is evidently taken from some earlier source. It is impossible that these Skr. terms should have been in use in Moghul times when A_2 wrote, or rather copied, his glosses. The passage viii. 576, where *S'eḍa* is mentioned once more as a '*rājasthāna*,' does not throw any light on the character of this office.

695. By *Utpala* was built the [temple of Viṣṇu] *Utpalasvāmin* and the [town] *Utpalapura*. Foundations of *Padma* were the [temple of Viṣṇu] *Padmasvāmin* and the [town of] *Padmapura*. AJITĀPĪḌ Foundations of *Padma*, e

696. *Padma's* wife *Guṇādevī*, of brilliant virtue, built one Maṭha at the capital (*adhiṣṭhāna*), and a second at *Vijayeśvara*.

697. *Dharma*, who exerted himself for the law (*dharma*), caused the [temple of] *Dharmasvāmin* to be built, and the pious *Kalyāṇavarman* the [temple of] Viṣṇu *Kalyāṇasvāmin*.

698-699. The clever, wise, and rich *Mamma* built the [temple of Viṣṇu] *Mammasvāmin*, and gave, when arranging [on that occasion] for the consecration of a multitude of sacrificial cups (*kumbha*), eighty-five thousand cows [to Brahmans], and provided for each cow five thousand Dinnāras as an outfit.

700. Who can count [the expense incurred] at the [temple] outfit by this single [brother]? What then [need be said] as regards all the brothers with their large fortunes?

701. Whether their wealth had been obtained by fraud or by righteous means, all were pleased with it through their liberality.

702. By the side of the temples which they built, the other shrines appeared [small], like young elephants by the side of the elephants of the quarters.

703. From the year [of the Laukika era three thousand eight hundred] eighty-nine (A.D. 813/4), when their nephew died, to the year [three thousand nine hundred] twenty-six (A.D. 850/1), they ruled unrestrained.

695. *Utpalapura* is mentioned again *Jonar.* 322, 859, but no distinct indication as to the position of the place is furnished by either passage. Utpalapura is mentioned as the seat of a Bhairava in a note found at the end of the MS. of the *Kṣettrapālapaddhati*, written by Rājānaka Ratnakaṇṭha, and now in the possession of P. Jaganmohana, Lahore. The place is there identified with *Kākapura*, i.e. the modern Kāk'pōr on the Vitastā.

If this identification is correct, the Utpalasvāmin temple may be looked for amongst the several ruined sites found at Kāk'pōr; comp. for the latter, CUNNINGHAM, *J.A.S.B.*, 1848, p. 290. Of the temple of *Utpalasvāmin* nothing is known.

Padmapura is certainly the modern town *Pāmpar* on the Vitastā, 74° 59′ long. 34° 1′ lat. (called Pāmpūr by Panjābis), as already recognized by VIGNE, *Travels*, ii. p. 31. The scanty remains of an ancient temple, situated in the centre of the town, have been described by CUNNINGHAM, *J.A.S.B.*, 1848, p. 274. They may possibly belong to the *Padmasvāmin* temple mentioned in our text and vi. 222. Padmapura figures frequently in the last two Books of the Chronicle (see Index); comp. also *Jonar.* 549; *S'rīv.* iv. 132, 344; Fourth Chron. 928; *Vitastāmāh.* xi. 20, etc.

698-699. K. has previously recorded, iii. 263, that Mamma took for the endowment of his temple the villages granted to the temple of Mātṛguptasvāmin. The site of Mamma's foundation cannot be traced.

A *kumbhapratiṣṭhā* is again referred to vii. 699; regarding *kumbha*, comp. note iv. 18.

701. "Die Kirch' allein . . . . kann ungerechtes Gut verdauen." *Faust.*

703. From this passage K. commences to record exact dates for the various reigns and events in years of the *Laukika* or *Saptarṣi* era, which is the traditional era of Kaśmīr and the neighbouring hill-tracts. Regarding its initial date, placed by Kaśmīrians on Caitra *śudi* 1 of the twenty-fifth year of the Kali Yuga, i.e. 3076-75 B.C., see note i. 52. Following the general custom which prevails to this day in Kaśmīr, K. omits to indicate in his dates the centuries. The figures for the latter, however, can be ascertained in the case of the Chronicle by an easy calculation, and will accordingly be supplied within brackets in this translation.

AJITĀPĪḌA.

704. Then there arose a terrible fight between *Mamma* and *Utpalaka*, in the course of which the current of the *Vitastā* was stemmed by the [bodies of] killed soldiers.

705. With reference to it the poet *S'aṅkuka*, who was like a moon over the ocean of learned minds, composed his poem called *Bhuvanābhyudaya* ('the rise of the world').

706. There, at the commencement of the battle, the lustre of heroes was taken away by *Yaśovarman*, *Mamma's* son, as that of the stars by the sun.

ANAṄGĀPĪḌA.

707. Then *Mamma* and the rest overthrew *Ajitāpīḍa*, and made *Anaṅgāpīḍa*, the son of *Saṃgrāmāpīḍa* [II.], king.

708. *Sukhavarman*, the son of *Utpala*, was hostile to the rule of this [king], as, agitated by violent wrath, he was unable to bear with the power of *Mamma*.

UTPALĀPĪḌA.

709. When *Utpalaka* died, three years thereafter, he (Sukhavarman) made *Utpalāpīḍa*, the son of *Ajitāpīḍa*, king.

710. Though these rulers were like the kings of the full-moon day of the Áśvayuja month, some clever ministers obtained power even under them.

711. *Ratna*, the king's minister of foreign affairs (*sāmdhivigrahika*), possessed power, [and was able] to erect even at that time the temple of [Viṣṇu] *Ratnasvāmin*.

712. *Nara*, and other merchants who were in possession of spotless horses and owned villages, ruled *Dārvābhisāra* and the neighbouring regions, setting up [their own] thrones.

705. The moon makes the waters of the ocean rise in joy; hence the simile. Verses of *S'aṅkuka* are quoted in the anthologies of Vallabhadeva and S'ārṅgadhara, and his opinion given as that of an authority on a point of poetics in Ullāsa iv. of the *Kāvyaprakāśa*, as indicated by the gloss of A_2; comp *Kāvyapr.*, Bombay Ed. 1889, p 89, and *Subhāṣitāvali*, p. 127.

710. Allusion is made here to the story told in the *Nīlamata*, 208 sqq., 326 sqq., according to which Kaśmīr was occupied in consequence of a curse of Kaśyapa for six months of each year by the Piśācas, who forced the human settlers to retire from the country from the full-moon day of Āśvayuja to that of Caitra; see the abstract of the story given in *Report*, p. 40. The kings who followed each other in rapid succession are compared to the kings of that legendary age who had to abandon their country each year on the *Āśvayuji* day.

Connected with this legend is the old custom prescribed for the Āśvayuji day in the *Nīlamata*, 391 sqq. People had to amuse themselves by throwing mud at each other, by indulging in abuse and playing jokes in order to frighten away the *Piśācas*, who attempt to enter the homes of men at that date. This custom, now entirely forgotten, is referred to by K as *āśvayujigāli*, vii. 1551 (see note), and appears also to have been in the mind of the author of the gloss on our passage. I am, however, unable to make out what the latter meant by *caścaryarthaṁ* and *heyārayāḥ*.

It is probable that Alberūnī, *India*, ii p. 180, refers to a custom somehow related to that indicated by the *Nīlamata*, when speaking of a festival celebrated on the 15th day of Āśvayuja ['when the moon stands in the last of her stations, Revati,' i.e. on the Āśvayuji day]. At that festival 'they wrangle with each other and play with animals.' Can the strange name recorded for this festival, '*Puhai*,' have anything to do with the *Piśācas*?

712. *uttambya* is probably only a clerical error for *uttambhya*. For *Dārvābhisāra*, see note i. 180.

713. The dynasty of the kings from the *Kārkoṭa* race was almost destroyed, whereas the family of *Utpala's* descendants obtained great might. UTPALĀPĪḌA.

714. Then *Sukhavarman*, who by his power had almost raised himself to royal dignity, was killed by his own relative called *S'uṣka*, out of hatred.

715. Thereupon the minister *S'ūra* took the part of *Avantivarman*, the able son of *Sukhavarman*, and declared him fit for the throne.

716. Ousting *Utpalāpīḍa*, he made him king in the year [of the Laukika era three thousand nine hundred] thirty-one (A.D. 855/6), to put an end to the subjects' misfortunes. Avantivarman made king (A.D. 855/6).

717. That success, for which his father and grandfather had struggled in vain, he, the grandson, obtained without effort through his merits [from previous births].

718. The pots which are used for carrying water from the ocean, are for ever engaged in useless toil. But, O wonder, he who was born from one of them (Agastya), has here in sportive play drunk up the whole ocean.

719. After this, King *Avantivarman* received on his head the fresh water of inauguration, which quickly flowed from the mouth of the golden jug, and the side-glance thrown by Royal Fortune formed his first head-dress.

720. Under the guise of the two ornamental earrings, the moon and the sun seemed to have placed themselves near the king's ears, in order to show [him] the system of government for the newly acquired kingdom, as taught by the kings who were their descendants. And under the guise of his bright regal parasol, the splendour of that lotus seemed to rise over him, which is the seat of the goddess of Fortune (Lakṣmī).

Thus ends the Fourth Taranga of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, composed by *Kalhaṇa*, the son of the illustrious minister of Kaśmīr, Lord *Canpaka*

720 All great royal families trace their origin to the sun or moon (*sūryavaṁśa*, *somavaṁśa*) The latter are represented by the poet as handing over the traditions of these families to the king, who is the first ruler of a new dynasty.

Colophon. After the Colophon the following verse is found in A L:—"During two hundred and sixty years and six months there were seventeen kings of the *Kārkoṭa* race."

The figure here given for the total length of the reigns in the iv. Taraṅga supposes the attribution of a rule of seven years to *Saṁgrāmāpīḍa*, instead of seven days as indicated by the correct reading in iv. 400. As the assumption of seven years for that reign is against the basis of K.'s system of chronology (see note iv. 400), we have here clear evidence of these metrical summaries at the end of the several Taraṅgas being later additions, as indicated also by other considerations.

A note inserted by A, before the Colophon gives the number of verses as 716, against the 720 found in the text. This is, however, in all probability only an error of reckoning; comp. note on Colophon of the iii. Book.

FIFTH BOOK.

1 May the tongues of the two divine ones (S'iva and Pārvatī) protect you which in their novel union move in unison, yet each uttering words different ir sense if not in sound—(S'iva speaks to Pārvatī :) "In your tresses there is som[e] [undefinable] charm like that of snakes. Look before you, the voice from you[r] throat, as if it were that of the male Kokila [bird], delights the eye of [the snake] which hears through its eye."—(Pārvatī speaks to S'iva :) "You have some fondnes[s] for [using] snakes for the knots [on your body]. Look before you, the eye of [th[e] snake], which hears through its eye, is delighted by the rays of colour [whic[h] proceed] from your throat, as if it were that of a male Kokila."

AVANTIVARMAN (A.D. 855/6-883).

2. When *Avantivarman* had obtained the sovereign power, after uprootin[g] his enemies (*kaṇṭaka*), he made, O wonder, the body of the virtuous feel thrille[d] (*kaṇṭakita*) on account of his [great] deeds.

3. The king and his minister were towards each other both [equally] master[s] in respect of giving orders, and servants in respect of receiving them.

4 If the king is grateful and of mild disposition, and the minister devote[d] and free of arrogance, such a connection may at times be found to be lasting, owin[g] to merits [from previous births].

5. The king, who was full of judgment and wisdom, did not lose his memor[y] when he obtained the throne and saw the regal splendour, but inwardly reflecte[d] as follows:

6. "Lakṣmī, the mistress of kings, who dallies on the back of her elephant creates violent desires and spoils the high-minded."

7. "For whomsoever she has first shown fondness, he is [sure to be] brough[t] into distress by her in the end, just as by a low attachment."

1. The invocation is addressed, like the Maṅgalas of the preceding Books, to S'iva in his form of Ardhanārīśvara. It consists in its first half of a series of puns which permit of the words being understood either as addressed by S'iva to his consort or *vice versâ*. The long gloss of A, explains fully the puns and allusions intended by the author. Both meanings of the first line have been given in the above paraphrase. The snakes are supposed to hear through their eyes and to b[e] fond of music. Their eyes get contracted i[n] the cold season, and are believed to open agai[n] on the first call of the Indian cuckoo or *kokil[a]*. The throat of S'iva is represented as dark blu[e] and thus resembling that of the Kokila.

6. *mātaṅgotsaṅgalālitā* can be rendere[d] either as above or 'who dallies in the lap o[f] low-born men.' The author intends the word to be taken both ways.

8. "How could she, who grew up in the ocean in company with the fickle courtesans of heaven (Apsaras), learn the conduct of a [woman faithfully] attached to a single man?"

9. "She, who is devoid of affection, has never followed kings when they had to proceed on the way to the other world, without provisions for the journey or attendants, though she may have been intimately connected [with them] for a long time."

10. "How is it that these kings, when they went to the other world, were not masters of the gold, the supplies, the valuables, and other [property] which they had stored up in their treasure-houses?"

11. "How is it that the kings [who came after them], did not feel ashamed or think of their purity, when they ate from the vessels which the other [kings] had left behind?"

12. "Who does not feel misgivings when he sees the marks of the names of bygone kings on the big silver bowls [resembling] skulls?"

13. "Who could delight in necklaces, cursed and unholy, which have been torn from the neck of the dying [king] when the sling of death had passed over it?"

14. "Who does not feel his heart shrink when he touches those ornaments which former [kings] have left behind, after defiling them in their death struggle with the hot tears of misfortune?"

15. "The goddess of fortune remains ever defiled, even if she proceed close into the midst of the ocean's waters. But when she yields herself to worthy persons, who, on account of their indigence, are [entitled to gifts], just as the fire is to offerings, she becomes purified, like the antelope which cleanses herself in the fire."

16. Reflecting thus, the king had the gold and other [valuables] ground into powder, and distributed this to Brahmans with his own hands as a porridge (*karambhaka*).

17. When one of the Brahmans, instead of saying, "Well done, O king," in his joy spoke unceremoniously, "Well done, O *Avantin*," he received [from the king] many handfuls.

15. According to the glosses of A_2, certain animals, called *agniśauca*, clean their fur-skin by entering the fire. The *same story* is alluded to in vi. 364, and viii. 3024. Compare *Brahmavaivartapur.* IV. iv. 153; vi. 70, 99; viii 24, etc.; see also *P.W.*, s.v. *vahniśuddha*.

The meaning 'indigence' given by a gloss of A_1 to the word *rora* cannot be traced in the dictionaries. Possibly the word *rora*, 'labourer' (?), quoted in *N.P.W.* from Hemacandra's *Pariśiṣṭaparvan*, may be connected with it

16. The gloss of A_1 rightly explains *karambhaka* as the porridge prepared of mixed rice and beans and called *khitsʳr* in Kś. (*khiṭaḍī* in Panjābi), which is still distributed to Brahmans in connection with certain festivals. Comp. iii. 256; viii. 811.

AVANTIVARMAN (A.D. 855/6-883).

18. The wise *Avantivarman* gave away the whole treasure in alms, and allowed only the [regal] Cauris and parasol to remain of [that] splendour.

19. The royal dignity was difficult to bear for this king when it was new, on account of the trouble [caused] by his numerous relatives who were possessed of excessive wealth.

20. He defeated his revolted brothers and cousins repeatedly in battle, and thus cleared his kingdom from opponents.

21. Then when he had firmly established his rule, he, full of tender affection, enjoyed the royal wealth by distributing it among his relations and servants.

22. Fond as he was of his family, he bestowed on the wise *S'ūravarman*, his brother from a different mother, the wide powers of Yuvarāja.

Pious foundations.

23. The latter granted the Agrahāras of *Khādhūyā* and *Hastikarṇa*, and founded the [temple of Viṣṇu] *S'ūravarmasvāmin* and a *Gokula*

24. He (S'ūravarman), who was accomplished, full of [spiritual] greatness and devoted to pious works, granted the [Agrahāra of] *Pañcahastā* and built a Maṭha, which was an abode of divine greatness.

25. Thus *Samara*, [too], another brother of the king, founded for Keśava in his quadruple form a [temple called] *Samarasvāmin*.

19. On account of the double meaning of the word *durjarā*, the verse may also be understood as meaning, "The royal dignity of this king could not fade in its freshness, notwithstanding the trouble," etc.

23 The gloss of A, renders *Khādhūyā* by *Dhudhakhoḍā*. I am unable to trace either name.

Hastikarṇa is placed by the gloss of A, at *Vyāghrāśrama-Vāgahāma*, i.e. the modern village *Vāgahōm* situated in the *Dachunpōr* Pargaṇa, 75° 10' long. 33° 50' lat., not far from the right bank of the Vitastā A spring which issues in this village, is still at present known as *Hastikarṇanāga*, and is mentioned by this name in the *Vijayeśvaramāh*. xi. 182, *Amareśvaramāh*. i. 9, and *Tīrthas* This spring is probably meant also in *Haracar* xiv. 43, and *Nīlamata*, 985 The *Hastikarṇa* mentioned by S'rīvara, i. 441, in connection with the *Mārī* stream or *Mahāsarit*, must be a different locality and in the vicinity of S'rinagar To the latter place perhaps refers vii. 1640

The position of the *S'ūravarmasvāmin* temple cannot be ascertained.—The *gokula* of S'ūravarman is alluded to in viii 2436. Probably the identical shrine or building is meant in v. 461; viii 900. The latter passage would place it in the capital. The name *gokula*, which judging from viii 2436 must have been the general designation for a certain class of religious edifices, is clearly connected with the famous *Gokula*, the residence of the young Kṛṣṇa in the Vṛndāvana forest. From viii. 2437, it appears that Gokulas were provided with grazing grounds reserved for kine.

24. *Pañcahastā* is the modern village of *Pānzath* in the Div^esar Pargaṇa, 75° 13' long 33° 36' lat. A large spring in its vicinity is held sacred as one of the places where the Vitastā originally came to light. It is mentioned by the name of *Pañcahastakanāga* in the *Nīlamata*, 255, 908, 925, 1293. Comp also *Haracar*. xii. 22 There are no remains now in the neighbourhood which could be identified with the Maṭha referred to in the text

25 The gloss of A, indicates as the position of this shrine the small village of *Somar^ebug* situated near the left bank of the Vitastā in the Yech Pargaṇa, 74° 57' long. 34° 2' lat Close by is the village of *S'ālyun*, the *S'ālyānagrāma* of the gloss On a visit paid to Somar^ebug in Sept, 1891, I was unable to trace any ancient remains above ground except some fine slabs built into a house near the spot where once a bridge led across the river to the village of Pāndūchuk. The temple of Samarasvāmin is mentioned again, vii 1105, in the time of King Harṣa.

For Keśava-Viṣṇu *caturātman*, see note iv. 501.

26-27. Two sons of a younger brother of *S'ūra*, called *Dhīra* and *Vinnapa*, built under their own names temples, and two other [nephews], who held charge of account-offices (*gaṇanāpati*), after having here on earth kept their [spiritual] powers hidden from view by a [guise of] madness, bodily took their places in the most exalted company of S'iva's world. AVANTIVARMAN (A.D. 855/6-883).

28-29. The illustrious *Mahodaya*, who was the chief door-keeper of *S'ūra*, consecrated the [shrine of Viṣṇu] *Mahodayasvāmin*, and gave at that temple the post of reciter (*vyākhyātṛ*) to a teacher called *Rāmaṭa*, who was famous for his labours on grammatical science.

30. The illustrious *Prabhākaravarman*, the king's minister, built a temple of Viṣṇu, called *Prabhākarasvāmin*.

31. Having received at the consecration [of that temple] pearls which were brought to him by his house-parrot and other parrots which came along with it, he constructed a famous parrot-house (? *śukāvalī*).

32. The minister *S'ūra*, by honouring learned men with a seat in the [king's] Sabhā, caused learning, whose flow had been interrupted, to descend [again] upon this land. Literary patronage.

33. The scholars, who were granted great fortunes and high honours, proceeded to the Sabhā in vehicles (litters) worthy of kings.

34. *Muktākaṇa*, *S'ivasvāmin*, the poet *Ānandavardhana* and *Ratnākara* obtained fame during the reign of *Avantivarman*.

35. In the assembly-hall of the minister *S'ūra*, the bard *Kṛtamandāra* recited always the following Āryā [verse], in order to remind [his master] of his resolve:

28-29. The temple of *Mahodayasvāmin* is placed by the gloss of A_2 at *Maḍavāśrama*, which on the evidence of a passage of the *Vitastāmāh.* v. 86, can be identified with the large village of *Markōm* on the left bank of the Vitastā, 75° 9′ long 33° 50′ lat. No remains are now to be found above ground; a sacred spring in the village is visited on the pilgrimage to the Amaranātha Tīrtha.

31. It is doubtful what is exactly meant by *śukāvali*. It seems to have been a valuable and transportable object, as this same *śukāvali* is referred to in viii. 80 as having been carried off by Harṣa, and subsequently presented by Uccala for the adornment of the shrine of *Tribhuvanasvāmin*.

34. Two of the names here mentioned are well-known in Kaśmīrian literature. *Ānandavardhana* is the author of two works yet extant, the *Dhvanyāloka*, a rhetorical treatise, and the poem *Devīśataka*. Both of these were commentated upon towards the close of the 10th century; comp. Prof. BÜHLER's *Report*, p. 65; *Kāvyamālā*, i. 101.

Ratnākara is rightly identified by the gloss of A_2 with the author of the great Kāvya called *Haravijaya*, first obtained by Prof. Bühler in Kaśmīr, and since published in the Kāvyamālā. From the colophon of this work it appears that Ratnākara, or with his full name *Rājānaka Ratnākara Vāgīśvara*, composed it under King Bṛhaspati (Cippaṭa-Jayāpīḍa), who, according to K.'s statement, iv 703, died forty-two years before the accession of Avantivarman; comp. *Report*, pp. 42 sqq. For two smaller compositions of Ratnākara, see *Report*, p. 66, and *Cat. Catalog.*, p. 491.

Muktākaṇa appears to be known otherwise only from quotations in two treatises of Kṣemendra (11th century); comp. *Cat. Catalog.*, p. 459. *S'ivasvāmin* is, perhaps, identical with the poet, verses of whom are given in Kṣemendra's *Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa* and some later anthologies; see *Cat. Catalog.*, p. 654, and *Subhāṣit.*, Introd. p. 129.

36. "This is the time for granting benefits, while fortune, fickle by nature, is present. Why should there be again time for benefits, while misfortune is always imminent?"

37. This [minister], who built many edifices, erected at *Sureśvarīkṣetra*, in honour of S'iva and his consort conjoined, a temple which was to last for ever.

38. The wise [minister], after consecrating the [temple of] *S'ūreśvara*, which was as lofty as his own palace, built the *S'ūramaṭha* for the benefit of ascetics.

39. He transferred the watch-station (*ḍhakka*), which stood [before] in the locality of *Kramavarta*, to the fine town called *S'ūrapura*, which he had built himself.

37. Durgā is worshipped to this day under the name of *Sureśvarī* ('queen of the gods') on a high crag rising above the village of Iś*bar from the range which encloses the Ḍal lake on the E. A natural rock on the top of the crag is looked upon as a representation of Durgā's husband The Sureśvarīmāhātmya accounts for the residence of the goddess and her consort at this spot by a legend connected with the killing of the demon Ruru It also describes in detail the route of the pilgrimage, which begins at certain springs (*S'atadhārā*, etc.) situated in the immediate vicinity of the village of Iś*bar (comp. note ii. 134)

It is the site of the latter place which is meant by *Sureśvarīkṣetra* in our own passage, vi. 147; *Jonar.* 52, 874; *S'rīv* i. 426, and by *Sureśvarī*, v. 41; viii. 506, 744, 2344, etc. The locality of Iś*bar is clearly indicated by those passages of *Jonar.* (52) and *S'rīv* (i 419, 426) which speak of Sureśvarī as situated on the shore of the Ḍal lake; see also *Samayam.* ii. 29, where the S'atadhārā spring is mentioned with Sureśvarī The references to it as a place to be sought on the approach of death (see vi. 147, viii. 2344, 2418), show the sanctity attached to it. This is also set forth at great length in the fifth Adhyāya of the S'arvāvatāra.—The name of the Sureśvarītīrtha is found already in the *Nīlamata*, 1322

The temple of S'iva and Pārvatī conjoined (*dvayor miśrayoḥ*), i.e. of Ardhanārīśvara, is evidently identical with the one which K mentions, viii 3365, as standing at Sureśvarī in his own time Neither the position of this shrine, nor that of the temples mentioned in verses 40, 41, can now be traced with certainty, though the numerous carved slabs and sculptured fragments found near the sacred springs and in the walls of the houses of Iś*bar, prove unmistakably the former existence of ancient buildings besides the ruined temple (Īśeśvara ?) referred to in the note ii. 134.

I have translated above according to the reading *savyayasthitiḥ* actually found in A. But a comparison of vii. 952; viii. 249, 2401, 3316 sq., where the term *vyayasthiti* is regularly used in the sense of an 'endowment' in connection with temples, suggests that we ought to read here *savyayasthitiḥ*, 'which was provided with an endowment.'

38. According to the gloss of A_2, the *S'ūreśvara* temple stood at S'ūrapura: *Hur*pōr*. At the latter locality (see following note) materials belonging to ancient buildings can be traced in the walls of the Moghul Sarai and of a mosque.

The *S'ūramaṭha* appears to have been in the capital, comp. vi. 223; vii. 26, and in particular vi. 243. Its exact position is not known.

39 The position of *Kramavarta* and *S'ūrapura*, and the meaning of the term *ḍhakka*, equivalent to *draṅga*, has been fully discussed in Note *D*, iii. 227, where the same localities are mentioned. The site of the watch-station after its transfer to S'ūrapura was traced by me at *Hur*pōr* in Sept, 1891. There is a spot about one and a quarter miles above the present Hur*pōr, where the level ground of the valley is reduced to a gorge by rocky spurs projecting from the hill-sides. A local tradition relates that at this spot there once stood an ancient wall and gate, closing the route which leads along the right bank of the Rembyar* river to the Pir Pantsāl Pass.

This spot, which is covered by dense fir-forest, is now known by the name of *Ilāhi Darwāza*, 'the gate of God.' But the father of the present Muqaddam, or village headman, a man of great age, distinctly remembered to have heard in his youth also the designation of *Drang*, i.e. *draṅga* Ancient coins are frequently found in this locality, and some traces of old walls can still be followed through the thick undergrowth which covers the ground.

AVANTIVARMAN (A.D. 855/6-883).

40. *Ratnavardhana*, a son of *S'ūra*, built near the precincts of *Sureśvarī*, a [temple of] S'iva *Bhūteśvara*, and within the *S'ūramaṭha* [another] Maṭha.

41. The wife of *S'ūra* named *Kāvyadevī*, who was of noble birth, erected at *Sureśvarī* a [shrine of] Sadāśiva called *Kāvyadevīśvara*.

42. *Avantivarman*, who was free from jealousy, granted permanent royal prerogatives to his uterine brothers and to *S'ūra* and the latter's son.

43. The king, who conformed to the pleasures of his minister as [if it were that] of a deity, bore himself [outwardly] as a worshipper of S'iva, though he was [in reality] from childhood a worshipper of Viṣṇu.

44. At the site called *Viśvaikasāra*, which procures final beatitude for those who die [there], the king founded the [town of] *Avantipura*, an abode of abundant enjoyments.

A relic of ancient art is found some 330 yards higher up on the right bank of the stream, where a large rock shows in three richly ornamented niches elegantly carved relievo representations of temples of the Kaśmirian style. Comp. my *Notes on the Pir Pantsāl Route*, *J.A.S.B.*, 1895, p 385

According to the surviving tradition, *Hur*ᵉ*pōr*, still a busy little place and the seat of a customs-station, was once a large town, and occupied the level ground of the valley as far as *Pād*ᵉ*pāvan*, a distance of nearly three miles, in the direction towards S'upiyan. Remains of deserted habitations can in fact be traced on both banks of the river over a considerable stretch of ground below the present village.

40. By *Sureśvariprāṅganataḥ* probably the site of the village of Iśᵉbar on the Ḍal is meant; comp. note v. 37. The lofty situation of the crag on which *Sureśvarī* is actually worshipped (more than 3000 feet above the level of the Dal), and the steepness of the rugged slopes leading up to it, preclude the thought of any building having ever been erected on it or in its immediate vicinity.

Regarding the original shrine at which S'iva was worshipped under the name of *Bhūteśvara*, see note i. 107. The relation between Ratnavardhana's temple and the former corresponds to that between the *Jyeṣṭharudra*, founded by Aśoka near S'rinagar and the more ancient Liṅga of that name at *Buth'šër*; comp. notes i. 113 and i. 124 (*C*).

41. *Sadāśiva* is a name of S'iva.

44-45. The name of *Avantipura* is preserved in that of the present village of *Vānt'pōr*, situated on the right bank of the Vitastā in the Vular Pargaṇa, 75° 4' long. 33° 55' lat. Its ruined temples have already attracted the attention of early European travellers; see FORSTER, *Journey from Bengal to England*, ii. p. 9, and MOORCROFT, *Travels*, ii. p. 244. In his note on the latter account, Prof. Wilson has correctly indicated the identity of the place with the *Avantipura* of the Chronicle. This identification is well-known too to the tradition of the S'rinagar Paṇḍits. It is fully borne out by the topographical indications furnished by the numerous passages of the Chronicle in which Avantipura is subsequently mentioned (comp. e.g. vii. 1366; viii. 970, 1144, 1474, 1502; *S'riv* i. 338).

The remains at *Vānt'pōr* consist chiefly of two ruined temples which have been fully described by CUNNINGHAM, *J.A.S.B.*, 1848, pp. 275 sqq, and COLE, *Anc. Build.*, pp. 25 sqq.

Cunningham has proposed to identify the ruined temple situated in the village itself with K.'s *Avantisvāmin*, and the larger one, which lies about half a mile to the N.W. and close to the hamlet of *Jaubrār*, with the temple of *Avantīśvara*, built by Avantivarman after his accession The central shrines of both temples have been entirely overturned, and form now only confused piles of stones. It is thus impossible to test accurately C.'s assumption, which was based mainly on the different size of the two structures. Nor have the excavations which Bishop Cowie carried on in 1865 in the courtyard of the smaller temple, brought to light any evidence bearing on this point; comp. *J.A.S.B.*, 1865, pp. 121 sqq.

In Kalaśa's reign (A.D. 1081-1089), the temple of Avantisvāmin was deprived of the villages which formed its endowments (vii. 570) Its courtyard served as a fortification when shortly after the accession of King Jayasiṁha (A.D. 1128), Bhāsa, a commander of the royal troops, was besieged at Avantipura by the rebel Ḍāmaras of the Holaḍā (Vular) district; see viii. 1429 sq.

That the town of Avantipura remained a

45. Having built there, before his accession to the throne, the [shrine of Viṣṇu] *Avantisvāmin*, that wise [king], after obtaining sovereign power, erected then the [temple of S'iva] *Avantīśvara*.

46 This king had at the [shrines of] *Tripureśvara*, *Bhūteśa* and *Vijayeśa*, three pedestals made with silver conduits for the bathing water (*snānadroṇī*).

place of importance long after the time of its founder, is shown by the numerous references made to it by K. and in the later Chronicles; comp. Index and *Jonar.* 321, 330 sq., 335, 863; *S'rīv.* i. 338; iii. 42, also *Samayam* ii. 76. The extent of the town is attested by the remains of ruined buildings which can be traced along the slopes of the hill-range rising to the E. of the present Vant'pōr for a distance of over two miles.

It is not clear on what grounds the gloss of A, identifies 'the site (*kṣetra*) of *Viśvaika-sāra*' mentioned in the text with the village of *Bhāraso*, i e. the modern *Bārus* (not marked on maps), which is situated about three miles below *Vānt'pōr* on the right bank of the Vitastā opposite to *Gūr'pūr* At Bārus the only ancient remains I could trace on a visit paid in Sept., 1891, was a fine Liṅga over five feet in height, standing near a small Nāga called Rudragaṅgā, which is visited by the pilgrims to Amaranatha.

46. Liṅgas and images of gods were in Kaśmirian temples always placed on ornamental stone pedestals (*pīṭha* or *bhadrapīṭha*), many of which can yet be seen *in situ* in the temple-ruins of Buth'šēr (Bhūteśa), Nārastān, Paṭṭan, etc For the purpose of carrying off the water with which the Liṅgas and images have daily to be bathed (comp. ii 126), such pedestals are provided with a conduit sunk into their upper surface and ending generally in a sculptured waterspout

The position of the sacred site of *Tripureśvara* (or *Tripureśa*) can be fixed with great probability near the modern village of *Triphar*. The latter lies circ. 74° 59' long 34° 9' lat. in the valley opening to the E. from the N E corner of the Ḍal, and at a distance of about three miles from the latter. Apart from the name *Triphar*, which evidently stands in the same relation to Tripureśvara as *Koṭhēr* < *Kapaṭeśvara*, *Jyēṭhēr* < *Jyeṣṭheśvara*, *Amburhēr* < *Amareśvara*, *Krambhar* < *Kambaleśvara* (viii. 251), this identification is supported by the following evidence.

The iv. Adhyāya of the *S'arvāvatāra* contains a Māhātmya of S'iva *Jyeṣṭhanātha* or *Jyeṣṭheśvara* as worshipped '*sthāne Tripureśvara-saṃjñake*' This locality, which, according to the legend related in that text, took its name from the demon *Tripura* destroyed there by S'iva, is described as situated close to Mount *Mahādeva*, and on the bank of the *Mahāsarit* river. The former is certainly the peak still known by that name (*Mahadeo* of the maps) which rises immediately to the east of Triphar, and is to the present day the object of a pilgrimage. Of the name *Mahāsarit*, we have already shown in note iii. 339-340 that it was the ancient designation of the stream which forms the outflow of the Ḍal, and is now called *Mār*.

We are the more justified in assuming that the same name was given also to the main feeder of the Ḍal, i e. the 'Arrah' river of the map on which Triphar lies, as the S'arvāvatāra distinctly mentions (iv. 129) as the source of the Mahāsarit the lake *Mahāsaras*, i.e. the *Mār Sar*, from which that river actually takes its origin [I have not been able to trace any generally known and distinctive name of this river. 'Arrah' is probably only the Kś. *ār*, 'mountain-stream.']

We are led to the same locality by the instructive passage, *S'rīv.* i. 421, which in the course of a graphic description of the Ḍal lake mentions the *Tilaprasthā* river as flowing into it from Tripureśvara The name *Tilaprasthā* can be shown by passages in the *S'arv.* (iv. 55, 61), *Sureśvarīmāh.* and *Tīrthas.* to be the old appellation of that branch of the 'Arrah' river which separates a short distance below Triphar from the 'Shālimār' branch, and taking a more westerly course, empties itself into the Dal under the name of *Tēlbal Nāla*.

Triphar lies at the N.E. foot of the hill-range on which the Sureśvarītīrtha (see note v. 37) is situated. Accordingly we find *Tripureśa* referred to in the *Nīlamata*, 1323, between the sacred sites of *Sureśvarī* and Mount *Mahādeva*. The gloss written on this passage in one of my MSS. distinctly renders Tripureśa by 'Triphir.' This identification must have been known also to P. Sāhibrām, as he mentions in his *Tīrthas.*, in connection with the Tīrthas around the Dal, a pilgrimage to 'the Gaṅgā at the village of Tripureśvara.' [According to the statement of one of the Purohitas at Is'bar, a small stream which joins the 'Arrah' near Triphar from the slopes of Mount Mahādeva, is locally known as 'Gaṅgā.']—Finally, it may be mentioned that the old *Vijayeśvaramāh.* xi. 112, distinctly

47. *S'ūra*, too, saw in the king his chief deity, to please whom he ought to sacrifice even religion, life, or a son. AVANTIVARMAN (A.D. 855/6-883).

48-49. Thus, on one occasion when the king came to worship [S'iva] *Bhūteśvara*, after having presented on his own behalf sacrificial apparatus which was in keeping with his royal dignity, he noticed that the temple-priests had placed on the base of the god's [image], as an offering, a wild-growing vegetable of bitter taste called *Utpalaśāka*. S'ūra's judgment at Bhūteśvara

50. When, thereupon, the king asked the local [priests] the reason for such an offering, they threw themselves on the ground and spoke with hands folded:

51. "In the *Lahara* district, O king, there lives a powerful Ḍāmara, *Dhanva* by name, who is attached to the minister *S'ūra*, and [treated by him] like a son."

52. "This [Ḍāmara], whose power is unrestrained, has taken away the villages [belonging to the shrine], and thus we [can] offer to *Bhūteśa* only this oblation."

53. Thereon the king left the worship under the pretence of indisposition caused by sudden colic, and went outside, making it [appear] as if he had not heard what he had heard.

speaks of Tripureśa as worshipped '*Sureśvaryām*.'

Though no longer known to the Brahmans of Kaśmīr as a place of pilgrimage, Tripureśvara must have been considered in old days a site of great sanctity. K. mentions repeatedly the foundation of sacred buildings and the grant of endowments at Tripureśvara (see vii. 151, 526, 956). He also speaks of it, v. 123, as the holy site to which King Avantivarman retired on the approach of death. From vi 185 we may conclude that it was a favourite resort for mendicants, and this it apparently continued to be in Muhammadan times, as *S'riv.* i. 402 refers to King Zain-ul-'ābidin having founded there a perpetual endowment for the feeding of beggars (*annasattra*, comp. note i. 347).

48-49. It has been shown above, in note i. 107, that the ancient shrine of S'iva *Bhūteśa* must be looked for among the ruined temples of *Buth'śēr* at the foot of Mount Haramukh. The Purohitas of the shrine wish to demonstrate to the king the poverty to which they are reduced, by placing before the image, instead of proper offerings, leaves of the *Utpalaśāka* plant, i.e. a present of no value. The plant, now known by the name of *upalhākh* (the phonetic derivative of Skr. *utpalaśāka*), forms still one of the commonest vegetables of the Kaśmīri cuisine. It grows abundantly on the mountain-slopes at an elevation of 7000-11,000', and its leaves are collected in large quantities by the villagers.

When examining the ruins of Buth'śēr in August, 1891, I found the Upalhākh growing plentifully in the midst of the luxuriant forest vegetation in which the temples were then embedded. The bitter taste of the leaves is removed by repeated boiling. According to traditional belief, the Upalhākh formed the diet of the ancient Ṛṣis in the forest.

51. The name of *Lahara* survives in the designation of the modern district *Lār*, which comprises the whole of the territory drained by the Sind and its tributaries. This identification is correctly indicated by the gloss of A, on our passage, and is fully proved by the topographical evidence contained in the following passages:—vii. 911, 1360 sq.; viii. 487, 729, 793, 1128 sqq.; *Jonar.* 167 sq.; *S'riv.* v. 136; Fourth Chron. 226; *Lokapr.* ii. (*Laharaviṣaye Gāndharvabale*, i.e. Gānd'rbal on the Sind river).

In a few instances (see vii. 965; viii. 914), the extant text of the Chronicle hides the name *Lohara* (comp. Note *E*, iv. 177) under the form *Lahara*—a clerical error easily explained by the frequent occurrence of both names. For the opposite error, see viii. 38.

Regarding the term *Ḍāmara*, see Note *G*, iv. 348.

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54. *S'ūra*, who knew that there was a cause for his lord's departure from the worship, and for the [apparently] accidental colic, followed up the matter.

55. Having ascertained the truth, he, full of anger, went quickly from there to the temple of *Bhairava*, who, together with a 'circle of the Mothers' (*mātṛcakra*), is [worshipped] close to *Bhūteśa*.

56. He ordered off the crowd of people, and keeping [only] a few attendants, sent from there messenger after messenger to bring up *Dhanva*.

57. When that fierce [Ḍāmara] came at last before *S'ūra*, he made the earth shake with the tramp of his host of foot-soldiers, and did not bend his back.

58. As soon as he had entered, armed men, at the order of *S'ūra*, cut off his head while he was yet alive, in front of [the image of] *Bhairava*.

59. The wise *S'ūra*, who had [thus] removed the king's displeasure, went outside after having the body, from which the blood was pouring forth, thrown into the tank close by.

55-59 The indications furnished by this passage are of considerable antiquarian interest, as they enable us to identify with some accuracy the principal buildings among the ruined temples of *Buth'śēr*. Of these we have already shown (see note i. 107) that they belong to the sacred site of S'iva Bhūteśvara so often mentioned in the Chronicle.

The temples, as will be seen from the plans attached to Bishop Cowie's careful notes, *J.A.S.B.*, 1866, pp. 101-109, form two distinct groups. The latter have separate enclosing walls, and are situated at a distance of about 200 yards from each other Just beyond the enclosure of the second or eastern group, and at its N.E. corner, is a large oblong tank (*T* on Bishop Cowie's plan), lined with ancient slabs and filled with the limpid water of a spring. This spring is now known by the name of Nārān Nāg, but has been shown above (see note i. 123) to be identical with the *Sodaratīrtha* of the Nīlamata and of K. As there is no other tank or pool anywhere near the site of Buth'śēr, we must recognize in the basin of the Nārān Nāg the pond close by (*āsanne sarasi*) of v. 59, into which Dhanva's decapitated body was thrown.

About twenty yards to the W. of the tank, and facing the N side of the stone wall which encloses the second group of temples, there are the ruins of a small solitary temple, marked *K* on the plan. They are now almost buried by the soil washed down from the hill-side, which rises immediately behind them. The close proximity of this temple to the tank, and its isolated position outside the temple-groups, makes it probable that we have in it the remains of the shrine of *Bhairava* at which Dhanva's execution took place. As the worship of Bhairava is connected with bloody sacrifices, his shrines are also now-a-days generally kept at some distance from those of other deities.

If this identification is correct, we may safely recognise in the central and principal temple of the second group, which alone is a building of imposing dimensions (see COLE, *Anc Build.*, plan 6, and plates 6 and 7), the shrine dedicated to S'iva Bhūteśa. Our passage shows that this shrine was situated in the immediate vicinity of the Bhairava temple We have further to conclude that the other group of temples, situated to the W. of the one just mentioned, was erected in honour of S'iva *Jyeṣṭheśa*. Of the ancient Liṅga known by this name, we have already shown (see note i. 113) that it was worshipped in the neighbourhood of Bhūteśa's shrine.

This group, too, consists of one large central temple, probably identical with the one erected by King Lalitāditya, according to iv. 190, and a number of smaller cellas around it. The base of a colossal Liṅga which Bishop Cowie found at the S.W. corner of the enclosure of this temple-group, belonged, perhaps, to the very emblem of Jyeṣṭheśa.

Kalhaṇa has taken care to let us know of the frequent visits which his father Caṇpaka had paid to the shrines of *Nandikṣetra*, i.e. Buth'śēr, and the rich endowments he had made there; comp. vii. 954; viii. 2365. We are, therefore, justified in assuming that K. himself was thoroughly acquainted with this sacred site, and that the information he gives

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60. When the lord of the earth heard that the minister had decapitated that [Ḍāmara, whom he loved] as if he were his own son, his anger was appeased, and he felt as it were embarrassed.

61. *S'ūra* then inquired after the health of the king, and when the latter replied that he felt no pains, made him rise from his couch and complete the worship.

62. In this way that [minister], who knew always the right thing to do, rendered again and again assistance to the king, without even speaking [to him about it], and at the risk of his own life.

63. Such a king and such a minister, whose [relations] were never disfigured by the blemish of mutual hatred, have not otherwise been seen or heard of.

64. For ten years in the reign of *Avantivarman* the killing of all living creatures was prohibited, just as [it was in that] of the illustrious *Meghavāhana.*

65. At that time the shadfish [*pāṭhīna*] left the cold water without fear, and coming to the river-banks sunned their backs in the autumn sun.

66. In the time of *Avantivarman*, the illustrious *Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa* and other holy men (*siddhas*) descended to the earth for the benefit of the people.

67. As the lives of these would be [too] long to tell, some purifying story of one [of them at least] shall be related here as an episode.

Story of *Suyya.*

68. This country [of Kaśmīr] always [before] gave small produce, as it was [liable to be] flooded by the waters of the *Mahāpadma* lake, and was intersected by [many] streams.

69. When then the waters had been drained off somewhat, through the great exertions of King *Lalitāditya*, it became productive to a small extent.

70. Under the feeble kings who succeeded after the death of *Jayāpīḍa*, the country was again, just [as before], overtaken by disastrous floods.

71. In the famine-stricken land one Khārī of rice (*dhānya*) was bought for ten hundred and fifty Dīnnāras.

us as to the relative position of the several shrines, is exact in its details.

Regarding *mātṛcakra*, see note i. 122.

65. The fish called *pāṭhīna* is, according to *P.W.*, a kind of shadfish, Silurus Pelorius or Silurus boalis Ham. It is permitted as food by the Smṛtis (comp. *Yājñavalkya*, i. 178), and is particularly recommended for S'rāddha-offerings (*Manu*, v 16). The Kaśmīrī Paṇḍits give this name to the *Rām*ᵒ*gāḍ*, a kind of small fish generally eaten at S'rāddhas. Mr Lawrence, *Valley*, p. 158, records of it that it retires to the lakes and morasses when the water becomes cold.

66. *Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa* is known to us as the pupil of *Vasugupta*, the founder of the Spandaśāstra branch of Kaśmīrian S'aiva philosophy. His commentary, called *Spandasarvasva*, on his teacher's *Spandakārikās*, is still extant; comp. Prof. BÜHLER's *Report*, pp. 78 sq., clxv. He also appears to have written another exegetical work on the S'iva-sūtras of Vasugupta; comp. *Report*, p. clxviii.; HALL, *Index to a Bibliography of Ind. Philos. Systems*, p. 197, and STEIN, *Catal. of Jammu MSS.*, p. 361.

68. Regarding the *Mahāpadma* lake or Vulur, see note iv. 593.

71. The ancient measure of the *khārī*, mentioned already in a hymn of the Ṛgveda

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72. Then through the merits of *Avantivarman* there descended to the earth the Lord of Food (*annapati*) himself, [in the person of] the illustrious *Suyya*, to give fresh life to the people.

73. The origin of this wise man was not known, and his deeds, which made the world wonder, proved clearly that though [he appeared] in the fourth period (Yuga), he was not born from a [woman's] womb.

74. Once a Caṇḍāla woman, *Suyyā* by name, found when sweeping up a dust-heap on the road, a fresh earthen vessel fitted with a cover.

75. Raising the cover, she saw lying in it a babe, which had eyes like lotus-leaves, and was sucking its fingers.

76. "Some unfortunate mother must have exposed this lovely [boy]." Thus she thought in her mind, and then from tenderness her breasts gave milk.

77. Without defiling the child by her touch, she arranged for his keep in the house of a S'ūdra-nurse, and brought him up.

78. Taking the name of *Suyya*, he grew into an intelligent [youth], and having learned his letters, became a teacher of small boys in the house of some householder.

(iv. 32. 17), and known to Pāṇini, has remained to the present day the standard of weight in Kaśmīr It is called *khār* in Kś., but has been known in the official language for centuries past by the Persian designation of *kharwār* (for **khar-bār*, 'ass's load.') The latter term, evidently substituted by a kind of popular etymology for the Kś. one, is found already in Abu-l-Faẓl's account (*Āīn-i Akb.*, ii. p. 366). In the Lokaprakāśa the measure is still named as *khāri* or *khārikā*.

The division and weight of the Khār does not appear to have changed since the time of Akbar, as the table of weights in actual use, as given by Mr LAWRENCE, *Valley*, p 243, agrees with the statements recorded by Abu-l-Faẓl (*l.c.*) and MOORCROFT, *Travels*, ii. p. 135, in making the Khār (Kharwār) the equivalent of 1920 *Pals* (Skr. *pala*). Taking the latter measure as equal to 3⅘ Tolas, the Khār corresponds to 177$\frac{11}{15}$ lbs avoirdupois (Lawrence) The Khār is divided into 16 *Trakhs*, the Trakh again into 4 *Manuths* (Abu-l-Faẓl's *Man*) of 30 Pals each, or into 6 *Sērs* of 20 Pals.

Owing to the ancient custom, until quite recently in force in Kaśmīr, of estimating and paying salaries, etc., in grain instead of cash, the term Khār came to be used also as the designation of a monetary value. The Lokaprakāśa accordingly speaks in several passages (ii. Pr.) of a *dīnnārakhāri* or *suvarṇakhārikā*, corresponding to Abu-l-Faẓl's distinction between the 'Kharwār in kind' and the 'Kharwār in money' (*kharwār-i naqdī*). Similarly the term Khār has been applied, evidently since early times, to designate that area of land under rice-cultivation which is supposed to require a Khār's weight of rice-seed; comp. *bhūmikhāri* in *Lokapr.* ii. with *khārikā*, Pāṇini, v. i. 45, and LAWRENCE, *Valley*, p. 243.

In v 116 sq. K gives 200 Dinnāras as the price of a Khāri of rice for years of good harvest previous to Suyya's drainage operations, and 36 Dinnāras as the reduced price after the execution of the latter. Subsequently we read, vii. 1220, of 500 Dinnāras being paid for a Khāri in the reign of Harṣa during a famine. For prices at later famines see *S'rīv.* i. 202 and Fourth Chron. 347, where 1500 and even 10,000 Dinnāras are mentioned, respectively.

Regarding the currency calculated in Dinnāras, and the probable value of the amounts named, see Note *H*, iv. 495.

72. *Annapati* seems to be the name of a god, personifying good harvests. Comp. the description of a famine, Fourth Chron. 355 sqq., where the 'Lord of food' (*annanṛpa*, *annādhipa*) is represented as fighting against the demon *Durbhikṣa* (famine). According to P. Govind Kaul, old songs and proverbs of Kaśmīr peasants still personify the good harvest under the name of *Suchirāza*, i.e. Skr. **Subhikṣarāja*.

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79. As he endeared himself to the virtuous by [keeping the] observances in regard to fasts, bathings and the like, and showed a brilliant intellect, men of sense kept around him in assemblies.

80. When these were complaining in their conversation of the flood calamity, he said: "I have got the knowledge [for preventing it]. But what can I do without means?"

81. When the king heard through his spies that he was saying these words persistently, as if he were deranged in mind, he was surprised.

82. The king had him then brought up and questioned him about his saying. He calmly replied also in the royal presence: "I have got the knowledge," etc.

83. Thereupon the lord of the earth, though his courtiers declared him (Suyya) crazy, was anxious to test [that] knowledge, and placed his own treasures at his disposal.

Suyya's operations on the Vitastā.

84. He took many pots [full] of money (*dīnnāra*) from the treasury, and embarking on a boat, proceeded in haste to *Maḍavarājya*.

85. After dropping there a pot [full] of money, at a village called *Nandaka*, which was submerged in the flood, he hurriedly turned back.

86. Though the councillors said: "That [Suyya] is surely only a madman," the king, when he heard this account, became interested in watching the end of these [proceedings].

87. On reaching in *Kramarājya* the locality called *Yakṣadara*, he threw with both hands money (*dīnnāra*) into the water.

84. For *Maḍavarājya*, the modern *Maraz*, see note ii. 15.

85. The site of the *Nandaka* village, mentioned again in v. 108, cannot be fixed with certainty. With this name may possibly be connected that of the old *Nāndi* canal which takes the water of the Veśau river above the village of *Kaimuh*, and serves for the irrigation of the narrow strip of land separating the Veśau and Vitastā near Anatnāg and Vij^{e}brōr. All the villages situated between the two rivers lie very low, and are protected against frequent inundation only by high embankments.

87. For *Kramarājya*, the present *Kamrāz*, see note ii. 15.

The position of *Yakṣadara* can be fixed, thanks to the gloss of A_2, which renders the name by *Dyāragala*. The latter name, in the form *Dyār^{e}gul*, is applied to the present day to a rocky spur which runs down to the bed of the Vitastā, close to the village of *Khād^{e}nyār* (74° 22′ long. 34° 11′ lat.) and about three miles below Varāhamūla. It is the last projection of a mountain-range which descends to the S.E. from the Kāj^{i} Nāg Peaks.

Through a narrow cut or saddle in this spur, leads the road which forms the old line of communication on the right bank of the Vitastā between Varāhamūla and Muẓaffarābād. A ledge of rocks stretches across the bed of the river just at the foot of the Dyār^{e}gul ridge, and forms the first serious rapid of the Vitastā (marked on the Survey map). Beyond it boats cannot descend. It is evident that operations carried on with the object of deepening the bed of the river in this locality, and further up in the gorge, between Khād^{e}nyār and Varāhamūla, would have a marked effect in lowering the water-level of the Vitastā throughout the Valley. It is, therefore, probable that the tradition reproduced by K. is right in indicating *Yakṣadara*: *Dyār^{e}gul* as the extreme point of Suyya's operations in the lower course of the river.

For *Yakṣadarā*° of A we find in L *Yakṣadharā*°. The form adopted in the text is the one supposed by the etymology of the name,

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88-89. There, where the rocks which had rolled down from the mountains lining both river banks had compressed the *Vitastā* and made its waters turn backwards [in whirls], the famine-stricken villagers then searched for the money (*dīnnāra*), dragged out the rocks from the river, and [thus] cleared the [bed of the] *Vitastā*.

90. After he had in this manner artfully drained off that water for two or three days, he had the *Vitastā* dammed up in one place by workmen.

91. The whole river, which *Nīla* produced, was blocked up by *Suyya* for seven days by the construction of a stone dam, a wonderful work.

92. After having the river bed cleared at the bottom, and stone walls constructed to protect [it] against rocks which might roll down, he removed the dam.

93. Then the [stream], flowing to the ocean, set out on its course in haste, as if eagerly longing for the sea after its detention.

94. When the water left it the land was covered with mud and with wriggling fishes, and thus resembled the [night] sky, which, when free from clouds, displays black darkness and the stars.

95. Wherever he knew inundation-breaches [to occur] during disastrous floods, there he constructed new beds for the *Vitastā*.

96. The river, with its numerous great channels branching off from the original channel, appeared like a black female serpent, which has numerous hoods resting on one body

Change of junction of *Sindhu* and *Vitastā*.

97-98. The two great rivers, the *Sindhu* and *Vitastā*, which formerly met near the [temple of Viṣṇu] *Vainyasvāmin*, flowing to the left and right of *Trigrāmī* [respectively], have to this day in the vicinity of the city (S'rīnagara) their confluence which *Suyya* first planned, and which will last to the end of the world.

99-100. On the two banks of the original (?) confluence there stood the [temples of] *Viṣṇusvāmin* and *Vainyasvāmin*, situated in *Phalapura* and *Pari-*

'the demon's cleft.' This designation evidently refers to the remarkable cutting in the spur above mentioned To *-dara* corresponds also the second part of the modern name *-gul*, which in Kś. means 'opening, aperture, entrance.' With it may be compared the Pahāri word *gali*, which is a frequent designation of mountain passes, i.e. *Choṭigali*, *Cōrgali* on the Pir Pantsal range. Both *gul* and *gali* are probably derived from Skr. *gala*, 'throat, neck'; comp also the local name *Durgāgalikā*, ii. 4.

It seems probable that the first part of the modern name has a connection with K.'s story. *Dyār*- means 'money' in Kś. and is the equivalent of Skr. *dīnnāra* (see Note *H*, iv. 495). On a visit paid in September, 1892, to Dyārgul and the gorge below Varāhamūla, I was not able to trace any tradition relating to Suyya's works in this locality. For descriptions of the defile see MOORCROFT, *Travels*, p. 281; VIGNE, *Travels*, ii. pp. 175 sqq.

91. The Vitastā is supposed to have its source in the *Nīlanāga*; see note i. 28.

97-100. The interpretation of these verses, as well as the topographical details referred to in them, have been fully discussed in Note *I* in Appendix.

hāsapura [respectively]; whereas on the bank of the present [confluence], which has got to the vicinity of *Sundarībhavana*, [there stands the temple of] Hṛṣīkeśa *Yogaśāyin* ('Viṣṇu merged in mental abstraction'), the object of *Suyya's* worship.

101. To this day even there are seen, growing on the banks of the former river beds, old trees which bear the marks of the boat ropes fastened [to them] by the *Niṣādas*.

102. He made the different streams, with their waves which are [like] the quivering tongues [of snakes], move about according to his will, just as a conjurer [does with] the snakes.

103. After constructing stone embankments for seven Yojanas along the *Vitastā*, he dammed in the waters of the *Mahāpadma* lake.

104. Trained by him, the *Vitastā* starts rapidly on her way from the basin of the *Mahāpadma* lake, like an arrow from the bow.

105. Having thus raised the land from the water, like [another] primeval boar (Viṣṇu), he founded various villages, which were filled with a multitude of people.

106. Keeping out the water by means of [circular] dykes, he gave to these villages the appearance of round bowls (*kuṇḍa*). [Hence] the people called these [villages], which are amply provided with all [kinds of] food stuffs, by the name of *Kuṇḍala*.

107. Even at the present day the rivers, when low in the autumn, display multitudes of pales, which stick out, appearing like posts [used] for the tying up of water-elephants (*jalebha*) in rut.

101 The term *Niṣāda* is generally applied to wild aboriginal tribes living by hunting and fishing. Here evidently the boatmen of the Valley are meant (Kś. *hānz*'). These occupy to this day a very low position in the social scale, ranking considerably below the ordinary cultivator Fishing plays a great part in the Hānz''s livelihood; comp. LAWRENCE, *Valley*, p. 313.

103. Compare regarding the Yojana, note i. 264. K. does not state clearly from where the distance of seven Yojanas is to be measured, but the subsequent mention of the damming-in of the Vulur suggests that he refers to the length of the embankments constructed along the Vitastā in its course *above* the Vulur. This assumption is confirmed by the actual length of this portion of the river course. It is estimated by DREW, *Jammu*, p. 163, at fifty-four miles, between the Vulur and *Kan*ᵉ*bal* the highest navigable point on the river. K.'s seven Yojanas may be reckoned approximately as the equivalent of forty-two miles, which seems a sufficiently close approach to the above estimate.

106. Many of the villages situated in the marshy tract to the S. of the Vulur lake are enclosed by artificial embankments, and correspond in shape to the above description. Two of these villages, *Uts*ᵉ*kuṇḍ*ᵉ*l* and *Mar*ᵉ*kuṇḍ*ᵉ*l*, which are situated close together near the left bank of the Vitastā, at about 74° 40′ long. 34° 15′ lat., have preserved to this day in their names the designation *kuṇḍala* referred to by K. For *Suyyākuṇḍala*, see note v. 120. A *Jainakuṇḍala* on the bank of the Vulur is mentioned by *Jonar.* 954. The word *kuṇḍ*ᵉ*l*, from Skr. *kuṇḍala*, 'ring,' is still used in Kś. as the designation of the round earthenware bowl placed in the *kāng*ᵉ*r* (*kāṣṭhāṅgārikā*); see regarding the latter *Ind. Ant.*, xiv. pp. 265 sqq.; xv. p. 57.

AVANTIVARMAN (A.D. 855/6-883).

108. The pot full of money, which he had dropped in an unfathomable depth of water, was found in the midst of the dry land when [the village of] *Nandaka* emerged from the waters.

Suyya's irrigation system.

109. After examining the different classes of land, he procured a supply of river water for the villages, which thus were no [longer] dependent only on the rainfall.

110-112. After watering all village [lands], he took from [each] village [some] soil, and ascertained, by [observing] the time it took to dry up, the period within which irrigation would be required [for each soil, respectively]. He [then] arranged [accordingly] on a permanent basis for the size and distribution of the watercourse for each village, and by [using for irrigation] the *Anūlā* and other streams, embellished all regions with an abundance of irrigated fields which were distinguished for excellent produce.

113. Neither *Kaśyapa* nor *Saṁkarṣaṇa* (Balabhadra) bestowed those benefits which the virtuous *Suyya* produced with ease in that land.

108. The correct reading *dīnnārabhāṇḍam auyjhit sa* for A °*bhāṇḍān au*° is found in L; comp. v. 85.

109-112. For the cultivation of rice, which has always been the staple produce of the Valley, irrigation is indispensable We accordingly find the cultivated area, as it slopes down from the foot of the mountains towards the Vitastā or towards its tributaries in the side valleys, intersected by a network of irrigation channels, large and small. The system by which, at present, the water is taken off from the mountain streams at certain points of their course, and the arrangements for conducting and distributing it, have been carefully described by Mr. LAWRENCE, *Valley*, pp 323 sq. Many of the main channels will be found marked on the Survey maps, e g along the lower course of the Lidᵃr,Ārᵃpat, Sind, and other streams.

The system of irrigation must have been even more extensive in former times, when the population was greater Much land which is now allowed to lie waste on the mountain slopes, on the Udar plateaus and in the low-lying ground near the marshes, was then under cultivation This is shown by the number of old irrigation-cuts which once brought the water of the melting snows from high alpine *Margs*, but have long ago been abandoned. Such I could trace in some instances, e g on the Toṣᵃmaidān and on Gratᵃvath (between the Vulur and Sind Valley), at an altitude of over 11,000 feet.—Old canals serving irrigation purposes have already been mentioned in the *Sunᵃmanᵉ Kōl* (*Suvarṇamaṇikulyā*), i. 97, and *Nāndi*, note v 85.

I am unable to identify the stream specifically mentioned in our passage, or even to state with certainty its name. If the words *cakāra cānūlādyābhiḥ* contain the particle *ca*, the form of the name would be *Anūlā*, as shown in the translation, or *Anūlā* But the copulative particle is not necessarily required for the construction of the Tilaka. Hence the name could be taken as *Cānūlā*. The latter form actually occurs in a list of Kaśmīr river names as given by that version of the *Vitastāmāh.* which purports to be taken from the Ādipurāṇa (see Poona MS., No. 88, Coll 1875-76, and my own MS, No. 109). This evidence, however, is itself not certain, as the Nīlamata, in which the identical list recurs with slight variations (1352 sqq.), shows in all MSS. accessible to me the form *Samūlā* [A third text, which reproduces the passage, the *Varāhakṣetramāh.*, No. 85 of the Poona MSS., Collection 1875-76, gives the name as *Sasralā* This form is easily explained as a graphical error for *Samūlā*.]

113. Regarding the share of Kaśyapa in the desiccation of the Satisaras, whereby Kaśmīr was produced, see note i. 27. The Nīlamata, 165 sqq., attributes the draining to *Ananta* (i.e. S'eṣa). As he is related to have struck the mountains with the plough (*hala*), which is the characteristic weapon of *Balabhadra*, it is clear that the latter is meant. The Purāṇas consider Balabhadra or Saṁkarṣaṇa an epiphany of S'eṣa; compare *Viṣṇu Pur.*, ii. p. 211; v p. 12.

114-115. *Suyya*, who possessed accumulated religious merits, [achieved] in a single birth that holy work which Viṣṇu accomplished in four incarnations, *viz.* the raising of the earth from the water, the granting of it to worthy Brahmans, the construction of stone dykes in the water, and the subjugation of the [Nāga] *Kāliya*.

116-117. There, where previously from the beginning of things the purchase price of a Khārī of rice was two hundred Dīnnāras in times of great abundance, in that very land of *Kaśmīr* henceforth—O wonder!—the Khārī of rice came to be bought for thirty-six Dīnnāras.

118. On the bank of the *Vitastā*, where she leaves the waters of the *Mahāpadma* [lake], he built a town resembling heaven, which bore his own name.

119. On the lake reaching to the brink of the horizon, he established by his own authority a prohibition against the killing of fish and birds, which was to last till the end of the world.

114-115. The incarnations of Viṣṇu as *Varāha*, *Paraśurāma*, *Rāmacandra*, and *Kṛṣṇa*, are alluded to. In the first, the god in the form of a boar raised the earth from the bottom of the sea. In the second, he exterminated the Kṣattriyas and gave the earth to the Brahmans. In the third, he crossed with his army to the island of Laṅkā on the famous stone bridge which Hanumat and the monkeys constructed. His victory over the Nāga *Kāliya* in the fourth incarnation is compared with the damming-in of the Nāga Mahāpadma, i.e. the Vulur. Comp. *Viṣṇu Pur.*, i. p. 61; iv 23; iii. p 317; iv. 286 sqq.

With reference to the last comparison, it must be noted that a legend recorded by *Jonar.* 933, directly identifies the Mahāpadma Nāga inhabiting the Vulur with the *Kāliya* Nāga. The same story is known to the *Dhyāneśvaramāh.*, which speaks in verse 33 of Kāliya as worshipped in the *Ullolasaras* or Vulur.

116-117. *Jonar.* 876 alludes to the *subhikṣa* created by Suyya.

118. The town built by Suyya, and called after him *Suyyapura* (see gloss of A₂), is undoubtedly the modern *Sōpūr* The latter is situated exactly in the position described by K., on both sides of the Vitastā, and about a mile below the point where the latter leaves the Vulur lake. The ancient name of the place is still well-known to the Paṇḍits. Prof. BÜHLER, *Report*, p. 11, has already proved the necessity of this identification by a reference to our passage, whereas Cunningham (*Anc. Geogr.*, p. 99) had erroneously taken *Sōpūr* for K.'s S'ūrapura (recte Hurᵉpōr). Suyyapura is mentioned again by K., viii. 3128, in connection with the Mahāpadma lake, and by *Jonar.* 340, 869, 873. S'rīvara, iii. 183, refers to the building of a new royal residence at Suyyapura by Sultān Hasan Shāh.

Sōpūr is still a place of some importance, and showed at the census of 1891 a population of over 8000 people. For descriptions of the present town, which, as Prof. BÜHLER, *l.c.*, rightly puts it, "does not resemble heaven, and possesses nothing ancient except its name," see MOORCROFT, *Travels*, ii. p. 230; HÜGEL, *Kaschmir*, i. p. 358; INCE, *Handbook*, p. 220.

119. In the winter months vast flocks of wild geese and other water-fowl frequent the Vulur lake, where large numbers of them are shot by boatmen and others for sale in the city. The lake is also rich in fish, and the population dwelling in the villages near the lake lives largely by fishing. Compare MOORCROFT, *Travels*, ii. pp. 227 sq.; VIGNE, *Travels*, ii. p. 156; LAWRENCE, *Valley*, pp. 128, 157.

A similar prohibition against the killing of fish and birds on the lakes is recorded by *Jonar.* 958, in the reign of Sultan Zain-ul-'ābidin; comp. also above iii. 5; v. 64. As a modern instance of such '*ahiṁsā*,' it may be mentioned that fishing in the Vitastā was prohibited under great penalties for several years after the death of Mahārāja Gulāb Singh.

In the translation I have adopted the reading of A₁ *sthirā°*, confirmed by L, against *sthitā°* of A₂.

AVANTIVARMAN (A.D. 855/6-883).

120. After bestowing on Brahmans the village called *Suyyākuṇḍala*, in honour of [his mother] *Suyyā*, he constructed the [dyke called] after her name, *Suyyāsetu*.

121. On the lands which he raised from the water, thousands of villages such as *Jayasthala*, etc., were founded by *Avantivarman* and others.

122. King *Avanti*[*varman*] ruled the earth like *Māndhātṛ*, and by such pious doings made the Kṛta [Yuga] appear again.

Avantivarman's end.

123. When he was attacked by the illness which was to cause his decease, he proceeded to the site which adjoins the [shrine of S'iva] *Jyeṣṭheśvara* situated at the *Tripureśa* hill.

124. Having there become certain of his [near] death, he disclosed to *S'ūra*, at the end of his life and with folded hands, his attachment to the worship of Viṣṇu, which he had long hidden.

125. Listening to the end to the [recital of the] *Bhagavadgītā*, and thinking of the residence of Viṣṇu (Vaikuṇṭha), he cast off this [earthly] life with a cheerful mind.

126. That mighty ruler of the earth died in the year [of the Laukika era three thousand nine hundred and] fifty-nine (A.D. 883) on the third day of the bright half of Āṣādha.

127. After the death of this [ruler], the very numerous descendants of *Utpala*, whose minds were filled with pride on account of their power, aspired equally each and all to the throne.

S'AṀKARAVARMAN (A.D. 883-902).

128. Then *Ratnavardhana*, the Chamberlain, secured by his exertions the kingdom for *S'aṁkaravarman*, the son of King *Avantivarman*.

129. Actuated by enmity towards him (Ratnavardhana), *Karṇapa*, a councillor of *Vinnapa*, placed also a son of *S'ūravarman*, called *Sukhavarman*, in power as Yuvarāja.

120. The village of *Suyyakuṇḍala* (sic) is mentioned by *Jonar.* 943, in his description of the Vulur, as situated on the outskirts of the lake. I have not been able to trace its position. The *Suyyāsetu* is also unknown.

A, and L give the name of the village, evidently wrongly, as *Suyyakuṇḍala*.

121. The gloss of A, renders *Jayasthala* by *Jithan*; neither of these names is otherwise known.

123. The position of *Tripureśa* or *Tripureśvara* (Triphar) has been fully discussed in note v 46. The passage of the S'arvāvatāra there indicated proves the worship of a S'iva Jyeṣṭheśvara at that site. It is evident that K. wishes here to distinguish this Liṅga from the other and better known Jyeṣṭheśvaras whose places of worship have been identified in notes i. 113 and i. 124. He therefore specifies its position by the words *Tripureśādriniṣṭha*. The expression used leaves it doubtful as to whether the shrine was actually on 'the hill of Tripureśa' or at its foot, i.e. near the village of Triphar in the valley which leads down to the Dal lake.

Kṣemendra, in the colophon of the *Daśāvatāracarita*, mentions the *Tripureśaśailaśikhara* as his favourite place of repose.

124. I have followed above the reading *ciragopitam* of Durgāpr.'s edition, which, though not borne out by the MSS. (both A L have °*gopitām*), recommends itself as an emendation. Compare v. 43. The reading *śūraḿ*, conjectured by D. for *śūro* (thus A), is actually found in L.

129. Regarding *Vinnapa*, see v. 26.

S'AṂKARAVARMAN (A.D. 883-902).

130. Then there arose between these two, the king and the Yuvarāja, a war during which the kingdom was at every moment as if placed in a swing.

131. In this [war], *S'ivaśakti* and other valiant men, who lost their lives in the cause of their master, had an opportunity of getting their high character tested.

132. Though the enemies of their master promised them wealth and honours, they did not court [those] favours, [but thought] solely of their own high honour.

133. Servants were then still free from delusions, and, not having yet learned [to imitate] the conduct of dogs, proudly disdained to fight for morsels.

134. *S'aṁkaravarman* then defeated with difficulty the powerful Yuvarāja, and [hereby, as it were,] performed an effective benediction (*oṁkāra*) [at the commencement] of his own conquests.

135. Fighting numerous battles with *Samaravarman* and other [rivals], this sovereign superseded Fame, though she was to him [like] a fond wife, by the Glory which he gained [through these conquests, as his second wife].

Foreign expeditions.

136. Then the victorious and illustrious king, after having defeated his kinsmen and won over Fortune, put forth great efforts to conquer the world.

137. Though the country [of Kaśmīr] had through the action of Time become reduced in population and wealth, he had nine lakhs of foot-soldiers when he marched forth from the 'Gate' (*dvāra*).

138. He whose commands had been disregarded in the purlieus of his own capital, verily made the princes [abroad] place his orders on their jewelled crests.

139. King *S'aṁkaravarman* revived by his own judgment the tradition regarding the conquest of the world, which was falling into oblivion [even] in learned works.

140. His army was swelled from place to place by the troops of [feudatory] chiefs, as a large river by the streams which join it.

141. The shouts of his army were heard not by the troops of the lord of *Dārvābhisāra*, but by the mountain-gorges in which that frightened [ruler] took refuge.

142. He surrounded in a moment *Harigaṇa* with his [own] troops of horse

131. L gives the name as *S'ivabhakti*.

137 Regarding the meaning of *dvāra*, see notes i. 122, 302; also iv. 404. The route followed by S'aṁkaravarman's army (see note v. 143-144) makes it probable that the frontier station on the Pir Pantsāl route is intended here.

141. *Dārvābhisāra*, as shown in note i. 180, designates the territory of the lower hills stretching between the Vitastā and Cināb to the north of Gūrjara or Gujrāt. The term *Dānagalo*, by which the gloss of A₂ renders Dārvābhisāra in our passage, refers, as the note of the same glossator, i. 180, shows, to a tract in the neighbourhood of Bhimbhar. The latter place lies about twenty-eight miles due N. of the town of Gujrāt (see note v. 143-144).

142. The meaning of the verse is doubtful.

S'AṂKARAVARMAN A.D. 883-902).

(*harigaṇa*), which were exceptionally numerous among men, and made him the guest of another fortress even before he (Harigaṇa) could reach his [own] stronghold.

Conquest of *Gūrjara*.

143-144. While he, who had as the advance-guard of his army nine lakhs of foot-soldiers, three hundred elephants and a lakh of horsemen, was wholly bent on the conquest of *Gūrjara*, he caused *Pṛthivīcandra*, [the lord] of *Trigarta*, who was afraid of his own overthrow, to be laughed at in his gloomy delusion (*tamasi*).

145-147. He (Pṛthivīcandra) namely had previously given his son called *Bhuvanacandra* as a hostage, and was come into his (S'aṃkaravarman's) neighbourhood to do homage. Then [however], on seeing the army of that [king]

Harigaṇa is not mentioned elsewhere. The ruler of Dārvābhisāra can scarcely be meant, as the latter is subsequently, v. 209, referred to by the name of *Naravāhana* *Harigaṇa* may mean 'a troop of lions,' and the verse has been translated according to this interpretation by Troyer and Dutt.

143-144. The verse contains a pun on the name *Pṛthivīcandra*, 'the moon of the earth,' which is cast in darkness (*tamas*)

The name *Gūrjara* is preserved in that of the modern town of *Gujrāt*, situated in the Panjāb plain about five miles from the W. bank of the Cināb, 74° 7′ long 32° 34′ lat This evident identification is clearly indicated by the gloss of A_2, and has already been noted by WILSON, *History*, p 65 n, comp also LASSEN, *Ind. Alt*, iii. pp. 502, 1027.

The name of the modern town is also used in an extended sense for the designation of the neighbouring territory, comprising the upper portion of the Dōāb between the Jehlam and Cināb rivers to the foot of the Bhimbhar hills. In this sense the term is well-known in Kaśmīr

It appears that the older name *Gūrjara* had, at the time of the events here related, a much wider territorial application. K. represents subsequently, v. 150, as part of the kingdom of *Gūrjara* the *Ṭakkadeśa*, or land of the *Ṭakkas*, which, as Hiuen-tsiang's account clearly indicates (*Si-yu-ki*, p. 164 sqq., *Life*, p. 72), lay to the east of the Cināb. In explanation hereof, it will be sufficient to refer to the very numerous instances, both ancient and modern, in which Indian kingdoms were designated by the name of their capitals for the time being (comp., e.g., the use of the name Lahore for the whole Panjāb in the reign of Ranjit Singh)

For some traditions regarding the early history of Gujrāt, see CUNNINGHAM, *Anc. Geogr.*, p. 179.

For *Trigarta*, the old name of the hill district of Kāngra, see note iii. 100. The gloss of A_2 on our passage explains *Trigarta* as '*Nagarakoṭṭa*,' meaning thereby the modern *Kōṭ Kāngra*, the chief place of the Kāngra district The name Nagarkōṭ, as a designation of Kōṭ Kāngra and its famous old fortress, can be traced from the time of Maḥmūd of Ghazna to the present day; comp. Albērūnī's *India*, ii. p 11; CUNNINGHAM, *Arch. Survey Rep.*, v. pp. 155 sqq. [The proper Sanskrit name of the capital is *Suśarmapura* or *Suśarmanagara*, mentioned in the Baijnāth Praśasti; see *Epigr Ind*, i. 103 n., ii. p. 483.]

Cunningham, who refers at length, *l.c*, v. pp 149 sqq (also in *Coins of Med. India*, pp. 100 sqq.), to genealogical lists preserved by the descendants of the Kāngra Rājās, does not mention that the names of *Pṛthivīcandra* and *Bhuvanacandra* actually occur in them. He, however, justly points out that the word *candra*, which forms the second part of these names, is similarly found in all the names furnished by the family rolls. These names, from the 14th century downwards, can be checked by coins and other documentary evidence. It can, therefore, be safely assumed that the use of such names goes back to a much earlier period It is evidently due to the tradition connecting the Katōch Rājās of Kāngra with the Candravaṃśa. For a later ruler of this family, *Inducandra*, see below vii. 150

K.'s words do not make it clear whether S'aṃkaravarman's expedition did actually extend to Trigarta as assumed, e g by LASSEN, *Ind. Alt.*, iii. p. 1027. Kāngra lies far away to the E. of the route which K. seems to indicate when making the king proceed viâ Bhimbhar (Dārvābhisāra) to Gujrāt (Gūrjara), and hence to the W towards the upper Indus.

145. The word *nivi* in its rare meaning of 'hostage,' is fully explained by the gloss which A_1 began to write on our passage, and which A_2 completed; compare for the same use of the word, vii. 1473, viii. 839, 1259, 2216; Fourth Chron. 246.

with which moved many feudatory princes, as it marched towards him large as the ocean, and fearing to be captured by it on approach, he turned and fled far away, failing in resolve.

148. He whose incomparable beauty those acquainted with the [stories of the] past mention to this very day, appeared to the frightened princes terrible, like the god of death.

149. The firmly rooted fortune of *Alakhāna*, king of *Gūrjara*, he uprooted in battle in a moment, and made long grief rise [in its place].

150. The ruler of *Gūrjara* gave up to him humbly the *Ṭakka*-land, preserving [hereby] his own country, as [if he had saved] his own body [at the sacrifice] of a finger.

149. WILSON, *History*, p. 65, has already called attention to the strange name of *Alakhāna*, which has a curiously Muhammadan look. We might think of a temporary extension to the north of the Muhammadan kingdom of Multān, whose flourishing condition in the early decades of the 10th century is attested by interesting Arab accounts (see REINAUD, *Mémoire*, pp. 212 sqq.). But it is not easy to bring such an assumption into accord with K.'s subsequent statement as to Alakhāna's dependence on Lalliya S'āhi of Udabhāṇḍa. The *Hindu* dynasty of the 'S'āhis of Kābul,' of which Lalliya S'āhi was probably the founder (see note v. 152-155), and which held sovereign sway over the whole of the Northern Panjāb down to Maḥmūd of Ghazna, appears throughout its existence as a powerful opponent of Muhammadan advance.

150. The *Ṭakka*-land (Ṭakkadeśa) is mentioned only once more in the Rājat., vii. 1091, as *Ṭakkaviṣaya*. As an ethnic designation, *Ṭakka* is used in connection with the names of certain persons, vii. 520, 1001, 1064, 1207.

Cunningham has rightly connected the name Ṭakka with that of 'the kingdom of Tseh-kia,' which Hiuen-tsiang reached after travelling to the S.E. of Rājapuri or Rajauri (see *Anc. Geogr.*, pp. 148 sqq.; *Si-yu-ki*, i. pp. 165 sqq.). The kingdom of Tseh-kia is described as bordering in the E. on the Vipāśā (Biās), and in the W. on the Indus. Its capital was in close proximity to the old city of *She-kie-lo*. The latter place is undoubtedly identical with the ancient *S'ākala*, famous in Brahmanical and Buddhist tradition (V. DE ST.-MARTIN, *Mémoire analytique*, p. 77). S'ākala is mentioned in the Mahābhārata as the capital of the Madras or Bāhīkas, tribes settled in the modern Panjāb (LASSEN, *Pentapot. Ind.*, pp. 19 sqq.; *Ind. Alt.*, i. p. 801), and with the Bāhīkas we find the Ṭakkas actually identified in Hemacandra's synonymic Lexicon (*Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, ed. Boehtlingk-Rieu, verse 959).

The position of *S'ākala* has not yet been fixed with certainty, though it has been the subject of much speculation with special regard to the supposed identity of S'ākala with the Σάγγαλα of Arrian and the Σάγαλα (or Euthydemia) of Ptolemy (see e.g. CUNNINGHAM, *Anc. Geogr.*, pp. 179 sqq.). It is, however, probable that the ancient city was situated somewhere between the Cināb and Rāvi. There we should then have to look for the seat of the Ṭakka tribe, which in Hiuen-tsiang's time appears to have ruled the greatest part of the Northern Panjāb. Towards the end of the 9th century its power must have been considerably reduced, as in our passage the term *Ṭakkadeśa* is evidently used in a far more restricted sense than Hiuen-tsiang's 'kingdom of Tseh-kia.'

Cunningham (*Anc. Geogr.*, p. 151) was evidently right in tracing back to our Ṭakka the name *Tākēshar* which Albērūnī gives to a region situated to the S. of the Pīr Pantsāl Range and neighbouring on the region of *Lauhāwar* (Lahore). Compare *India*, i. 208; ii. 8, with the translator's note on the first passage; also Note *E* (iv. 177), § 12. [Cunningham thought to have recognised the name Ṭakka also in *Tāqin* (طاقن), the designation used for an Indian territory by Ibn Khordādbeh and Ibn Rosteh. Prof. De Goeje's critical editions of these geographers, however, show this name as *Ṭāfin* (طافن); see *Bibl. Geograph. Arabicorum*, vi. p. 13 (trans.); vii. p. 135. The position of this territory seems quite uncertain.]

The gloss of A₂ deserves mention only as a curiosity. This modern glossator sees in Takka the name of the 'Aṭak river,' i.e. the Indus, and identifies Ṭakkadeśa with *Skardo!*

For the custom here alluded to of cutting a finger as a mark of submission, see note viii. 1594.

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151. He caused the sovereign power, which the superior king *Bhoja* had seized, to be given up to the scion of the *Thakkiya* family, who had become his servant in the office of chamberlain.

152-155. *Alakhāna's* support, the illustrious *Lalliya S'āhi*—who, [placed] between the rulers of the *Darads* and *Turuṣkas* as between a lion and a boar, resembled *Āryāvarta* [as it lies] between the *Himālaya* and *Vindhya* [mountains]; in whose town of *Udabhāṇḍa* [other] kings found safety, just as the mountains in the ocean when threatened by the danger of having their wings cut [by Indra]; whose mighty glory [outshone] the kings in the North, just as the sun-disc [outshines] the stars in heaven, —he was not received into service by [S'aṁkaravarman], who desired to remove him from his sovereign position.

Foundation of *S'aṁkarapura*

156. When, after thus effecting the conquest of [all] regions, he returned to his own land, he built in a locality called *Pañcasatra* a town [called S'aṁkarapura] after his own name.

151. Cunningham, *Arch. Survey Rep.*, ii. p. 225; x p. 101, has proposed to identify the 'Adhirāja' *Bhoja* mentioned in our passage with the 'independent sovereign' (*parameśvara*) Bhoja, who is named as reigning in the Deogarh inscription, dated A.D 862, in a Gwalior inscription of A.D. 876, and in the Pehoa inscription of A.D. 882-883. This King Bhoja must, upon the evidence of the Siyaḍoṇi inscription, edited by Prof. Kielhorn, be assumed to have been a ruler of Kanyakubja or Kanauj; see *Epigr. Ind.*, i. p. 170.

In connection with the above named inscriptions our passage has been repeatedly discussed, thus by Mr. FLEET, *Ind. Ant.*, xv. p. 110; Dr. HULTZSCH, *Epigr Ind.*, i. p. 155, and more fully by Prof. BÜHLER, *Epigr. Ind.*, i. p. 186.

The wording of our passage is unfortunately not clear enough to allow of the proposed identification being considered as certain. As already pointed out by Prof. Bühler, K.'s words do not necessarily imply that Bhoja was S'aṁkaravarman's contemporary, as Cunningham assumed. Hence the close approach of the inscriptional dates above mentioned to S'aṁkaravarman's period of reign (A.D. 883-902) cannot be considered conclusive evidence for this identification. The text allows, in fact, an interpretation, according to which Bhoja somewhat preceded S'aṁkaravarman.

K.'s expression *Bhojādhirājena* further admits of the rendering, 'king of the Bhojas,' as suggested by Dr. Hultzsch, *l.c.* In this case we should have here the ethnic term *Bhoja*, which is well-known to the Epics and Purāṇas. It must, however, be mentioned that the exact location of this term is not known, and that the latter itself cannot be traced otherwise in historical documents.

The syntactical construction of our verse also offers difficulties. We miss the second object of the person with which *adāpayat* ought to be construed. The use of the locative (*Thakkiyakānvaye*), where we should expect the dative, is also peculiar.

I am unable to make any suggestion as to the name *Thakkiyaka*, which is not found elsewhere. Can it have anything to do with that of the Paṇḍit *Thakkiya* mentioned iv 494?

152-155. The historical data contained in this passage, as well as the position of *Udabhāṇḍapura*, have been fully discussed in Note *J*.

156. The identity of the town here referred to with the modern *Paṭan* is clearly established by verse v. 213. This informs us that the town founded by King S'aṁkaravarman, and called after his own name, was subsequently known only by the designation *Pattana*, 'the town.' The glossator in the note on this passage renders *Pattana* by *Paṭṭan*. This identification was known to the Paṇḍit informants of Cunningham (*J.A.S.B.*, 1848, p. 281), and to P. Sāhibrām, who speaks of the place as *S'aṁkaravarmapura* in his *Tīrthas*. The name originally intended for the town was undoubtedly *S'aṁkarapura*, and this is used by Kṣemendra, *Samayam.* ii. 13. The glossator A, on our own passage reproduces it in the Kś. form of *S'aṅkarpōr*.

It is possible that a recollection of the original name survived locally to the time of the glossator by the side of the customary designa-

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157. He was attached to [his queen] *Sugandhā*, the daughter of the illustrious *Svāmirāja*, the ruler of the northern region, just as the moon [is] to the full-moon day.

158. In company with her, the king, who resembled Indra, built in that fine town the [temples of S'iva] *S'aṃkaragaurīśa* and *Sugandheśa*.

159. In [charge of] these two temples of the lord of Gaurī, he placed the Brahman *Nāyaka*, who was versed in the four Vedas, and who was like a familiar dwelling-place to Sarasvatī.

160. Poets and kings of these modern times augment their own work by plundering the poems or the property of others.

161. Thus this ruler, who possessed but little character, had whatever was of value at *Parihāsapura*, carried off in order to raise the fame of his own city.

162. Because what gave fame to that city was [only] what is [still to be found] at *Pattana*,—the weaving of [woollen] cloths, purchase and sale of cattle, and the like.

163. The minister *Ratnavardhana*, who had secured the crown for the king, built the glorious [temple of] Sadāśiva, called *Ratnavardhaneśa*.

164. O wonder! Kings, after having purified themselves in the torrents

tion of Pattana: Paṭan, though the latter must have already prevailed in K.'s time. It may also be assumed that the annotator lost sight of v. 213, and erroneously thought he could recognize S'aṃkaravarman's town in the modern village of *S'ankarpōr* in the *Shāhābād* Pargaṇa (75° 14' long. 33° 37' lat.). Neither the name of S'aṃkarapura, nor that of Pañcasatra, can now be traced at Paṭan.

Paṭan is a large village situated on the high road from S'rinagar to Varāhamūla, circ. 74° 37' long. 34° 10' lat. It was formerly the chief place of the Tilᵘgām Pargaṇa; see MOORCROFT, *Travels*, ii. p. 113; VIGNE, *Travels*, ii. p. 166. Since Mr. Lawrence's settlement, it has become the headquarters of a Tahsil. Regarding the ruins of Paṭan, see note v. 158; comp. also v. 162.

157. *Svāmirāja* may be supposed to have been a ruler in the Dard territory, or in some neighbouring tract.

158. The temples founded by S'aṃkaravarman and his consort have been correctly identified by Cunningham with the two ruined temples still standing at the village of Paṭan. A full description of these structures, which are not of great dimensions, and which, unlike most Kaśmirian temples of old date, do not appear to have been surrounded by pillared quadrangles, has been given by Cunningham in *J.A.S.B.*, 1848, pp. 282 sq. For reproductions, see COLE, *Anc. Build.*, pl. 28-35.

Judging from K.'s remarks, v. 161 sq., it appears that S'aṃkaravarman obtained the building materials for his new town, and perhaps for these very temples, from the great ruins of *Parihāsapura* (Parᵉspōr); comp. Note F, iv. 194-204. The distance between the site of these ruins and Paṭan is only about seven miles, and communication by boat easy across the marshes of the Pambasar.

159. Abhinavagupta and subsequent Kaśmirian writers quote a *Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka* as an author on Alaṃkāra; comp. Prof. BÜHLER's *Report*, pp. 64, 67; *Cat. Catalog.*, p. 286. Could this possibly be the scholar mentioned in our passage? The *Cat. Catalog.* does not know of another writer of that name.

162. *Pattana* (lit. 'town') is here evidently used as the name of S'aṃkaravarman's town, and ought to have been shown accordingly in the Ed.; comp. v. 213 and note v. 156. K.'s description of the place as a lively market-town, without further distinction or objects of interest, is still applicable to the modern *Paṭan*, which has a fairly large Bazaar, and has become the headquarters of a Tahsil since the last settlement.

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of fame, become impure by indulgence in vices, like the elephants by [covering themselves with] dust after bathing.

Fiscal oppressions.

165. In course of time, then, the king's mind became absorbed by excessive habits of avarice, and he became an expert in the [art of] oppressing his subjects.

166. Losing most of his treasure by the distractions to which he abandoned himself, he carried off again and again, by skilfully designed exactions, whatever the gods and others owned.

167. This robber of what the temples possessed in villages and other [property], established two new [revenue] offices, called *Aṭṭapatibhāga* ('the share of the lord of the market') and *Gṛhakṛtya* ('domestic affairs').

168. He took from the temples the profits arising from the sale of incense, sandal-wood, and other [articles of worship], under the pretext that they were the [king's legal] share of the selling price.

169. Then, again, he plundered straightway sixty-four temples, through special officers [placed over them] under the pretence of [exercising] supervision.

170. The king resumed the villages which belonged to the temples, against a compensatory assignment (*pratikara*), and [then] cultivated the land himself as [if he were] an agriculturist

167. I translate according to L, which reads correctly *suragṛhagrāmā°* for A *puragṛha°*.

The interesting passage v. 167-177, has been recently translated by Prof. JOLLY in his paper *Rechtshistorisches aus der Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Festgabe an A. Weber, 1896, p. 86

For the correct understanding of the administrative details here referred to by K., it is necessary to consult Chapter XVII., 'The old administration,' in Mr. LAWRENCE's *Valley*, pp. 399 sqq. A perusal of our passage, and of other references in the Chronicle (see vii. 1088, 1107; viii. 2224, 2513), proves that the elaborate system of taxation which oppressed Kaśmīr until quite recent times, with its manifold imposts on all products and industries, its State monopolies and demands for forced labour, dates back to very early times. A statement of the revenue assessments on the different parts of the Valley in Akbar's time, is supplied by Abu-l-Faẓl (*Āīn-i Akb.*, ii. p. 366 sqq.), but it gives no details as to the various imposts of which these demands were composed. For very curious details regarding the taxes due from the villages and the town-population in 1871-72, see the official estimate of receipts for that year, reproduced by Mr. LAWRENCE, *Valley*, pp. 236 sq.

In this estimate we find a variety of direct taxes on market shops, artificers, etc. The collection of revenue from similar sources might have been entrusted to S'aṃkaravarman's new office, the *Aṭṭapatibhāga*.

The receipts of the *Gṛhakṛtya* office are partly specified below, v 176. They may possibly have included also fees levied at certain domestic events, such as marriages, Yajñopavītas, etc Fees of this kind are referred to in viii. 1428. The *gṛhakṛtyādhikāra* is mentioned again, vii. 42.

169. These temples may be supposed to have been such as had been founded by former kings and their families. Shrines of this kind are still in Kaśmīr under the Mahārāja's direct control.

170. The text of this verse, as given by A, is scarcely correct. I have translated above according to the reading *sotpattiḥ*, which I restore from *setpattiḥ* of L; A has *cotpattiḥ*.

It appears that the king resumed villages which had been held as Agrahāras by temples, on the understanding that a fixed amount should be returned in compensation from the revenue of these villages. The land of these villages was subsequently taken under direct fiscal management, which made it easy to reduce the compensatory allotment as explained in the next verse. Instances of certain plots of land being directly farmed by the State are not rare in

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171. He reduced the weight in the scales by one-third, and [still made out] that he gave more to the temple-corporation (*parṣad*) than the [due] annual allowance, pretending [that deductions were due] on account of food supply, price of woollen cloaks, and the like.

172. When he was in another region, he fined those villagers who did not come and carry their loads, for one year, by the value of the load [calculated] according to the [higher] prices of that region.

173. In the next year he fined without any fault all villagers in the respective villages, by the value of the load according to the same calculation.

174. Thus he introduced that well-known [system of forced] carriage of loads which is the harbinger of misery for the villages, and which is of thirteen kinds.

Kaśmīr. Such areas are technically known as *khud-kisht*.

A somewhat similar procedure was followed by Mahārāja Gulāb Singh. Soon after taking possession of Kaśmīr, he resumed almost all the Jāgīrs granted during Moghul, Paṭhān and Sikh times, and allotted in their stead fixed bounties, of considerably reduced value, from a consolidated fund since known as Dharmārtha.

171. The meaning of this verse is doubtful, and the text perhaps defective. For *varṣadeyāṁ* of A, I read now with L *varṣadeyam*. This word I take, like the *pratikara* of the preceding verse, to refer to the revenue assignment which had been made to the temples and their Purohita-corporations (*parṣad*) on resumption of the original land-grants.

In paying over the fixed assignment of rice or other produce, it was easy for the king's officials to defraud the grantees systematically by the use of wrong weights. Certain other contributions in kind made to the temples seem to have furnished an excuse for these unlawful deductions.

Land-revenue in Kaśmīr was until quite recent years generally realized in kind. This system was, as the *Āin-i Akb.* (ii. p 366) shows, evidently very old The great opportunities for peculation which this time-honoured system offers to officials of all classes, have been graphically described by Mr. LAWRENCE, *Valley*, pp. 409 sqq. Among the abuses connected with the system, the manipulation of the scales figures in the first place.

Regarding the proper meaning of the term *parṣad*, see note i. 88. A different explanation of the passage is given by Prof. JOLLY, *Festgabe an A. Weber*, p. 86; comp., however, the meaning of *tribhāga* in *P. W.*

172-174. We have in these verses probably the first reference to the system of forced labour, which under the name of *Kār-bēgār* has remained to this day one of the most characteristic features of Kaśmīr administration. The nature of the country, and the absence of proper roads, renders it necessary to use load-carriers in preference to all other means of transport. The system of *corvée* entailed hereby opens the way for much oppression. The manifold abuses connected with 'Bēgār' in Kaśmīr, are fully discussed by Mr. LAWRENCE, *Valley*, pp 411 sqq In the absence of a special labouring class, the whole demand for transport labour falls on the villagers. Expeditions outside the Valley have at all times been dreaded by the agriculturists, on account of the hardships implied by the increased requisitions for carriage Until the recent road to Gilgit was constructed, the rumour that transport was required for troops going in, or coming from, that direction, would cause a general stampede among the villagers (*Valley*, p. 413). The sufferings of the load-carrying villagers on such an expedition are referred to by K viii. 2513.

S'aṁkaravarman was certainly not the first to levy Bēgār for transport purposes, but he seems to have given to this *corvée* a systematic organization (*rūḍhabhāroḍhi*), and to have used it also for fiscal extortion. Villagers, it appears, who did not turn up to carry their allotted loads, were fined by the value of the latter at enhanced rates, and the same fine was levied the following year a second time from the village as a whole The thirteen kinds of the *corvée* referred to in verse 174 cannot be specified. The term *rūḍhabhāroḍhi* recurs in vii. 1088, where exemption from this impost is mentioned as a privilege granted to the Purohitas of a temple. Possibly the term included, like the modern *Kār-bēgār*, the various requisitions for village produce, until recently free of payment, which could be made by officials; comp. *Valley*, p. 414.

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175. By levying [contributions] for the monthly pay of the Skandakas, village clerks (*grāmakāyastha*), and the like, and by various other exactions, he drove the villagers into poverty.

176. Thus, by deducting or adding to the [due] weights, by fines on the villages and similar imposts, he amassed revenue for the *Gṛhakṛtya* [office].

177. He appointed in this special office five secretaries (*divira*), and as the sixth the treasurer (*gañjavara*) *S'akaca* (?), who was [also] called *Lavaṭa*.

178. Thus this foolish [ruler] accepted [residence in] hell for himself, in order to benefit by his sinful acts future kings or the functionaries.

179. None but *S'aṁkaravarman* was the cause that the learned in this land have lost respect and the kings their royal dignity.

180. By this king, who was foremost among fools, those sons of slaves, the Kāyasthas, were brought [to power], who by abstracting the wealth of honest people destroy [the kings'] renown.

181. Under his care the land fell into the power of the Kāyasthas to such an extent that its kings meet with reproach, as if they were plundering it.

Remonstrances of Gopālavarman.

182. When the people were thus cruelly suffering, the king's son, *Gopālavarman* by name, who was touched by compassion, on one occasion addressed [his father] with the following words:

183. "O father, the boon, which you once offered to me, has remained unclaimed. This I now ask from you who are true to your engagements."

175. The *grāmakāyastha* is in all probability the official ancestor of the present Paṭwāri (Kś. *paṭvār'*). The latter is the village accountant, who keeps the papers showing the area of the holdings of the villagers, with their revenue assessments, etc.; see *Valley*, pp. 400, 446. The meaning of the term *skandaka* is doubtful. It is found also *Samayam.* vi. 15. It designated, perhaps, the village headman, the modern Mnqaddam or Lambardār, who as the person directly rosponsible for the payment of the reveLue, has srce old days been an important factor in rural administration; comp. *Valley*, p. 447. [The proper spelling of the word is possibly *skandhaka*; comp. remark on *skandāvāra*, i. 60.]

In the statement of the taxes levied from a Kaśmiri village in 1888, we still find specified, in addition to the regular assessment, a 'Paṭwāri tax,' a 'Kānungō tax,' and a 'tax on account of establishment'; comp. *Valley*, p. 415. These taxes evidently correspond in character to the imposts mentioned in our passage. The latter shows also clearly that the institution of village officials existed long before the times of the Moghuls, to which it is popularly attributed; see Mr. LAWRENCE's *Valley*, p. 197, and my note thereon.

177. The proper explanation of the term *divira*, used by K. also in vii. 111, 119; viii. 131, has been given by Prof. BÜHLER, *Ind. Ant.*, vi. p. 10. From the passages of the Lokaprakāśa quoted there, it becomes evident that the Diviras were officials who had to do with writing and accounts. Thus a passage in the iii. Prakāśa mentions the various classes of Diviras as *gañjadiviras*, *nagaradiviras*, *grāmadiviras*, *khavāśadiviras*. The word is derived from the Persian *dibir*, 'writer, secretary'; see *N.P.W.*, s.v.

The *Lavaṭa* of our passage is evidently the same person who is referred to in v. 205 and viii. 263 as a load-carrier (*bhārika*) by origin. Could *śakaca* be a term referring to the same occupation? The term *gañjavara* is undoubtedly identical, as already recognised by Benfey, with the Persian *ganjwar*, 'treasurer'; see *P.W.*, s.v. In the list of officials given at the commencement of the Lokapr., the *gañjavara* is mentioned along with the *koṣṭhādhipati* and *gañjādhipati*,

184. "From these exactions which Your Majesty has introduced at the instigation of the Kāyasthas, breathing is the only vital function which nowadays remains [free] for men."

185. "And, indeed, my father, you do not derive the slightest benefit from this oppression of the people either for [this or the next] world."

186. "Who can account for what is told about the invisible and hidden sphere? [But] even in this visible existence one sees from such actions no other [result] but evil."

187. "On the one hand, there are the endless misfortunes of the subjects, such as plagues and famines, and on the other, again, nothing but the avarice of the king."

188. "The splendour of a ruler who practises avarice, causes no one pleasure, [as little as that] of a flower out of season, which does not promise a fruit."

189. "Liberality and kind speech bring everything under the power of the king. Avarice, [however], is bent with force upon destroying in the first place these two [qualities]."

190. "As the cloud destroys the lustre, duration, and splendour of a winter day, so does avarice that of the king."

191. "The kinsmen of [a king] who shuns enterprises from fear of their expense, become seditious. No servants would show devotion to him who is too faint-minded to reward their services. His own people will always attempt the life of [that king] who accumulates riches. What evil is there which avarice, [acting] like an enemy, does not quickly bring upon a king?"

192. "Therefore, O protector of the people, abolish this new impost, called 'the king's revenue' (*rājasaṁvāhana*), which has been introduced from avarice, and which takes away the people's life."

193. When the king had heard these words of the prince, which were inspired by benevolence, he slowly spoke as follows, while a smile lit up his under lip:

194. "This speech of yours, which charms by its human sentiments, and is in keeping with your [youthful] looks, brings now back to my mind the feelings of a bygone time."

195. "My dear son, once when I was a young boy and had a tender heart just like you, I cherished abundant affection for the people."

196. "As such I was taken about by my father, on foot and without shoes, dressed in heavy armour when it was hot, and in transparent [thin] cloth when it was cold."

197. "When those who went before [the king], saw me as I was running by

197. L correctly *tam aśūyiṣu°* for A *tam asū°*.

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the side of the horses during the chase and elsewhere, torn by the thorns and with tears in my eyes, they made representations to him."

198. "He replied to them; 'Since I have attained the throne from common rank, I know the hardships [experienced] by attendants at different times during their services.'"

199 "'After undergoing such misery, this [my son] will be sure to know the troubles of others when he comes to the throne Otherwise he might remain ignorant [of them], having been born on the throne'"

200. "Though my father gave me a good training by such devices, yet I have thus oppressed my subjects, since I attained the royal dignity."

201. "Just as living beings, when born, forget the pain [which they endured while] kept in the womb, so the king, as soon as he obtains the crown, needs [forget] his former thoughts"

202. "Therefore, you yourself should grant me to-day this one boon. May you not after ascending the throne oppress your subjects even more!"

203 Thus he spoke scornfully to the boy, who stood shame-faced, and the king's roguish confidants looked on, smiling at each other

204 Under this [king], who from fear of having to be liberal was averse to the society of distinguished men, poets like *Bhallaṭa* and others had to lead the meanest existence.

205. Great poets went without pay, but *Lavaṭa*, [who had been] a load-carrier, drew by his favour a pay of two thousand Dinnāras.

206. Thus this [king], who did not speak the language of the gods [among men, i.e. Sanskrit], but used vulgar speech (*apabhraṁśa*) fit for drunkards, showed that he was descended from a family of spirit-distillers.

207-208. The beard bound up under the head-dress, the forefinger at the point of the nose, the look fixed in abstraction,—these habits, which were befitting a person of merit, became the object of ridicule when [displayed] by the minister *Sukharāja*, who pleased the whims of the evil-conducted king, just as [when such habits are mimicked] on the stage

209 Fearing treachery, he slew at night the brave *Naravāhana*, king of *Dārvābhisāra*, who cherished no evil intent, together with his followers

204. *Bhallaṭa* is known as the author of the extant *Bhallaṭaśataka*, and a dictionary called *Padamañjari*; he is quoted repeatedly by Kṣemendra, comp. *Cat. Catalog.*, p. 397

205. Lavaṭa is evidently the 'treasurer of that name mentioned above, v 177.

K does not say for what period the allowance of 2000 Dinnāras was drawn From a comparison of iv 495, where the same expression *vetana* is used, it becomes probable that a daily allowance is meant, comp. also vii. 145 sqq After what has been explained regarding the 'Dinnāra' reckoning in Note *H*, two 'Thousanders' of the Kaśmir currency per diem cannot be considered extravagant pay according to modern ideas

209. The king of Dārvābhisāra here mentioned is probably identical with the

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210. Struck by the curse of the people, this king of wicked conduct lost twenty or thirty children without [previous] illness.

211. Those kings who do evil to their subjects, have their family, their glory, their life, their wives, nay, even their name, destroyed in a moment.

212. Thus it has been said [before], and will be said in future. And manifestly this should be held, since on account of his cruelty even the name of this [king] has vanished.

213. What other ruler founded, like *S'aṁkaravarman*, a city under his own name (S'aṁkarapura) which [subsequently] lost its [proper] appellation, and became known only by the name *Pattana* ('the town')?

214. A son of *Sukharāja's* sister, whom he had made 'lord of the Gate' (*dvārādhipa*), met his death through negligence at a place called *Vīrānaka*.

Naravāhana who figures as the son of the Dārvābhisāra king Nara in the pedigree of the Lohara family; see vii 1282 It is curious that the narrative does not explain how the king of Dārvābhisāra, who on S'aṁkaravarman's expedition to the south had retreated into the mountains, came to place himself in the king's power

210 The expression *triṁśadviṁśa* cannot be explained as 30 + 20, i e 'fifty,' as proposed in the gloss of A_1, in view of the passage viii 126, where the latter figure is impossible.

213 Comp note v. 156.

214 DVĀRĀDHIPA.—The term *dvārādhipa*, literally 'lord of the Gate (or Gates),' along with its equivalents, *dvārapati*, *dvāreśa*, *dvārādhiśvara*, *dvāranāyaka*, *dvārādhikārin*, is of most frequent occurrence throughout the Chronicle (see Index). It has hitherto been interpreted as denoting a chief chamberlain (*P. W.*, Troyer, Lassen), or the administrator of a supposed province Dvāra (Dutt). A careful examination of all passages makes it, however, quite certain that it designated the high officer who held charge of the passes leading into Kaśmīr. Of the latter we have shown in note i 122 that they were all uniformly known by the designation *dvāra* or 'gate'

In the note quoted, reference has already been made to the high importance which was attached at all times to the guarding of these passes. The mountain-barriers which enclose Kaśmīr like great walls, leave but a small number of approaches practicable for a foreign invasion. The history of Kaśmīr down to the present century shows clearly that it was on the defence of these approaches that the safety of the Valley has always depended. We can hence easily understand why the protection of these passes, and the general command over the watch-stations (*dranga*, *ḍhakka*) established on them, should have been entrusted to a special high officer, a kind of 'lord of the Marches.'

That this was, indeed, the function of the officer variously named *dvārādhipa*, *dvārapati*, etc, is made evident by a series of characteristic passages in the last two Books In viii 422 we are plainly told that the charge of the *dvāra* required soldierly qualities and implied rough duties, vii 217 shows us an officer holding the *dvārādhikāra* who, like the Dvārādhipa of our passage, falls bravely in battle with the Khaśas. That the latter held the territories immediately to the S and W. of the Kaśmīr Valley, and were always troublesome neighbours, has been shown in note i 317 Thus, too, we find the valiant Kandarpa as 'lord of the Gate' ever engaged in expeditions against Rājapurī and other frontier territories, vii 576 sqq, 971 sqq. Of his successor it is specially noted that he was able to carry on his duties owing to his wealth, which permitted him to keep up a large armed force, vii 599 sq Subsequently, when Kandarpa had resumed once more the charge of the 'Gate,' he successfully wards off an inroad of the pretender Bhuvanarāja, vii. 966 (comp. also vii 581). It is he, too, who endeavours to prevent the escape of the rebel prince, Vijayamalla, by closing the routes leading to the Darad territory, vii 912 Malla, a member of the royal family, while holding temporarily the post of Dvārapati, under Kalaśa, wages war on neighbouring chiefs, and invades Uraśā, vii. 584 sqq Another 'lord of the Gate' is represented, vii 1172, as exercising judicial power over the commandant of a frontier fort, etc

Throughout the viii. Book, too, we see the successive 'lords of the Gate' exercising military functions, particularly in connection

S'AṄKARAVARMAN (A.D. 883-902).

215. Roused to anger by this [event], the king set out on an expedition himself, and after destroying *Vīrānaka*, proceeded full of lust [for conquest] towards the northern region (*uttarāpatha*).

with troubles in the border territories; comp. e.g. viii. 574, 592, 746, 1005, 1832, 1927 sqq., 2281, 2503 sqq., etc.

From the expressions which K uses when recording the frequent transfers of the Dvāra office (comp. e.g. vii. 578, 597; viii 633, 2354), it is clear that the charge of the 'Gate' could be held ordinarily only by one person. Still more conclusive evidence is furnished by the fact that in all the numerous passages in which the detailed narrative of the last two Books has occasion to refer to the successive Dvārapatis, we never find mention of more than one person holding this post at the same time.

It is of interest to note this point, as it indicates the difference between the 'lord of the Gate' of the Hindu period and the *Mārgeśas* or 'guardians of the routes' who figure so prominently in the narrative of the later Chroniclers. These Mārgeśas (also called *mārgapa, adhvapa, adhveśa, mārgapeśa*) are generally referred to in the plural, and in connection with particular routes across the mountains (comp. *S'rīv.* iii. 462; iv. 137, 154, 225, 353, Fourth Chron. 198, 208, 216, 264, 295, 301, 311, 384, etc.). They are clearly meant for the Maliks of Muhammadan times. These were feudal chiefs who held hereditary charge of specific passes, and were bound to furnish garrisons for the frontier posts on these passes in return for the revenue of certain lands assigned to them; comp. my *Notes on the Pir Pantsāl Route*, p. 383, and Hügel, *Kaschmir*, i. p. 347; ii. pp. 167 sqq.

Extensive as the power and privileges of the Maliks were down to the Sikh conquest, it is yet clear that we must see in them rather the successors of the old *draṅgādhipas* or commandants of frontier stations whom K. mentions on particular routes (see viii. 1577 sqq, 2808; also vi. 1172), than of the 'lords of the Gate' who held general charge of the approaches to the Valley

The official position of the *Dvārapati* must have been a very high one, as his post is repeatedly mentioned by K. along with the chief State charges, such as the offices of the prime minister (*sarvādhikāra*), the commander-in-chief (*kampana*), chief-justice (*rājasthāna*), the *pādāgra* post; comp. vii 364, 887; viii. 578, 1964 It was superior to that of a *maṇḍaleśa* or governor; comp. vii. 1178.

The post of the 'lord of the Gate' is most frequently referred to under the name of *dvāra*; comp. vii. 364, 578, 595, 887, 1178; viii. 21, 179, 451, 1630, 1634, 1964, etc. '*Dvāra*' is here an abbreviation for *dvārakārya* (vii. 1177; viii. 293, 790) or *dvārādhikāra* (vii. 216); comp. the use of *kampana*, as explained in note v. 447.

That the functions of the chief-chamberlain, which the interpretation hitherto generally adopted has attributed to the Dvārapati, were in reality discharged by another State official, will be seen from the account given of Kalaśa's coronation, vii. 232 sqq.

VĪRĀNAKA —The details given in the following verses show that the route followed by S'aṃkaravarman's expedition after the destruction of *Vīrānaka* lay to the north-west. Hence we should be inclined to look for Vīrānaka somewhere in the Valley of the Vitastā below the 'Gate' of Varāhamūla. This assumption is supported by the other passage which mentions Vīrānaka, viii. 409. We read there how Sussala, after an unsuccessful attempt to seize the Kaśmīr throne, found temporary refuge in Vīrānaka, 'a seat of *Khaśas*'

The encounter in which Sussala was defeated by the troops of his rival Salhaṇa, was fought not far from *Huṣkapura-Varāhamūla* (see viii. 890 sqq.). Sussala ultimately regains from Vīrānaka his stronghold Lohara by mountain tracks, which the snow had rendered difficult to pass. Sussala's defeat took place in mid-winter, when the direct routes leading over the Pir Pantsāl range to Lohara (Loh'rin) must have been entirely closed. At this season communication with Lohara is possible only by the lower passes to the west (*Hajji Pir, Pajjah*), which connect the Vitastā Valley below Varāhamūla with the territory of Parṇotsa, or Prūnts (see Note *E* on Lohara, iv 177). It is, therefore, probable that Sussala's route of retreat lay first to the W., and that his subsequent escape from Vīrānaka to Lohara was effected by one of the last-named passes.

I had arrived at the conclusion above indicated before I was able to utilize for the identification of Vīrānaka the indication furnished by the gloss of A_2, which says *Dvāravidyāyāṁ Vīrāṇakam*. The name *Dvāravidyā* does not occur otherwise, but the use of a similar local appellation in the gloss, v. 225, which places Bolyāsaka in '*Dvāravati* near Varāhamūla,' suggested to me that some part of the lower Vitastā Valley might be meant by it. The inquiries which I consequently

216. When he had conquered numerous territories on the banks of the Indus (*Sindhu*), and had received the homage of [their] terror-stricken kings, he turned back from that [region]. S'AṂKARAVARMAN (A.D. 883-902).

217. As he passed through *Uraśā*, there arose suddenly a conflict with the inhabitants of *Uraśā*, on account of the quartering of his troops. March through *Uraśā*.

made in May, 1896, on my way to Kaśmīr, soon showed me that the name Dvāravidyā is still well-known to the Pahārī population in the form of *Dvārbidī*. It is commonly used as the name of that part of the Vitastā Valley which extends from Muzaffarābād up to a point a short distance above Buliāsa (Skr. *Bolyāsaka*; see note v. 225). In the form *Dvāravidyā* we have probably an attempt to render the modern name Dvārbidi, which itself is evidently derived from the old Skr form *Dvāravatī* used in the gloss, v. 225.

[The map has actually *Dvārbidi*, but shows it erroneously as the designation of a small tract in the centre of that portion of the Valley to the N. of Hattian. The error is probably due to the fact that the old Pahārī name has been replaced in official use by the term Dopaṭṭa. The latter is taken from the locality which has since Sikh times been the administrative centre of this territory].

After ascertaining that *Bolyāsaka* or Buliāsa still comes within the territory of Dvārbidi, I was also able to trace the position of Vīrānaka. The easternmost limit of Dvārbidi is marked, according to the uniform statement of the inhabitants I had occasion to examine, by a hill-spur known as *Kaudanda*, which runs down from the N. and strikes the river a little to the E. of the village of *Kūca* (map 'Poocha') at a point circ. 73° 52′ long. 34° 10′ 30″ lat.

On the high ridge which on the left river-bank meets the Kaudanda spur, and almost due S. of the latter, lies the village of *Vīran*. In this I have no hesitation to recognize our *Vīrānaka*. The name of Viran is not shown on the Survey map, but its position is correctly indicated by the sign marking a village, about one mile to the S.E. of 'Poocha.' Want of time prevented me from visiting the village itself, which lies about 1500′ above the level of the Valley. According to the information supplied to me, it does not contain any ancient remains.

It deserves to be noted that the chief land-owning families on the left side of the Valley for some distance above and below Viran are still of the *Khakha* tribe, whose identity with the Khaśas of the Chronicle has been shown in note i. 317. Another point which speaks strongly for the identity of Viran with Vīrānaka, is its position almost opposite to *Buliāsa* : *Bolyāsaka*. Of the latter place, we know for certain that it lay on the very border of Kaśmīr territory. And the circumstances under which Vīrānaka is mentioned both in our passage and viii. 409, make it clear that it too must have been in the immediate vicinity of the Kaśmīr frontier towards the Khaśas.

216. The next verse shows that S'aṁkaravarman's expedition must have been directed towards those portions of the Indus Valley which lie to the N. and W. of Hazāra (Uraśā). The easiest route from Kaśmīr to these regions leads down the Vitastā to the great bend near Muzaffarābād, where the river turns from its north-westerly course to the south, and hence up the Kunhar Valley to the N. or through Mansahra to the W. The mention of *Bolyāsaka* in v. 225 makes it clear that this route was taken by the king's forces on their march back to Kaśmīr. From the position of Vīrānaka, as ascertained in the preceding note, we may safely conclude that the same route was followed also on the outset of the expedition. Among the territories on the Indus which can be reached by this route, some, like Cilās, and Sazin, lie almost due N., others to the N.W. of Kaśmīr Hence K.'s expression *uttarāpatha* is sufficiently accurate.

217. *Uraśā*, given as a local name in the gaṇa to Pāṇini, iv. 2, 82, is undoubtedly the ancient designation of the hill region which lies between the upper course of the Vitastā and the Indus. Its greatest part is now comprised in the British district of Hazāra. LASSEN was the first to recognize in Uraśā the territory of Ἄρσα or Οὔαρσα which Ptolemy, vii. i. 45, places between the Bidaspes and Indus; comp. *Pentapot. Ind.*, p. 35. Hiuen-tsiang describes it as the 'kingdom of *Wu-la-shi*,' situated to the N.W. of Kaśmīr, and dependent on the latter; comp. *Si-yu-ki*, i. p. 147; *Life*, p. 68.

Uraśā is probably meant also by the *Uragā* of the Mahābhārata, a country mentioned between *Abhisārī* (see above note, i. 180) and *Siṁhapura* (Salt Range); comp. LASSEN, *Zeitschr. f. d. Kunde d. Morgenl.*, ii. pp 45, 52. The king of this region figures under the name of *Arsakes* in the account of Alexander's Panjāb campaign; see LASSEN, *Ind. Alt.*, ii. pp. 155, 175. Regarding the

S'AṂKARAVARMAN (A.D. 883-902).

218. A S'vapāka, who had posted himself on a hill summit, discharged [at him] a swift-flying arrow, and this pierced the neck of the unwary [king].

219. In a dying condition, he ordered his ministers to lead and save the army, and [then] left that locality carried in a litter (*karṇīratha*).

Death of S'aṃkaravarman, A.D. 902

220-222. Deprived of the power of sight, he slowly recognized by her speech the Queen *Sugandhā*, who stood [by him] crying and embracing his body. Speaking with difficulty, he entrusted to her protection his son *Gopālavarman*, who had no relatives and was [yet] a child. [Then] while the arrow was being pulled out, he died on the march in the year [of the Laukika era three thousand nine hundred] and seventy-seven (A.D. 902) on the seventh day of the dark half of Phālguṇa.

223. *Sukharāja* and the other [ministers] guarded the army safely through the enemy's territories, and kept on the march, concealing his [death] by [various] stories.

224. By means of cords, which made his head bend down and rise like that of a puppet, they caused him to return the greeting of the feudatories who had come [to do homage].

extent of Uraśā and its capital in Hiuen-tsiang's time, compare CUNNINGHAM'S *Anc Geogr.*, pp. 103 sqq., also *Ind Ant.*, xx p 338.

The whole hill-tract was known in Muhammadan times generally as *Pakhli*, and is described under this name, e.g. *Āīn-i Akb.*, ii p 390 sq. Regarding the name Hazāra and the modern history of the district, see *Gazetteer of the Hazara District*, 1883-84, pp. 19 sqq. It is worthy of notice that the northern portions of the tract were governed from Kaśmīr even during Sikh rule.

K.'s references to Uraśā fully confirm the above identification, and show that the close connection with Kaśmīr which existed in Hiuen-tsiang's days, continued into later times. Under Kalaśa, Uraśā is occupied by a Kaśmīrian force which crosses the *Kṛṣṇā* river, i.e. the Kṛṣṇagaṅgā; see vii 585 sq. The direct route from Kaśmīr into Hazāra at present crosses this river above its junction with the Vitastā at Muẓaffarābād. Abhaya, king of Uraśā, the son of Muṅga, subsequently appears with other dependent princes at the court of Kalaśa, vii. 589. The daughter of Abhaya was married to Bhoja, the son of King Harṣa, viii 16. Payment of tribute by Uraśā is mentioned in the reign of Sussala, viii 574, and a victory of Jayasiṃha over Dvitīya, king of Uraśā, alluded to in K.'s own time, viii 3402 (compare the note on this passage regarding the position of *Atyugrapura*, i.e. Agrōr in Hazāra).

From v. 225 we learn that it took the Kaśmīrian troops six days to reach the frontier of Kaśmīr territory at *Bolyāsaka*, from the place where S'aṃkaravarman was wounded. This locality has been identified in note v. 225 with the present *Buliāsa* on the right bank of the Vitastā about four miles below Kathai. From the latter place exactly six daily marches are still counted to Abbottabad, the modern administrative centre of the Hazāra District; comp. Drew, *Jummoo*, p. 528. The route here followed (viâ Muẓaffarābād, Garhi Habibullah and Mansahra) has always been considered the easiest line of communication between Kaśmīr and the regions to the W. It may, therefore, safely be assumed to have been used also by the Kaśmīr army on its return from the Indus.

In view of this, and the close agreement of the distances, it seems probable that the encounter with the inhabitants of Uraśā in which S'aṃkaravarman was mortally wounded took place somewhere in the hills about Abbottabad. It is to be noted in this connection that *Mangali*, where popular tradition, according to Cunningham, *Anc. Geogr.*, p 104, locates the ancient capital of the country, lies on this route between Abbottabad and Mansahra.

218. *S'vapāka* (also *śvapaca*), literally 'dog-cooker,' is the designation of a despised low caste; comp. *P.W.*, s.v. K. uses the term as the equivalent of *ḍomba*; comp. v. 388, 390 sqq., 407; also vii. 1052.

S'AṄKARAVARMAN (A.D. 883-902).

225. When after six days they had reached the place called *Bolyāsaka* in their own [territory], and were free from fear, they performed his funeral rites.

226. Three queens, *Surendravatī* and [two] others, followed the king [to death], and also a clever and grateful Velāvitta (?) *Jayasiṁha* by name.

227. Two servants [also], *Lāḍa* and *Vajrasāra*, followed him. Thus he was quickly consumed by the fire, together with these six who had ascended the funeral pyre.

GOPĀLAVARMAN (A.D. 902-904).

228. Then *Gopālavarman*, who excelled in virtue and kept faithful to his engagements, ruled the earth under the guardianship of [his mother] *Sugandhā*.

229. Though living among favourites of low character, and still in his boyhood, he did not acquire bad habits.

230. The king's mother, who in her widowhood [became] very dissolute through sensual enjoyments, fell in love with the minister named *Prabhākaradeva*.

231. Pleased with his ardent love, she bestowed upon him fortune, rank and love, like three crescents on a diadem.

232. As superintendent of the treasury (*kośādhyakṣa*), he plundered the riches of the amorous [queen] and vanquished the *S'āhi* kingdom at *Udabhāṇḍapura*.

233. He bestowed the kingdom of the rebellious *S'āhi* upon *Toramāṇa*, *Lalliya's* son, and gave him the [new] name *Kamaluka*.

225. The gloss of A, places *Bolyāsaka* 'in *Dvāravati* near Varāhamūla.' It has already been shown in note v. 214 that Dvāravati corresponds to the present *Dvārbidi*, the designation of that portion of the Vitastā Valley which extends from above Muzaffarābād to a short distance beyond the village of *Buliāsa*. In the latter place, which is situated on the right bank of the Vitastā, 73° 51′ long. 34° 11′ lat., and on the old route from Muzaffarābād to Kaśmīr, we can safely recognise K.'s *Bolyāsaka*.
The name *Prlāsa*, under which the locality is shown on the map, is that in common use with the Pahāri population. The Kaśmīris, however, settled in the valley below Varāhamūla at Kathai, Haṭṭiān, and other places, pronounce invariably the name as Buliāsa. Of this I was able to convince myself by inquiries made at different occasions and in different localities. *Buliāsa* is phonetically the direct derivative of Bolyāsaka. Buliāsa has given its name also to a well-populated valley which opens to the N. of the village. Regarding the position of Buliāsa. Bolyāsaka on the old frontier of Kaśmīr territory in the Vitastā Valley, see note v. 214.

226. The meaning of the term *velāvitta* is uncertain. It recurs vi. 73, 106, 127, where it is used for the designation of some official or courtier of King Yaśaskara. In vi. 106 the *velāvitta* is referred to along with the friends, relatives, and servants of the king. A *velāvitta* in favour with Queen Diddā is mentioned vi. 324.—The formation of the word seems similar to that of *prasādavitta*, 'a favourite'; comp. vii. 290, 725, and *N.P.W.*, s v.
The form *velāvittaḥ*, as conjecturally emended in the text of our passage, is actually found in L.

230. For *Prabhākaradeva's* descent, see below v 469 sqq.

231. I translate according to the reading of L °*candratrayā*°, instead of A °*cakratrayā*°. The former is recommended by the comparison of vii. 195, where a royal diadem is described as adorned with five crescents (*candraka*).

232-233. Regarding the *S'āhis* and their capital, *Udabhāṇḍa* : *Vaihand*, comp. Note J, v. 152-155.
The identity of *Toramāṇa-Kamaluka* with *Kamalū*, the third ruler in Albērūnī's list of the 'Hindu Shāhiya dynasty' (*India*, ii. p. 13), has been shown in my paper, *Zur Geschichte der Çāhis von Kābul*, p. 200. A story of the Jāmi'-ul-Hikāyat (see ELLIOTT, *History*, ii. pp. 172, 423) makes *Kamalū*, 'Rai of Hindustān,' the contemporary of 'Amrū bin Lais, Governor of Khorāsān (A.D. 878-901). This agrees closely enough with the date which the Chronicle indicates for the expedition against

GOPĀLAVARMAN (A.D. 902-904).

234. Then he returned and entered the city, swelled by victory and proud of his person, which was the abode of prowess and love.

235. This paramour of the king's mother, full of arrogance on account of the victory he had gained, daily caused the humiliation of brave men by the slights [he inflicted on them].

236. While he invested the royal palace, it was unapproachable for anyone else, just like the house of a courtesan [while occupied] by a low-class lover.

237. When King *Gopālavarman* had by degrees realized the state of things, this robber of his wealth and honour became for him a terrible eyesore.

238. When the king insisted on an inspection of the treasury-chests, he told him that all that was missing in the treasury had been spent on the expedition against the *S'āhi*.

239. Thereupon the treasurer became afraid of the king, and caused his relative *Rāmadeva*, who was versed in witchcraft (*khārkhoda*), to use sorcery [against the king].

240. Through this bewitchment, King *Gopālavarman* fell into a hot fever and died after a rule of two years.

241. The wicked *Rāmadeva*, when his misdeed became known, was terrified by fear of the king's punishment, and committed suicide.

SAṂKAṬA (A.D. 904).

242. Then *Gopālavarman's* brother *Saṃkaṭa*, who had been picked up from the highway, obtained the throne. He died after ten days.

SUGANDHĀ (A.D. 904-906).

243. Thereupon when King *S'aṃkaravarman's* lineage had died out, *Sugandhā* herself assumed the royal power at the bidding of the subjects.

244. She built [the town of] *Gopālapura*, the *Gopālamaṭha*, the [temple of Viṣṇu] *Gopālakeśava*, and also a town called after her own name, for the increase of religion.

the S'āhi capital and Kamaluka's installation (Gopālavarman's reign, A.D. 902-904). The nameless S'āhi whom Kamaluka replaced according to K., is perhaps identical with *Sāmand* (Sāmanta), the second S'āhi ruler in Albērūnī's list.

The reading *Toramāṇāya* of A_2, against A_1 *Tomarāṇāya*, is confirmed by L. The name *Toramāṇa* is probably of Turkish origin (see *Epigr. Ind.*, i p. 239, and above, note iii. 103), and it is interesting to meet with it here in a dynasty which Albērūni distinctly designates as Brahman. But we know that this dynasty had succeeded to an ancient family of undoubtedly Turkish descent, and can thus easily account for the survival of the name.

239. For the term *khārkhoda*, see note iv. 94.

244. The gloss of A_3 renders *Gopālapura* by *Guripura*. By the latter name probably the modern *Gūr'pūr* is meant, a small village on the left bank of the Vitastā below Avantipura, 75° 3' long. 33° 57' lat. I have not been able to trace any ancient remains at this place. A similar name, *Gur'pōr*, is borne by a small quarter in the *Rāṇ'vōr* Zillah of S'rinagar.

The *Gopālapura* mentioned viii. 1471 is evidently a different place situated outside Kaśmir, in the region of Rājapuri (Rajauri). A ruler of Gopālapura is named by S'rivara, i. 508, among the princes of distant lands, who sent presents to Sultān Zain-ul-'ābidīn.

The *Gopālamaṭha* and *Gopālakeśava* are not otherwise known, nor can I trace any other reference to *Sugandhāpura*.

SUGANDHĀ (A.D. 904-906).

245. *Nandā*, the wife of *Gopālavarman*, who was descended from an unblemished family, founded, though yet a child, the *Nandāmaṭha* and the [temple of *Nandā*]*keśava*.

246. *Jayalakṣmī*, a wife of *Gopālavarman*, was at that time enceinte, and her mother-in-law, who was anxious to have the family continued, placed her reliance on her.

247. The child of this [queen] died after its birth, and the deeply-grieved [Sugandhā then] endeavoured to bestow the kingdom on some of her relatives.

Rise of the Tantrin power.

248. At that period the host of Tantrin foot-soldiers had formed a confederacy, and was strong enough to punish or to favour the rulers of this [land].

249. Thereupon *Sugandhā* herself ruled for two years, relying on the Ekāṅgas and through the good-will of the Tantrins.

245. L correctly °*kāriṇī* for A °*dhāriṇī*.

Nothing is known as to the buildings here mentioned. The name *Nandāmaṭha* is rendered in the gloss of A₂ by *Nandimaṭha*, which is probably intended to produce a Kś. form **Nand'mar*. (For Kś. *mar* < Skr. *maṭha*, frequent in names of city quarters, comp. *Did'mar* : *Diddāmaṭha*, vi. 300, *Braḍ'mar* : *Bhaṭṭārakāmaṭha*, vi. 240, etc.). No local name of this form seems now to be known.

246. Read with L *antarvatnyām* and *patnyām* for A *antarvatnyāḥ* and *patnyā*, respectively. For *Jayalakṣmī* as a proper name, see vii. 124.

248. The *Tantrins*, so frequently mentioned in the account of the succeeding reigns, appear to have formed in Hindu times a military caste of strong organization. The period of internal troubles between the accession of Pārtha and the defeat of S'aṁkaravardhana by Cakravarman (see v. 249-340, A.D. 906-936), seems to have seen the power of the Tantrins at its height. They are represented by our narrative as true Prætorians. They formed also subsequently an important and often troublesome element in the army, in which they seem to have served chiefly as foot-soldiers. They are distinguished from the mounted forces, vii. 1513; viii. 375, 932, 937, and figure as royal guards, viii. 303; for other passages see the Index.

The name *Tantrin* survives in the tribal name or 'Krām' *Tāntrⁱ*, which is borne by a considerable section of the Muhammadan agriculturist population of Kaśmīr. Families claiming the *Tāntrⁱ* Krām may be found in most of the towns and villages throughout the Valley.

The distinctions of race or caste which may be supposed to have once separated the numerous *Krāms* of the agricultural population have long ago disappeared. There is nothing now to distinguish a *Tāntrⁱ* family in appearance or customs from any other Musulmān villagers. Nor have I been able to trace any genuine tradition as to the original character of the *Tāntrⁱ* tribe. Compare on the complicated subject of the Kaśmīr Krāms, Mr. Lawrence's *Valley*, p. 306 sq. ("There is no restriction on marriage, and a Musulmān of the Tāntre Krām can either marry a Tāntre girl or any other maiden of the villages, provided she be one of the agricultural families.")

249. The exact meaning of the term *ekāṅga* cannot be established with certainty. It is frequently used in Taraṅgas v-vii. for the designation of an armed force (see Index). It has not yet been found outside the Chronicle. Troyer and the authors of the *P.W.* have assumed that the Ekāṅgas were royal bodyguards, and various passages show that this interpretation cannot be far from the truth. They are mentioned, along with the Sāmantas (feudal lords), ministers, Tantrins and Kāyasthas (officials), as influencing the affairs of the court and state, v. 342, 446; vi. 91, 132; vii. 185. They fight with the Tantrins, who support another claimant to the crown, v. 289, and save Queen Diddā from a rebel force, whose onslaught they oppose in orderly array at the palace gate, vi. 244. They protect King Anantadeva with equal devotion against a pretender, and are freed in return by the grateful prince from the harassing service at the 'Akṣapaṭala'; comp. vii. 155-162. It is in the vicinity of the Akṣapaṭala (see note v. 301), that Harṣa endeavours to collect a force of Ekāṅgas for a final struggle, vii. 1604.

The latter references seem to show that the Ekāṅgas were a body organised in military

SUGANDHĀ (A.D. 904-906).

250. On one occasion she assembled the ministers, feudal chiefs, Tantri and Ekāṅgas in council, in order to invest some fit person with the reg power.

251-252. Her wish was to place upon the throne, since Avantivarma family had died out, *Nirjitavarman*, a grandson of *S'ūravarman* and son *Sukhavarman*. He was born from her own relative *Gaggā*, and she hoped th out of family attachment, he would follow her will.

PĀRTHA (A.D. 906-921).

253-255. Some ministers remonstrated: "How can he be fit for the thro who has got the nickname *Paṅgu* ('the lame one'), because, after spending t night in dissipation, he sleeps all day and is unable to get up?" While they we thus combating the queen's proposal, the Tantrin foot-soldiers, who had united a separate faction, made *Pārtha*, the son of *Nirjitavarman*, king. [He was the ten years old.

256. They thought by the ousting of *Sugandhā* that they obtained reven for the sayings of the treasurer (Prabhākaradeva) injurious to their honour.

257. Deprived of her sovereign power, she left the royal palace, making h rolling tears take the place of a necklace of pearls.

258. As she went out, she saw that every one of the old servants, w had appeared to her a supporter, made common cause with the enemies.

Sugandhā's return (A.D. 914).

259. In the year [of the Laukika era three thousand nine hundred] eight nine (A.D. 914) the Ekāṅga troops went forth united, and brought back *Sugand* from *Huṣkapura*, where she had been staying.

260. When at the end of Caitra they heard of her approach, all the Tantri who had taken *Pārtha*'s side, marched forth in fury, eager for battle.

261. Having arranged their masses in battle array, they defeated t Ekāṅgas, whose union was broken, in the month Vaiśākha of the year [of t Laukika era three thousand nine hundred] ninety (A.D. 914), and captured t flying [queen].

Death of *Sugandhā*.

262. After imprisoning her, they put her to death in the *Niṣpālaka* (?) Vihā Strange are the ways of fate, ever falling and rising.

fashion, but employed chiefly for police duties. Their modern counterpart in Kaśmir would thus be the '*Paltan Niẓāmat*,' a regiment specially maintained until a few years ago for the support of the civil authorities, the collection of revenue, etc.; comp. LAWRENCE, *Valley*, p. 402. The gendarmes of continental Europe are an institution of similar origin.

251. For *Sukhavarman*, see v. 129.

257. The expression *kṛtādhikārā* seems to contain an allusion to the 'garland of office' (*adhikārasraj*) given as the insignia of hi office; comp. note vii. 1363.

259. The next verses show that Sugandh return must have fallen towards the end the Laukika year 3989, i.e. in the early p of A.D. 914.

261. Read with L °*saṁghātā babandhus tā*

262. It is doubtful whether we have g in *niṣpālakavihārāntas* a name, as *niṣpāla* could also be taken with *P.W.* as 'having guardian.' No mention is made elsewhere this Vihāra.

263. Then there arose in this noble land a series of misfortunes which caused the destruction of wealth and lives everywhere. PĀRTHA (A.D. 906-921).

264. *Paṅgu* (Nirjitavarman), the father, acted as the guardian of the child-king, and, together with the ministers, being bent only on the amassing of bribes, oppressed the people.

265. The kings were in the service of the Tantrins, and ousted each other, like village officials, by offering greater and greater bribes.

266. In this land, the rulers of which had conquered *Kanyakubja* and other [countries], the kings [now] maintained themselves by giving bills of exchange (*huṇḍikā*) to the Tantrins.

267-268. The sons of the minister *Meruvardhana*, the same who built at *Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna* the illustrious [shrine of] Viṣṇu called *Meruvardhanasvāmin*, at that time accumulated riches by oppressing the subjects. They intrigued in deep-laid plots, but hid [as yet] their aspiration to the throne.

269. *S'aṁkaravardhana*, the eldest of them, formed a secret alliance with *Sugandhāditya*, and [together with him] secretly plundered the royal palace.

270. At that time, while the people suffered, the whole autumn rice crop was destroyed by a flood,—[this appeared] like a caustic thrown in a wound.

271. In the terrible year [of the Laukika era three thousand nine hundred] ninety-three (A.D. 917/8) the people were destroyed by a famine, as it was difficult to obtain food while the Khārī sold for a thousand [Dinnāras]. Great famine (A.D. 917/8).

272. One could scarcely see the water in the *Vitastā*, entirely covered [as the river] was with corpses soaked and swollen by the water in which they had long been lying.

273. The land became densely covered with bones in all directions, until it was like one [great] burial ground, causing terror to all beings.

274. The king's ministers and the Tantrins became wealthy, as they amassed riches by selling stores of rice at high prices.

266. The *huṇḍikā*, mentioned again v. 275, 302, is certainly, as already recognised by Troyer, the *huṇḍi* of modern India. Detailed information as to the various kinds of *huṇḍikās*, their negotiation, etc., is given in the Lokaprakāśa, ii.

267-268. Regarding the identity of *Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna* with the modern *Pāndrēṭhan*, see note iii. 99. In the well-preserved little temple still standing in the village of Pāndrēṭhan, we may safely recognise with Cunningham the *Meruvardhanasvāmin* of our passage. The building stands at present in the water of a shallow tank which has occupied the place of the original courtyard. The temple has been noticed already by the earlier European travellers; comp. MOORCROFT, *Travels*, ii. p. 240; HÜGEL, *Kaschmir*, i. p. 260; VIGNE, *Travels*, ii. p. 38, etc. For a full description, see *J.A.S.B.*, 1848, pp. 283 sqq., and COLE, *Anc. Build.*, p. 29 with plate.

The rare word *cākrika*, 'intriguer,' is a favourite expression with K.; comp. vi. 272; viii. 289, 375, 586, etc. It is derived from *cakrikā*, 'intrigue,' iv. 376; v. 280, 296, etc., and is used in Maṅkha's Kośa as a rendering of *cāṭaka*. The word is, perhaps, connected also with the expression *cakramilana*, viii. 2790.

PĀRTHA (A.D. 906-921).

275. The king would take that person as minister who raised the sums due on the Tantrins' bills, by selling the subjects in such a condition.

276-277. As one might look from inside his hot [bath-]room upon all the people outside distressed by the wind and rain of a downpour in the forest, thus for a long time the wretched *Paṅgu*, keeping in his palace, praised his own comfort while he saw the people in misery.

278. Thus demons of kings led to destruction at that time those subjects who had been dear to *Tuñjīna* [I.], *Candrāpīḍa*, and other protectors of the people.

279. The kings at that time could nohow secure a long reign, and resembled the bubbles produced [in the water] by a downpour of rain on a dull day.

280. Sometimes *Pārtha* would gain the power for himself by ousting his father, sometimes [again] his father ousted him through intrigues with the Tantrins.

281. The young *Sugandhāditya* pleased the wives of *Paṅgu* by sexual intercourse, just as a stallion a troop of mares.

282. In ardent love-embraces he appeased the amorous desire of the Queen *Bappaṭadevī*, and she, again, by rich gifts his lust for wealth.

283-284. The lovely Queen *Mṛgāvatī*, whom *Meruvardhana's* sons had themselves given in marriage to *Paṅgu*, in order to establish their rule by the love-charms of their sister—she, too, of beautiful limbs, approached of her own accord *Sugandhāditya* in ardent desire, and enjoyed herself with him just as a loving woman with her beloved.

285. Daily he served in turn for the enjoyment of these two queens, just as one eating vessel [used in turn] by two wives of a poor man.

286. In order to secure the throne for their respective sons, these two vied with each other in offering to their minister as fees the pleasures of love, along with rich presents.

NIRJITAVARMAN (A.D. 921-923).

287. Then in the month of Pauṣa in the year [of the Laukika era three thousand nine hundred] ninety-seven (A.D. 921) *Pārtha* was overthrown by his father, *Paṅgu*, whom the Tantrins supported and installed as king.

CAKRAVARMAN (A.D. 923-933).

288. This [prince], without merits [from previous births], died in the month of Māgha in the year [of the Laukika era three thousand nine hundred] ninety-eight (A.D. 923), after having placed on the throne his child-son named *Cakravarman*.

289. Thereupon the Tantrin foot-soldiers, taking the side of *Pārtha*, who was anxious to seize his father's throne, fought a battle with the Ekāṅgas.

275. K. seems to refer to the mortgaging of villages for loans to pay up the Tantrins.

276. By *uṣṇamandira* the Hamām is meant, the favourite dwelling-place of a Kaśmirī in the cold season; see i. 40.

278. Comp. for Tuñjīna I. and Candrāpīḍa, ii. 11 sqq. and iv. 45 sqq., resp.

280. L reads rightly *pitā* for A °*pyabhūt*.

282. L correctly °*ārthaiṣaṇām* for A °*ārtheṣaṇām*.

286. By the expressions *nidhuvanaśraddhā* and *sadakṣiṇā*, an allusion is intended to the *S'rāddha* sacrifice with its accompanying fees (*dakṣiṇā*).

289. The reading of L °*syāmacarair* makes

290. The child-king was for some time under the guardianship of his mother, *Bappaṭadevī*, and [then] for ten years under that of his grandmother, *Kṣilikā*. Cakravarman (A.D. 923-933).

291. Since youth hid his wicked character, no fault attached to the fostering care which these two [bestowed] upon him, just as if they had fondled a snake while yet in the egg-shell.

292. Then in the year [of the Laukika era four thousand and] nine (A.D. 933/4) the Tantrins overthrew *Cakravarman* and made *S'ūravarman* [I.], the son of *Paṅgu* from *Mṛgāvatī*, king. S'ūravarman I. (A.D. 933-934).

293. His uncles and ministers, who cherished no affection and were solely looking to their own advantage, caused the overthrow of this king by not paying what was due to the Tantrins.

294. Though this prince was of good character, he could as little find favour with the Tantrins without rich gifts, as a man of good qualities [could find favour] with courtesans [without rich presents].

295. When a year had passed, the Tantrin foot-soldiers deposed him, and seeing the chance of profit, made the liberal *Pārtha* once more king. Pārtha restored (A.D. 934-935).

296. The courtesan *Sāmbavatī*, a mistress of *Pārtha*, who was known for the skilful plotting by which she conciliated the bands of Tantrins, founded the [shrine of S'iva] *Sāmbeśvara*.

297. Then in the month Āṣāḍha of the year [of the Laukika era four thousand and] eleven (A.D. 935) *Cakravarman*, who awaited his time and offered great riches, was once more made king. Cakravarman restored (A.D. 935).

298-300. The sons of *Meruvardhana* had before profited by their intrigues in ousting *Pārtha* and the other [kings], though they had in various positions obtained their sustenance from those very [kings]. They had ousted from the throne his father and brother, and after giving a girl (Mṛgāvatī) in marriage, had again and again done injury to their relations. Yet upon them, whose faults had thus become evident, that [king] of perverted mind bestowed offices.

301. He made *S'aṁkaravardhana* superintendent of the *Akṣapaṭala*, and placed the false and deceitful *S'aṁbhuvardhana* in charge of the *Gṛhakṛtya* [office].

the Ekāṅgas the partisans of Pārtha; but see v. 295.

296. The gloss of A_2 places this shrine in 'the village of *Sāmboraṇa*.' Perhaps, the modern *Sōmbur* is meant, a small village on the right bank of the Vitastā, 74° 59′ long. 33° 58′ lat. (map 'Samra'). No ancient remains can now be traced at the place.

297. Read with L *tato yacchan dhanaṁ* for A *tato 'pyaicchad dhanaṁ*.

301. The exact application of the term *akṣapaṭala* is not quite certain. It does not seem to occur in other published texts, and has been variously interpreted. The *P.W.*, following Troyer and referring to *akṣa*, 'law-suit,' gives to *akṣapaṭala* the meaning 'court of justice.' The *N.P.W.* takes it as 'archive,' and this interpretation is accepted by Prof. Jolly, *Festgabe an A. Weber*, p. 85.

Our safest guide is, perhaps, the gloss of A_2 on v. 389, which explains *akṣapaṭala* as the *gaṇanādhipatiṣṭhāna*, i.e. 'office of the Accountant-General,' and gives *aṭṭale* as the modern equivalent of the term. This word

CAKRAVARMAN restored (A.D. 935).

302. As, from want of money, he could not pay to the Tantrins [the amounts] due on bills, he fled in fear in the month Pauṣa of the same year.

303. While he stopped in *Maḍavarājya*, *S'aṁkaravardhana*, who aspired to the throne, sent *S'aṁbhuvardhana* to negotiate with the Tantrins.

S'AṀBHUVARDHANA (A.D. 935-936).

304. The latter deceived his elder brother, and after winning over all of them by repeated promises of yet greater bribes, got them to instal himself on the throne.

305. The Timi fish, though living in sacred water, feeds upon his own kind. The heron, keeping silence [like a hermit], stalks the Timi and eats him. Then the hunter, living on the outskirts of the forest [like an ascetic], kills the heron. Thus one gets above the other by employing greater and greater skill in deceit.

306. On one occasion *Cakravarman*, after losing his throne, came to the house of the Ḍāmara *Saṁgrāma*, who lived at *S'rīḍhakka*.

307. The Ḍāmara recognized the king by his beautiful appearance, and making obeisance with folded hands, led him in haste to his own seat.

308. After he had related how he had lost his kingdom, and the rest, and had asked for help, the Ḍāmara, who thought that he had been made gracious [only] by misfortune, spoke thus to him with deference:

309. "Tantrins or blades of grass, are they counted in battle? Which is the task in which I should not be ready to help you?"

310. "But assuredly, when you have attained power, you will destroy us. For kings forget the help given as soon as their object is achieved."

[311-323. Verses describing generally the proverbial ungratefulness of kings towards those who have helped them in distress.]

aṭṭala is no longer known in Kaśmīr. The passages which mention the *akṣapaṭala*, permit of the interpretation indicated in the gloss.

From our own passage, as well as v. 389; vi. 287, it is evident that the 'superintendent of the Akṣapaṭala' held an important post. In v. 398, we read of a land-grant being executed in the Akṣapaṭala by the recorder of official documents (*paṭṭopādhyāya*) Of special interest are the passages vii. 162, 1604, 1609, already discussed in note v. 249. They show the military police of the Ekāṅgas attached to the Akṣapaṭala office. It is now curious to note that the modern *Daftar-i Nizāmat* which until the recent administrative changes represented in Kaśmīr the 'Accountant-General's office' of modern Indian administration, had actually under its control the force called *Paltan Nizāmat*, to which that of the Ekāṅgas, as shown in note v. 249, closely corresponds.

If the meaning given by the gloss is correct, the five *gaṇanāsthānas* referred to in iv 691 may be supposed to have been subordinate sections of the Akṣapaṭala. From an inscription (*Epigr. Ind.*, i. p 73), Prof. Jolly, *l.c.*, quotes the title *mahākṣapaṭalādhikaraṇādhikṛtya* given to a high official who issues a royal land-grant. The word *akṣapaṭalīya* occurs in a list of miscellaneous terms given in the Lokaprakāśa, i.

Regarding the *gṛhakṛtya* office, see v. 167.

302. The luni-solar month Pauṣa of the Laukika year 4011 began on the 14th November, A.D. 935

305. L °*cañcutāyāḥ* as emended in Ed.

306. The position of *Srīḍhakka* is unknown. Regarding the significance of *ḍhakka*, see v. 39.

311-323. For translations of these verses, see BÖHTLINGK, *Ind. Sprüche*, passim.

324. "Therefore, if you promise to look upon us at all times in kindness, I march before you with troops on the very morrow."

S'AṀKARAVARDHANA (A.D. 985-986).

325. On hearing these words, the king replied, with his lips lit up by a smile of embarrassment: "I shall protect you who have first come to my assistance, as my own self."

326. Thereupon king and Ḍāmara placed their foot on a sheepskin sprinkled with blood, and mutually took an oath by sacred libation (*kośa*) sword in hand.

327. Then in the morning, *Cakravarman*, having collected a numberless host of fierce Ḍāmaras, set forth to reach the capital.

Cakravarman's victory over the Tantrins (A.D. 986).

328. Simultaneously, on the eighth day of the bright half of Caitra, the Tantrin foot-soldiers marched out for battle with *S'aṁkaravardhana* at their head.

329. *Cakravarman* hastened to display his personal valour which he had [hitherto] hidden, while awaiting his time, and with which they had not reckoned.

330. When the terrible fight had commenced outside *Padmapura*, he spurred on his steed and slew first *S'aṁkaravardhana*.

331. As soon as the leader had been killed there, the Tantrin army dispersed in a hundred directions, resembling a ship tossed about on the ocean by the fierce onslaught of a storm.

332. The king, in hot pursuit, cut off their escape by the quickness of his horse and their heads in rows by his sword.

333. As *Cakravarman* rushed about in battle, the numerous fringes of his head-band (*vīrapaṭṭa*) appeared like the bushy mane of a lion.

326. By the equivalent expressions *kośaṁ kṛ* or *kośaṁ pā* ('to drink the draught'), K. refers repeatedly to the oath taken by means of a sacred libation, comp. vii. 8, 459, 747; viii. 2091, 3006. Persons who have taken such an oath are spoken of as *pītakośa* (iv. 558; v. 422; vi. 225; vii. 492, viii. 280, 1656), or *kośapīthin* (v. 423; vi. 211). This form of oath is well-known to several of the Smṛtis, where it figures under the name of *kośa* as one of the nine kinds of ordeal, see Prof JOLLY's *Recht u. Sitte*, p 145, *Yājñavalkya*, ii. 112 sq.; *Nārada*, i. 326 sqq; *Viṣṇu*, xiv. A sacred image is bathed in water, and the person to whom the oath is administered, is made to swallow a certain quantity of this consecrated water. If any calamity befall him or any near relative of his within a certain subsequent period, it is taken as a proof of his guilt.

The texts quoted by Prof Jolly (*l. c.* p. 146), know of the *kośa* ordeal or oath both as a means of exculpation and as a procedure calculated to create confidence with reference to a subsequent transaction. K.'s references in the above quoted passages fully illustrate this second employ of the 'Kośa.' We find it there taken either on occasions of a reconciliation between former enemies when a solemn assurance of mutual goodwill for the future is desired, or more frequently in connection with secret confederations and conspiracies. In the latter case the Kośa is intended to secure mutual faithfulness, and to guarantee secrecy among the confederates.

The gloss of A_2 on our passage and vii. 459 render *kośa* rightly by *divya*, 'sacred oath'; comp. also the gloss of A_2 iv. 558 (*śapatha*).

Our passage and viii. 3006 refer to another curious custom accompanying the ceremony of *kośapāna*. By the words of the text, and the explanation given in the gloss of A_2, we are led to assume that those who went through that ceremony had to place their legs crosswise on a sheepskin over which blood had been sprinkled. I am unable to trace such a custom elsewhere in India.

S'AṀBHUVARDHANA (A.D. 935-936).

334. What more [need be said]? Five or six thousand Tantrins fell killed in a short time on the field of battle.

335. *Cakravarman* laid the Tantrins on the ground to rest, as it were, from the brunt of the battle in the shade of the vultures' wings.

336. The valiant *S'aṁkaravardhana* adorned the bed of heroes (the battle-field), together with his dead followers of noble descent and good qualities.

337. Who did not envy the Tantrins, who found in close union their success and in close union their end?

338-340. The evil-lived Tantrins had previously, like cruel snake-charmers, reduced princes deserving of respect, unapproachable, and of great descent, to helplessness, as if [they had been tamed] snakes. Making ever new demands, they had wantonly, for the sake of their living, exposed them to shame in playful tricks. *Cakravarman*, who felt deep indignation at this contemptuous treatment, destroyed them in a moment, as [if he had been] a great snake, with the hot poison of his secret hatred.

CAKRAVARMAN king a third time (A.D. 936-937).

341-347. Then on the second day, while the brave *S'aṁbhuvardhana* collected the Tantrins, broken up as they were, *Cakravarman*, in the glory of his victory, entered the city surrounded with affection by the feudal chiefs, ministers, and Ekāṅgas who had met him. His shouting troops, who marched on various routes, extended to the horizon. He rode in the midst of his horsemen on a noble steed, which seemed to dance. With his left, which held the reins, he raised his helmet when it slid down. His earrings were illuminated by the rays proceeding from his sword, which reflected the sun, and which was held in the glistening grasp of his other sweating hand. He struck terror by his rigid face, where his brows were contracted in frowns, and which showed the pain caused to his neck by his high armour. With exclamations of disgust, he threatened the marauders who had looted the shops. He encouraged the frightened citizens by signs with his head and his eyes, and the ears he deafened by the din of his kettle-drums, which drowned the benedictory exclamations of the citizens.

348. While he stepped on to the great throne elated with victory, *Bhūbhaṭa* brought up *S'aṁbhuvardhana* from some place in fetters.

349. This wretched man, to show his faithfulness, killed like a Caṇḍāla before the king the prisoner, who, from fear of the stroke, had closed his eyes.

350. From *S'aṁbhuvardhana* onwards, servants, in disregard of the sacred law, began treacherously to murder kings who ought to be esteemed like fathers.

336. An allusion to the bamboos (*vaṁśa*) and strings (*guṇa*) of the Indian bedstead is intended.

351. King *Cakravarman*, after he had got his kingdom clear of enemies, became in time filled with overbearing, and committed cruel and evil acts.

CAKRAVARMAN king a third time (A.D. 936-937).

352. Led away by the delight of ruminating over panegyrical descriptions of his valiant deeds, he fell under the power of parasites, bards, and other flatterers.

353. Deceived in his mind by these praises, he thought himself a god, and thus committed acts which were devoid of judgment.

354. At that time the king granted an audience in the outer [reception hall] to a famous Ḍomba singer called *Raṅga*, who had come from abroad.

Raṅga, the Ḍomba, received at court.

355. The doorkeepers seated in proper order the ministers and chiefs who had come, and made an open space before the king.

356. The assembly was lit up by the glitter of lamps, and made resplendent by the white head-dresses, and thus resembled the couch formed by S'eṣa, which is illuminated by the jewels borne on his serpent-hoods.

357. The cool evening winds, which sportively played in the garlands formed by the royal ladies' braids of hair, spread perfume.

358. The rows of round windows were lit up by the faces, fragrant with spirits, of the gazelle-eyed [ladies] of the seraglio who were anxious to watch the musical performance.

359. Then the Ḍomba-singer stepped forward, followed by his band, which was resplendent with necklaces, golden bracelets on arms and hands, and other [ornaments].

360. His sweet-eyed daughters, *Haṁsī* and *Nāgalatā*, made those assembled stretch their necks in curiosity, and keep [motionless] as if painted.

[361-386. The Ḍomba girls win the heart of the king by their singing and acting, which are described in conventional Kāvya fashion. The enamoured king, encouraged by the sophisms of one of his favourites, pays no regard to the low caste of the singers, and takes *Haṁsī* and *Nāgalatā* into his seraglio. He falls wholly into the snares of their arts of love.]

387. *Haṁsī* was raised by the love-blind king to the rank of chief queen, and enjoyed among the king's wives the fanning with the Chowries.

388. Those who partook of the food left over by her, had their seats in the court, not only of *Cakravarman*, but of other subsequent kings.

389. Cunning subservience to the Ḍombas led to the rise of ministers, and secured important offices like the Akṣapaṭala and others.

370. L *prītimān vyājā°* better than A *pratimāvyājā°*.

374. L *virahaṁ* preferable to A *viraho*.

378. For the correct interpretation of this verse translated *Ind. Sprüche*, 6005, comp. gloss of A_2.

388. Comp. vi. 69.

389. Regarding the *akṣapaṭala*, see note v. 301.

CAKRAVARMAN king a third time (A.D. 936-937).

390. Some S'vapākas (i.e. Ḍombas) did not themselves act as councillors, as they were fools, but others who were clever, managed the king's affairs as if they were ministers.

Ḍombas in power.

391. Robbers as ministers, a S'vapāka-woman as queen, S'vapākas as friends: What wonders were [left] for King *Cakravarman* [to achieve]?

392. Having bathed after menstruation, the S'vapāka woman made presents of her clothes bearing menstrual stains, and the ministers came to court with the proud ambition to dress themselves in such [clothes].

393. Those few, who, even at the risk of the king's enmity, did not eat at that time the food remnants of the S'vapākas, were equal to the drinkers of Soma.

394. Surely gods of fierce might did not [then] dwell in this land. Otherwise how could then a S'vapāka woman have entered their temples?

395. When she went, on the festival of *Tiladvādaśī*, to visit the [temple of Viṣṇu] *Raṇasvāmin*, only the proud Ḍāmaras among the chiefs did not follow her.

396. An order coming from the mouth of the Ḍombas, who were proud of their relationship with the king, was respected by everybody as a royal [order], which has to be obeyed.

397-398. When the king had granted the village of *Helu* to *Raṅga* as an Agrahāra, and the recorder of official documents (*paṭṭopādhyāya*) did not execute the document relating to the grant (*dānapaṭṭaka*), then *Raṅga* proceeded to the Akṣapaṭala [office] and thus addressed that [official] in anger: "You son of a slave, why do you not write: '*Raṅgassa Helu diṇṇa*' ('Helu to be granted to Raṅga')?"

399. Thereupon he wrote with trembling, frightened by the frowns of *Raṅga* What break of decency will not occur under a king of evil conduct?

400. When that [wicked] king inquired as to the expiation of the sin of having had intercourse with that outcast woman, his parasites made him perform ridiculous penances (*prāyaścitta*).

401. "As snow dissolves snow, so too one sin the other." Thus the parasites told that king of vile character.

393. The eating of food remnants is generally prohibited by the Smṛtis; comp. e.g. *Manu*, iv 211, *Viṣṇu*, ii 10

395. The *tiladvādaśī* is a festival celebrated on the 12th day of the dark half of Māgha, when sesamum grains (*tila*) are to be offered in sacrifice, etc The *Nīlamata*, 488 sq, mentions the Tiladvādaśī, and indicates the six-fold rites to be performed on that day with sesamum; from these the festival derives its popular name in Kaśmīr, *ṣaṭṭila*; comp. *P.W.*, s.v. *ṣaṭṭiladāna*, also *Padmapur*. I. lvii. 24 sq.

Regarding the temple of *Raṇasvāmin*, see note iii 454.

397-398. The words quoted in the original represent the modern Kaśmīrī *Rangas Helu dyun* The use of the vernacular instead of the official Sanskrit is to characterize the boorishness of the Ḍomba. We have in these words probably the earliest extant specimen of Kaśmīrī.

401. K. had here perhaps the Kaśmīrī proverb in mind: *nuv ṣin chu gālān prānis ṣinas*, 'fresh snow makes old snow melt'; comp. viii. 565.

402. Wishing to remove the sin of intercourse with an impure person by intercourse with a pure one, he dishonoured the wife of a Brahman, who was engaged in a monthly fast. CAKRAVARMAN king a third time (A.D. 936-937).

403. At that time there were some Brahmans even more sinful than he, who took food in his palace and accepted Agrahāras even from him.

404. Bad as he was, he founded the *Cakramaṭha* for the residence of Pāśupata ascetics. It was half-built when he died, and was completed by his wife.

405. Forgetting their former help, this royal lover of a S'vapāka woman treacherously killed guiltless Ḍāmaras who trusted in him.

406. Some Ḍāmara robbers who had his confidence, kept near him in order to kill him by deceit, and waited for an opportunity to carry out their treason.

407. Once they found him at night unarmed relieving himself in the privy which was near the bed-chamber of the S'vapāka woman.

408. Then having found their opportunity, they let suddenly fall upon him, from all sides and quickly, an uninterrupted stream of numberless sharp weapons.

409. When, his eyes yet dimmed by sleep, he was awakened by the strokes of the weapons, he raised terrible cries, just like a person who falls into a pond while asleep on the bank.

410. Searching for a weapon, as he was unarmed, and streaming with torrents of blood, he ran and entered that bed-chamber, followed by his assailants.

411. He found no weapon, and following him, they killed him in the embrace of the crying S'vapākī, while his body rested on her swelling breasts.

412. Freely urged on by the king's own wives, they crushed his knees with a large stone as he lay dying.

413. He who had been exploited by the S'vapākas, was killed by robbers in a privy like a dog, on the eighth day of the bright half of Jyaiṣṭha in the year [of the Laukika era four thousand] thirteen (A.D. 937).

414. Then the wicked son of *Pārtha*, called *Unmattāvanti*, was inaugurated by *S'arvaṭa* and other foolish ministers. UNMATTĀVANTI (A.D. 937-939).

415. After the wicked lover of the S'vapākī had been slain at night by the robbers, one who was worse than wicked became king through the sinfulness of the subjects.

416. With difficulty I get my song to proceed, since from fear of touching the evil of this king's story it keeps back like a frightened mare.

417. This evil ruler, resembling a demon, was to consume his paternal family, just as the kind of fire called Aurva [consumes] the water.

The *v.l.* recorded in the gloss of A_2, which makes the king violate one of his father's wives, is evidently a needless conjecture.

404. No further mention is made of this Maṭha.

417. The submarine fire is meant.

UNMATTĀVANTI (A.D. 937-939)

418. His chief ministers were those who could make music with their noses, shoulders, etc., and who would bang their skulls with knocks and blows.

419. In the character of strolling singers those very ministers amused him without shame, who were destined to become rulers in the course of time.

Rise of *Parvagupta*.

420. But dearer than all was to him *Parvagupta*, who danced in the royal assembly with his loin-cloth taken off.

421. *Parvagupta* had ever since the Tantrin troubles seen kings who were like worms, and was always bent on securing the throne.

422. Then in secret desire of the throne he closed friendship with the five chief ministers, *Bhūbhaṭa* and the others, [all] taking an oath by sacred libation (*pītakośa*).

423. *Bhūbhaṭa*, *S'arvaṭa*, *Choja*, *Kumuda*, and *Amṛtākara*, took the oath by sacred libation, and entered a league with *Parvagupta*.

424. In the house of the Ḍāmara *Saṁgrāma* there lived *Rakka*, a Brahman of well-known valour, who had found the goddess S'rī in the water of the *Gavākṣā* lake.

425. The king noticed his courage in a battle while he was a mere foot-soldier, and raised this [man], who had a big body and great belly, to the position of prime minister (*mukhyamantritā*).

426. He raised [an image of] the goddess S'rī just [in the form] as she had appeared to him in the lake, under the appellation of *Rakkajayādevī*.

427. The king destroyed his own family at the instigation of the cunning *Parvagupta*, who wished to seize the kingdom when it had been cleared of rivals.

Pārtha murdered.

428. *Pārtha*, whom he had despoiled of all property, lived together with his wives in the illustrious *Jayendravihāra*, where the S'ramaṇas gave him food.

429. *S'aṁkaravarman* and his other brothers, who were yet children and lived there, he kept confined, and caused them to die of hunger.

418. In the Ed. the words from *ṭakkarā°* to *°skandā°* had erroneously been shown as proper names. The correct interpretation has already been indicated by the *P.W.*; see ss vv. *ṭakkara*, *ṭāṁkāra*. *skanda* stands in Kaśmīrī MSS regularly for *skandha*, 'shoulder.' The *P W* combines *ghrāṇaskanda*, and gives for it the conjectural meaning of 'blowing the nose, grunting.' Whichever interpretation is adopted, it is clear that various clowns'-tricks are referred to, comp. viii 96 sqq., 1614.

424. I am unable to make any suitable sense with the reading of the text *°jalo 'vāgalad*, and have translated according to a conjectural emendation *°jalo 'vālagad* For *ava-√lag*, 'to reside, to live,' see vii. 1232, where the same clerical error as supposed here is found in one MS. (*avāgalan* instead of *avālagan*); see also *N.P.W.*, s.v *ava-√lag*.

The position of the *Gavākṣā* lake (*saras*) is uncertain. The *Nīlamata*, 1033, mentions in a list of Tīrthas a goddess *Gavākṣī*, but gives no indication as to the position of her Tīrtha. This goddess may possibly have been worshipped in the lake referred to in our passage.

Regarding the miraculous appearance of a goddess in the water of a sacred lake, comp. i. 35 (Sarasvatī at *Bheḍagiri*).

425. For *mukhyamantritā*, compare note vi. 199.

428. For the *Jayendravihāra*, see iii. 355.

430. He was anxious to kill his father. Upon those ministers who gave their consent, he bestowed head-dresses, but the others he put in fetters.

431. On a certain night, ministers, chiefs, Tantrins, officials and troops, obeying his orders, surrounded *Pārtha.*

432-434. *Kumuda* and other favourites of the king struck down his wife, who, in faded and ragged garments, barred the door, while her crying children clung to her like young calves [to their mother-cows]. They dragged him from the house and pulled him along by his hair, while the stones of the ground scratched his body, just as a dead ox [is dragged] from the cattle-pen. Like Caṇḍālas they killed him unarmed as he was, emaciated by hunger and parched up, crying and naked.

435. When the king heard that his father had been killed, he came in the morning full of curiosity, together with his confidants, and looked at him in delight.

436. The king's officers extolled before him their own prowess, [each] saying: "Here at this limb I have struck him."

437. *Parvagupta* had at that time been admitted again by the king, after having been in disfavour. In order to gratify him, he urged on his son, named *Devagupta.*

438. The latter thereupon struck his dagger into the body of the dead *Pārtha.* Amused thereby, the king struck up a long-continued laugh.

439. The land which at the death of *Cakravarman* had been plundered by the Ḍāmaras, was punished even more severely by the employ of wicked Kāyasthas.

440. Instigated by wretched companions, he exercised himself in the use of arms by hitting naked women in the hollow between their breasts with thrown daggers.

441. He had the womb of pregnant women cut open in order to see the child, and also cut off limbs of labourers to test their power of endurance.

442. From an obstinate desire for gifts, or from fear of a terrible death, there were [found] Brahmans who accepted Agrahāras even from this, the most degraded of kings.

443. Then the king became afflicted with a consumptive disease which was a fit [punishment] for his cruel sins, and suffered immeasurable pains.

444. Not only his subjects were delighted by these sufferings of his, but also the fourteen queens of his own seraglio.

445-448. The parricide miscreant king, when his descent to hell was near, placed

447. The term *kampana* or *kampanā*, which is contained in *kampanādhipati* and in similar designations of frequent occurrence in the following narrative, has hitherto by all inter-

UNMATTĀVANTI (A.D. 937-939).

on the throne a young child called *S'ūravarman*, whom the servant-girls of his seraglio had procured from somewhere and falsely declared to be the king's son, and entrusted him to the chiefs, councillors, Ekāṅgas and Tantrins. He was in terror of *Kamalavardhana*, the commander-in-chief (*kampanādhipati*), who stood in *Maḍavarājya*, [and had shown himself] capable of uprooting the Ḍāmaras, as he had made him his enemy. Then he died through the subjects' merits in the month Āṣāḍha of the year [of the Laukika era four thousand] fifteen (A.D. 939).

S'ŪRAVARMAN II (A.D. 939).

449. The child-king, the son of the parricide, proceeded on the seventh day of the bright half of Āṣāḍha to visit the [temple of the] sun-god [called] *Jayasvāmin*.

450. The youthful king's glory shone forth like a young maid, her charming braids of hair being [represented by] swords, and her [bright] laugh [by the dazzling] umbrella and Chowries.

Kamalavardhana's rising.

451. In the meantime, *Kamalavardhana*, informed by the report of the spies

preters, from Wilson (*History*, p. 73) to Dutt, been taken as the name of a territory in or near Kaśmīr The synonym expressions, *kampanādhipati, kampanādhipa, kampanādhīśa, kampanāpati, kampaneśa*, have accordingly been interpreted as referring to the governor or feudal lord of this supposed territory TROYER, *Rādjat.*, iii p 569, proposed to identify 'Kampana' with the *Ki-pin* of the Chinese, or the valley of the Kābul river LASSEN, *Ind. Alt*, iii. p 1049, connected the name with the river Kampanā mentioned in the Mahābhārata, and looked for 'Kampanā' somewhere 'in eastern Kābulistān.' No mention of this supposed territory has been found outside the Chronicle, nor has any evidence ever been adduced as to the term *kampana* in the Rājat being really used as a local name

An examination of all passages furnishes convincing proof that *kampana* and its equivalent *kampanā* is a term for 'army,' and that by *kampanādhipati, kampanāpati*, etc., is meant the king's commander-in-chief or general. The passages in which the simple *kampana* (masc. or neut) occurs, indicate for it either directly the meaning 'army,' as, e.g vii. 365, 1319; viii. 575, or mention it as an important official charge side by side with the *dvāra* (see note v. 214), the *rājasthāna*, and other great offices, comp e.g. vi. 259, vii 887; viii. 180, 1046, 1624, 1982.

Among the passages in which the *kampanādhipati, kampaneśa*, etc, is referred to, vii. 1362-66 is, perhaps, the most instructive When King Harṣa is hard pressed by the pretender *Uccala* and his relatives, no minister ventures to take charge of the 'kampana' At last Candrarāja accepts it, and leads the king's troops against the enemy He is then directly spoken of as *senāpati*, and compared to Drauṇi, who took the leadership of the Kauravas in their final struggle The leader of the rebel force whom Candrarāja defeats, is referred to as *vipakṣa kampaneśa*, 'the enemy's general.'

In viii 1676 we read of the king reinforcing the *kampaneśa's* camp by fresh troops. In viii 688 a precipice (*śvabhra*), which has caused the death of a rebel leader, is jestingly spoken of as the victorious 'general (*kampaneśa*) *S'vabhra*.' In the great mass of the passages the Kampanādhipati, etc, figures as what his title really indicates, the leader of the royal troops in expeditions, fights, sieges, etc.; comp. e g vii. 221, 267, 579; viii 509, 599, 627, 652, 669, 698, 1039, 1510, 1580, 1674, 1840, 2029, 2190, 2205, etc. For other references, see the Index.

In the Lokaprakāśa, iv. (commencement), the *kampanāpati* is mentioned in a list of the great state-officers between the *dvārapati* (i e. 'the lord of the Gate,' see note v. 214) and the *aśvapati*, 'the general of horse.' The text is corrupt, but seems to describe the *kampanāpati* as · *prajānām paramaḥ kampo mohakampaṁ nivārayet.*

It is curious that the term *kampana* has not yet been found in any of the published Kośas.

449. This shrine is probably identical with that of the *Jayasvāmin* image referred to in iii 350 (see note).

who had come in haste, reached the vicinity of the city, accompanied by feudal chiefs. S'ŪRAVARMAN II. (A.D. 939).

452. As he entered the city tired, together with his troops, he was stopped by Ekāṅgas, Tantrins, feudal chiefs, and . . . . horsemen.

453. He went forth tired out by the fights [he had had] on the march with the opposing Ḍāmaras. Yet he overcame the enemy's forces, as he was strengthened by valour.

454. After having with a few horsemen put to flight a thousand cavalry, he rapidly entered the royal palace without meeting opposition.

455. When the troops heard of his victory, they fled and deserted the child-king, who, left alone, was taken away by his mother. *S'ūravarman II. deposed.*

456. Confused by acts done in a previous existence, or led astray by bad advisers, *Kamalavardhana* foolishly did not ascend the throne.

457. Not being versed in politics, he went that day to his own residence, and on the following collected all the Brahmans, and canvassed them in his desire for the royal power.

458. "Make a countryman of yours, strong and full-grown, king." Thus [he told them, and] in his simplicity thought that they would make him king on account of his ability.

459-460. Who is more to be pitied than he, who, having found a coy young woman alone in a solitary place and intoxicated, does not enjoy her owing to timorousness, but solicits her favours the next day through a messenger,—or than he, who, having gained the power by force, lets it slide from his hands that moment, and strives for it on the next day through diplomacy?

461. When *Utpala's* dynasty then had come to an end, the Brahmans, dressed in coarse woollen cloaks, assembled in the *Gokula*, resembling bulls without horns. Brahman assembly.

462. Long lasted the discussion as to the disposal of the crown, while those [Brahmans] whose beards were scorched by smoke, wished to raise this man or that to the throne.

452. I have left the word *syālahāraka* untranslated, as I do not know its meaning. It is possibly a local name.

461. A specific sacred building seems to be meant here, perhaps the same *Gokula* the construction of which is mentioned v. 23. In viii. 900, the *Gokula* is referred to as the locality where Brahmans assemble to perform a *prāyopaveśa*. The literal meaning of the name (cattle-pen) suggests the simile.

462. K., in his not very complimentary but life-like description of the assembled Brahmans, refers here evidently to the burn-marks left by the *kāng*ᵃ*r*, or brazier, which has been in general use in Kaśmīr since early times. The Kāngᵃr, with its hot embers, is slipped under the voluminous Kaśmīrī gown and worn on the breast; it scarcely ever leaves the poorer classes during winter. The people sleep with it, and in a sitting posture invariably bend their head over the glowing coals. Thus few of the people escape without burn-marks; comp. LAWRENCE, *Valley*, p. 250. Regarding the mention of the Kāngᵃr (*kaśantikā*) in *S'rīkaṇṭhac.* iii. 29, see Dr. HULTZSCH, *Ind. Ant.*, xv. p. 57. Its Kś. name is in all probability derived from Skr. *kāṣṭhāṅgārikā*.

Interregnum after S'ŪRAVARMAN II. (A.D. 939).

463. While they disputed with each other, nobody received the water of inauguration. Only their own beards [were wetted] by the spittings they ejected in their rough talk.

464. When the simple-minded *Kamalavardhana* came to recall himself to the memory of [these] Brahmans searching for a person fit for the throne, they drove him away throwing bricks [at him].

465-466. While the Brahmans in this fashion passed five or six days, there assembled an immense host of Purohitas of sacred places (*pāriṣadya*), causing a mighty din by their drums, cymbals and other musical instruments, raising glittering flags, ensigns and umbrellas, and carrying seats on load-animals:

467 *Kamalavardhana* felt pained when he saw the regal power in the hands of others, just as [if he saw] his own wife turned into a courtesan.

468. Then the wife of the parricide [king] sent officials to those engaged in voluntary starvation (*prāyopaveśa*), to beg the throne [from them] for her supposititious son.

Yaśaskara chosen as king.

469-475. In the village of *Piśācakapura*, a householder, *Vīradeva* by name, had a son called *Kāmadeva*. This son, being distinguished by good qualities, such as the pious performance of ablutions, etc., and having acquired a knowledge of the Akṣaras, became a boys' teacher in the house of *Meruvardhana*, and in course of time treasurer (*gañjādhikārin*). Then his son *Prabhākaradeva* obtained gradually the position of treasurer under King *S'aṁkaravarman*; he was also the secret paramour of *Sugandhā* His son, the learned *Yaśaskara*, whether on account of the enmity between Lakṣmī (Fortune) and Sarasvatī (Learning), or through the calamities of the country, became wretchedly poor, and went abroad, together with a friend called *Phalguṇaka*. Cheered by auspicious dreams and the benedictions of the *Pīṭhadevī*, he (Yaśaskara) had at that time returned to his native land full of ambition. On account of his eloquence, the envoys sent by the parricide's wife took him up on their way, as they went to talk over the Brahmans, and thus he came before the latter.

463. I read with A_2 *rūkṣabhāṣaṇa*° and emend *svakūrcā ṣṭhīvanaiḥ* for *svakūrcaṣṭhī*°.

465-466. Regarding the *pāriṣadyas* and their corporations, see note ii. 132.

They appear on the scene, as v. 468 shows, in order by a solemn fast to force the Brahman assembly to come to a decision regarding the future king. The *pāriṣadyas* seem often to have adopted this procedure, and thus to have played an important part in political complications, comp viii. 709 and viii. 900 sqq. In the latter interesting passage they are represented as bringing the sacred images and paraphernalia of their shrines along with them to the city when proceeding *en masse* to their fast.

469-475. Regarding *Meruvardhana* and *Prabhākaradeva*, see above v. 267 and v. 280, resp.

By *Pīṭhadevī* is meant probably, as the *P.W.*, s.v. *pīṭha*, suggests, a form of Durgā worshipped at one of the *pīṭhasthānas*. These are 'the fifty-one places where, according to the Tantras, the limbs of *Satī* fell, when scattered by her husband S'iva after she had put an end to her existence at Dakṣa's sacrifice' (*Viṣṇu Pur.*, iv. p. 261).

476. When the Brahmans saw him by the will of fate they became of one accord, and raised the loud cry: "Let him indeed be king." Interregnum after S'ŪRAVARMAN II. (A.D. 939).

477. Then the Brahmans came quickly to *Yaśaskara*, who had full strength to maintain the earth, and sprinkled water over him, just as the clouds [send down rain] on a mountain.

478. A forest of bamboos is burned down by the fire which their violent friction has produced, and a sudden burst of rain carries off their roots. What does the Creator not contrive in order that he may bring a tree which has come from somewhere [else] after having been uprooted by the vehemence of a storm, to full growth in the gorge of a great mountain?

479-480. If the son of *Pārtha* had not at the instigation of his servants exterminated his own family, and if *Kamalavardhana* had not ousted his child, then how could *Yaśaskaradeva*, who was not of high descent, and had wandered over the earth as a pauper, have attained the royal dignity?

481. The route of the king was lined with the eyes of women—clusters of lotus—who wished to see him, [that prince] of blessed rule, who had just been seen by the people walking afoot, without attendants and alike in appearance to everybody.

482. King *Yaśaskara*, on his way to the royal palace, turned with subdued pride the corners of his eyes steadily away, as soon as he caught the sound of the words which the gazelle-eyed ladies of the city wished to speak in the midst of their blessings. [Hence] the wise knew that he was resolved to protect his subjects.

483. The moon of the earth (the king) entered the royal palace, which resounded with the blessings and auspicious shouts of the women, while his glittering umbrella, which shone with a light equalling that of the sun, seemed to draw [around his head] the splendour of an *ārātrika* [illumination] performed with a silver vessel.

Thus ends the Fifth Taraṅga of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, composed by *Kalhaṇa*, the son of the great Kaśmīrian minister, the illustrious Lord *Caṇpaka*.

478. Kings and mountains are alike called *kṣmādhara*, 'supporters of the earth.'

483. *Ārātrika* is the name of a ceremony in which burning lights, placed in earthen lamps, are swung around the head of a sacred image. A similar rite is still performed in Kaśmīr and the Panjāb on marriages, the lamps being swung around the bridegroom. Compare also vii. 925.

Colophon. The MSS. have here the following verse. "In eighty-three years and four months there ruled eight descendants of the spirit-distiller, one taken from the high road, a woman, and a minister."

The number of years given in the Colophon for the total of reigns agrees with the dates shown for the accession of Avantivarman and Yaśaskara. The number of months cannot be verified, as the exact date of Avantivarman's accession is not indicated. The 'descendants of the spirit-distiller' are the rulers from Utpalavarman's race, the 'one from the high road' *Saṃkaṭa* (v. 242), the 'woman' *Sugandhā*, and the 'minister' *S'ambhuvardhana*.

SIXTH BOOK.

1. May Aparṇā (i.e. Pārvatī, 'she who in her fast did not eat even a leaf') protect us—she who hears from the mouth of the wives of the gods her own praises, cheerful to the ear, in the following fashion: "It is not the strength of austerities performed by living only on leaves or air [which secures union with S'iva]. Look, on this account these two, the bull and the snake, which live only on the above, are yet now put outside [S'iva's body]. Only through his love you have occupied this one-half of the [body of the] lord of the universe."

YAŚASKARA (A.D. 939-948).

2. When he (Yaśaskara) then passed the outside enclosure, he commanded the doorkeepers to hold aloof the Brahmans, as he desired to be unapproachable.

3. But when the doorkeepers were scaring them away, he spoke to them thus with folded hands: "You have given me the throne, and you are to be worshipped by me alike to the gods."

4. "As you will become full of arrogance from pride at having been the bestowers of the royal dignity, you are not to come into my presence except at the time of business."

5. When all the people heard this, they knew that he was unapproachable, and forgot that familiarity which arose from having dwelt together with him.

6. Through the power of his intellect he restored the ordinances of former kings which had fallen into abeyance, just as a great poet [restores] the methods of earlier poets.

7. The land became so free from robbery, that at night the doors were left open in the bazaars, and the roads were secure for travellers.

8. As he exercised careful supervision, the functionaries, who had plundered everything, found no other occupation but to look after the cultivation.

9. The villagers, being wholly absorbed by agriculture, never saw the royal residence. The Brahmans, devoted [solely] to their studies, did not carry arms.

10. The Brahman Gurus did not drink spirits while singing their chants. The ascetics did not get children, wives and crops.

1. The introductory verse is addressed to Pārvatī in her union with S'iva Ardhanārīśvara. The snake is supposed to live on air. S'iva carries a snake round his neck and rides on the bull.

10. By the term *guru* K. probably means here and in the next verse the persons officiating as priests in the Tantric ritual, comp. vii. 278, 523. For Bhikṣus with families, comp. note iii. 12 and vi. 135.

YAŚASKARA (A.D. 939-948).

11. Ignorant Gurus did not perform Matsyāpūpa sacrifices, and did not by texts of their own composition revise traditional doctrines.

12. There were not seen house-wives figuring as divinities at the Guru-consecration (*gurudīkṣā*), and by shakes of their heads detracting from the distinguished character of their husbands.

13 Astrologer, doctor, councillor, teacher, minister, Purohita, ambassador, judge, clerk—none of them was then without learning.

Story of merchant.

14. The officers watching cases of voluntary starvation (*prāyopaveśādhikṛta*), reported a certain person engaged in Prāyopaveśa. When the king had him brought before himself, he spoke:

15. "I was once a wealthy citizen here. In the course of time I became a pauper, through the will of fate."

16. "When my indebtedness had become great, and I was pressed by the creditors, I resolved to throw off my debts and to travel about abroad."

17. "Thereupon, I disposed of all I owed to clear my debts, and sold my own mansion to a rich merchant."

18. "From the sale of this great building I excepted only a well fitted with stairs, having in view the maintenance of my wife."

19. "I thought that she would live by the rent given by the gardeners, who at summer-time place flowers, betel-leaves, etc., in that very cool well."

20. "After wandering about for twenty years, I have come back from abroad to this my native land with a small fortune."

21. "Searching for my wife, I saw that good woman with a wan body living as a servant in other [people's] houses."

22. "When I asked her, distressed, why she had, though provided with a sustenance, taken to such a life, she told her story."

23. "'When, after your departure abroad, I went to the well, that merchant drove me away, beating me with cudgels.'"

11. The *Matsyāpūpayāga* is a complicated sacrifice occurring in the Tantric ritual and still known in Kaśmīr. It is mentioned in connection with Tantric S'rāddhas in the v. chapter of my MS. of the *Mṛtitattvānusmaraṇa*. Fish and cakes (*apūpa*) are offered at it.

It appears as if K. wished to allude here indirectly to some ritualistic controversy of his own time. It is still a practice, not unknown to Kaśmīrian 'Bāchᵃbaṭṭs' of the present time, to support erroneous views on points of the ritual, whether Vedic or Tantric, by newly concocted Paddhatis, etc.

12. The *gurudīkṣā* is a Tantric rite by which the pupil (*sādhaka*) is initiated as a *guru* or teacher. This Dīkṣā is described, e.g at the commencement of Rāghavānanda's *Paddhatiratnamālā*, Jammu MSS. No. 5293. The tradition of Kaśmīrian Paṇḍits knows of cases, as alluded to by K., in which women have assumed the position of Tantric Gurus. At the *gurudīkṣā* and other Tantric ceremonies, the Guru and his spiritual predecessors are worshipped by the sacrificers under their proper names coupled with those of certain deities. K.'s sally is directed against women who, having assumed the dignity of Gurus, presume to criticise their husbands' conduct.

24. "'Then how could I otherwise maintain myself?' After saying this, she stopped. Hearing this, I fell into the depths of grief and anger."

25. "I then began a Prāyopaveśa, but somehow the different judges decided against me, giving on each occasion judgment in favour of the defendant."

26. "In my simplicity I do not know the law, but my life I stake for this: I have not sold the well with the stairs."

27. "Deprived of my property, I die for certain here at your door. Decide the matter in person, if otherwise you have fear of committing a sin."

28. The king, on being thus addressed by him, proceeded to hold court himself, and after assembling all the judges, inquired into the real facts.

29. The judges spoke to him. "This man has been repeatedly dismissed [with his claim] after due consideration. Full of deceit, he does not respect the law, and should be punished as a forger of a written document."

30. Thereupon the king read himself the words as they stood in the deed of sale: "The house is sold together with the well [fitted] with stairs."

31. While the councillors cried: "From this it is clear," an inner voice of the king, as it were, declared that the claimant was in the right.

32. After apparently reflecting for a moment, the king diverted for a long time the assembled councillors by other very curious stories.

33. In the course of the conversation he took from all their jewels to look at, and with a laugh drew the ring from the defendant's hand.

34. After with a smile asking all to stay thus only for a moment, he retired [into another apartment] under the pretence of cleaning his feet.

35. From there he despatched an attendant with an oral message to the merchant's house, handing him the ring, so that he might be recognized.

36. Showing the ring, this attendant asked the merchant's accountant for the account-book of the year in which the deed had been executed.

37. When the accountant was told that the merchant required that [book] that day in court, he gave it, keeping the ring.

38. In this [book] the king read among the items of expenditure [an entry of] ten hundred Dīnnāras which had been given to the official recorder (*adhikaraṇalekhaka*).

34. For *pādakṣālana°* we ought to read perhaps *pāyukṣālana°*.

36. The words by which the gloss of A_2 renders *gaṇanāpattrikā*, 'account-book,' correspond to the modern Kś. *ganat-vatar* and Hindi-Panjabi *bahi*, which have the same meaning.

38. The gloss of A_2 explains correctly the *adhikaraṇalekhaka* as the official in whose presence the sale of a piece of land is concluded, and who, after measuring the land, draws up the deed. This function was discharged in Kaśmir towns until a few years ago by specially appointed but unpaid officials, who actually bore the designation *Sarāf*, as indicated in the gloss. In recent times the Sarāf could claim from the seller a small fee for his trouble.

The gloss of A_2 rightly renders *dīnnārāḥ* by the Kś. *dyār*. Regarding the value of 'the ten hundreders,' see Note *H*, iv. 495.

39. From the fact that a high fee had been paid to that person, who was entitled only to a small sum, the king knew for certain that the merchant had got him to write a *sa* for a *ra*. Yaśaskara (A.D. 939-948).

40. He then showed this in the assembly, questioned the recorder whom he had brought up under a promise of impunity, and convinced the councillors.

41. At the request of the councillors, the king granted to the claimant the house of the merchant, together with his property, and exiled the defendant from the land.

Story of Brahman.

42. One evening when the king had done his daily business, and was wishing to take his food, the doorkeeper, afraid on account of his untimely announcement, reported [as follows]:

43. "A Brahman stands outside [and threatens] to commit suicide unless he can see [you], though I have told him that your Majesty has done with business for to-day, and that there is time to-morrow for his communication."

44. The king stopped the cook and gave the order for the admission of the Brahman, who entered, and on being questioned, spoke in great distress:

45. "After having wandered about abroad, I have returned to my country on hearing of its good government, and have brought with me a hundred gold coins (*suvarṇarūpaka*) I had earned."

46. "Proceeding in comfort on the roads, which under your rule have become free from robbers, I stopped yesterday evening, when tired, at *Lavaṅotsa*."

47. "Fatigued from having done a long march, I slept there during the night without apprehension at the foot of a tree standing in a roadside garden."

48. "When I got up, that sum, which was tied up in a knot of my garment, fell into a well close by, which on account of the thicket I had not noticed."

49. "Having thus lost everything, I was lamenting for a long time, and was about to throw myself into that deep well, [but] the people prevented me."

50. "Thereupon, some person ready for the daring enterprise, spoke thus to me: 'What will you give me, if I get you the money?'"

51. "To him I said: 'I in my helplessness, what power have I got over that property? Whatever seems right to you, let that be given to me from it.'"

52. "He then descended, and when he had got up again, he gave me two of the coins and openly kept for himself ninety-eight."

39. The words of the deed, as quoted in vi. 30, are supposed to have been: *sopānakūpasahitaṁ vikritaṁ gṛham*. The document ought to have had *rahitaṁ* instead of *sahitaṁ*, with the meaning: "The house is sold *without* the well."

46. See regarding *Lavaṇotsa*, note i. 329.

51. The words in the text are ambiguous, and permit also the interpretation: 'Whatever seems right to me, let that be given from it to you.' Comp. vi. 65 sq.

YAŚASKARA (A.D. 939-948).

53. "When I remonstrated against this arrangement, the people scornfully met me by saying: 'Under King *Yaśaskara* transactions depend upon the letter [of the contract].'"

54. "I have lost my earnings through the fraudulent abuse of a polite expression straightforwardly employed [by me], and I die now at your door who has introduced such injustice."

55. When the king asked him about the character and name of that man, he replied that he knew him only by his face.

56. The king promised him that he would next morning help him to what he desired to obtain, and thus with difficulty induced him to partake of food by his side.

57. On the next day the Brahman pointed out to the king that man standing among the inhabitants of *Lavaṇotsa*, who had been summoned by messengers.

58. When he was questioned by the king he related everything exactly as the Brahman had stated it, and pointed out that his conduct was based upon the words [used by the Brahman].

59. Those who could see no difference between the actual facts and the observance of the given word, looked down on the ground with their minds wavering in doubt.

60. Then the king, seated in court, adjudged ninety-eight coins to that Brahman, and two to the other.

61. And to those who raised questions, he spoke: "Difficult to perceive is the course of mighty Justice (*dharma*) when it hurries to strike down Injustice as it raises its head."

62-63. "As the sunlight, when it passes in the evening into the fire and into the watery orb of the moon, endows with its own brilliancy the lamps and the moonlight, and setting up these strikes down the rising darkness, thus Justice, which follows the same course, drives off Injustice."

64. "Justice invisibly keeps ever close to Injustice, and seizes it immediately, as fire [is ever present in and at once seizes] fuel."

65 "Instead of saying: 'Whatever you give, let that be given,' he let fall the words: 'Whatever seems right, etc.'"

66. "To this greedy Brahman ninety-eight coins appeared the right sum. This he (the villager of Lavaṇotsa) did not give him, but gave him the two coins, which were not [what he] desired."

67. Distinguishing between right and wrong with acuteness in this and similar [cases], the king, ever bent on exercising supervision, made [as it were] the Kṛta Yuga come back again.

68. While he thus guided his people, he became [himself] an object of ridicule, on account of his own imprudent conduct, and thus resembled a physician who prescribes wholesome food for another, but himself eats what is bad. YAŚASKARA (A.D. 939-948).

69. Though he was careful to perform his purifications with earth and water, like a [Brahman] versed in Vedic lore, yet he did not dismiss from his side the attendants who had eaten the food-remnants of the Ḍombas. *Yaśaskara's court.*

70. He amassed riches through four city prefects (*nagarādhikṛta*), who helped themselves in turn to money, and were hanging about each other's back.

71. Though this prince had deposited his sword at the base of the illustrious [Liṅga of S'iva] *Raṇeśvara*, and though he honoured his given word, yet the foot-soldiers found their end through him.

72. When his eldest brother died, he exhibited such long-continued joy that men of sense imagined that he had given him a poison of his own invention.

73. When a Velāvitta who had been raised to the rank of a provincial governor (*maṇḍaleśa*) intrigued with the queens, the king connived at it.

74. A courtesan, *Lallā* by name, whom he had raised from love to the foremost place among the ladies of his seraglio, got him entirely under her control.

75. The Creator has, as it were, because there is no room in the heart of women for good conduct (*suvṛtta*), put outside them their well-rounded (*suvṛtta*) breasts.

76-77. The Creator has made women who are pure in their outward [appearance], women, because he knew that their conduct was the same whether they attached themselves to the highest or the lowest. Thus it came that the beautiful-eyed *Lallā*, though treated by the king with affection, yet had meetings at night with a Caṇḍāla watchman.

69 See above, v. 388.

70. In the succeeding reigns only *one* prefect of the City, i.e of S'rinagar (*nagarādhikṛta*, *nagarādhipa*, etc.), seems to be mentioned; comp. vi. 296; vii. 108, 580, 1542, viii. 256, 632, 814, 838, 1459, etc K. represents Yaśaskara as appointing four prefects in order to increase his revenue by the contributions they have to offer in competition. The officials have, of course, to recoup themselves by increased exactions from the citizens. For a curious account of the fines, etc, a city prefect could levy, and his powers generally, comp. viii. 3334 sqq. The policy of subdividing charges for the sake of fiscal advantages, has continued in Kaśmir until quite recently; comp. Mr. Lawrence's description of the 'old' revenue administration, *Valley*, p. 421.

71. K. seems to allude here to some violent measure by which Yaśaskara rid himself of the troublesome Tantrins, the authors of so many revolutions in the preceding reigns. The solemn deposition of the sword before some sacred image is referred to again, vi. 98, 206 sq. It seems to have been a symbolic act indicating renunciation of worldly aspirations; comp. also vi. 100.

For the shrine of S'iva *Raṇeśvara*, see iii. 453. For *satyaṁkāra* as an adjective, comp. vii. 561; viii. 2291.

73. The meaning of the term *velāvitta* is uncertain; comp. v. 226.

Maṇḍaleśa (*maṇḍaleśvara*, *maṇḍaleśitṛ*) as the designation of the governor of a province is often used in the last two Books, e.g. of the governor of *Lohara*, vii. 996; viii. 1228, 1814, 2029. For other references, see Index.

YAŚASKARA (A.D. 939-948).

78. There must have been some charm in the Caṇḍāla youth, which caused even a queen to fall in love with him, and to become subject to his power.

79. Perhaps she was descended from a Caṇḍāla family, or he possessed of the art of enchantment. How could otherwise such an incredible union come about?

80. As to the manner in which he met her, no account came to light anywhere.

81. Only to an official called *Hāḍi* this love-intrigue of these two sinners soon became apparent from an observation of their glances.

82 The king, after having ascertained by means of spies that this was a true fact, exhausted himself in the performance of expiatory rites, and put on the skin of a black antelope.

83. In his blind love he did not kill her, though he felt enraged, and on this account he became the object of injurious suppositions on the part of the censorious

84 From the intercourse with those who had taken the Dombas' food remnants, impurity fell upon *Yaśaskara*, just as the evil of leprosy [spreads] through the touch of a leper.

85-86. The king, who was anxious to secure the royal dignity also for his future births, wisely bestowed the royal insignia upon a Brahman, without their being in danger, because he believed that being only a common person, he must have obtained the throne through some similar pious acts, [which he had performed] in a previous existence.

87. The king being fond of endowments, built on a piece of land which had belonged to his father, a Maṭha for students from *Āryadeśa*, who were devoting themselves to [the acquisition of] knowledge.

88. To the superintendent of this Maṭha he presented the royal insignia resplendent with umbrellas and Chowries, with the exception of the mint-dies (*ṭaṅka*) and the royal seraglio.

89. On the bank of the *Vitastā*, he granted to Brahmans fifty-five Agrahāras furnished with various implements.

Varṇaṭa's Abhiṣeka.

90-91. Then seized by an abdominal disease, he had *Varṇaṭa*, the son of his paternal grand-uncle *Rāmadeva*, consecrated as king by the ministers, Ekāṅgas and feudal chiefs, and entrusted him [to their care] His own son, named *Saṃgrāmadeva*, he left aside, as he knew that he was not begotten by himself.

82. Regarding the custom of wearing skins of cows and other animals in the case of serious penances, comp *Mitākṣarā*, III. v 254, 268 sqq., also *Caturvargac*, *Dānakh*, x p. 693.

88. For the meaning here given to *ṭaṅka*, comp *P W*, s v. *ṭaṅkapati*, 'mint-master,' *ṭaṅkaśālā*, 'mint'; also vii 926.

89. The gloss of A_3 records a tradition which places these Agrahāras at *Kāṣṭhela*, now *Kāṭhul*, a quarter of S'rinagar on the left bank of the Vitastā above the second bridge. Comp. note on *Kāṣṭhila*, viii. 1169. *Vikram.* xviii. 25 mentions in the same locality Brahman-Agrahāras founded by King Ananta.

92. Those who were lusting for the crown, became then disconsolate, when the child which could have been [easily] ousted from the throne, was not consecrated. YAŚASKARA (A.D. 939-948).

93. The favourable opportunity for the execution of *Parvagupta's* scheme, which was on the point of appearing, seemed to vanish on that day.

94. *Varnata* did not visit the dying [king], who had given him the crown, [not] even to inquire after his condition, though he was yet in the palace.

95 Then the king in his fainting state felt remorse, and was urged on by the ministers, who gave him fresh hope, to grant the throne to *Saṃgrāmadeva*.

96. By the king's order *Varnata* was kept for one night in 'the hall of the eight columns' (*aṣṭastambhamaṇḍapa*), which was locked from outside, to be turned out in the morning.

97. His servants, whose bowels were moved by fear or by waking, turned the assembly-hall into a latrine.

98. A servant of the one-day king, *Devaprasāda* by name, who was of royal blood, deposited on that occasion his sword out of shame at [the shrine of] *Vijayeśvara*.

99 After *Saṃgrāmadeva* had been inaugurated, the king, whose sufferings became intense, left the palace and proceeded to his Maṭha to die. *Yaśaskara's* death

100-101 The royal servants in feigned gratitude had, while the king lived, solemnly affirmed that they were ready to cut their hair and beards, that they would throw away their head-dress, take at once to the brownish-red garments [of mendicants], and lay down their swords for ever. [All] this they left undone when his death was imminent.

102-103. The dying king had left his palace with two and a half thousand gold [pieces] bound up in the hem of his dress. This his property was taken away from him by *Parvagupta* and other ministers, five [in all], while he was yet alive, and divided amongst themselves in his presence.

104-106. The king stopped in dense darkness inside a hut which stood in the courtyard of the Maṭha, rolling about on his bedstead, while his inner parts were consumed by pain. Not having lost consciousness, he saw before him his people bent on evil When after two or three days he had not departed from life, his confidants, relatives, servants and Velāvittas, who were in a hurry and anxious to seize the kingdom, destroyed him by giving him poison.

107. Among the ladies of his seraglio only the single *Trailokyadevī* became a Satī and followed her husband, just as the sun [is followed] by his own light.

97. I have translated according to Durgāpr.'s convincing emendation *nirekināṃ* for A *nivekināṃ*; र and व are easily mistaken for each other in S'āradā characters.

YAŚASKARA (A.D. 939-948).

108-112. "The king [was ever] ready to exercise control over the castes and conditions of life [among his] subjects. On discovering that at *Cakramelaka* (?) a Brahman-ascetic, *Cakrabhānu* by name, had departed from proper conduct, the king, in accordance with the law, punished him by having the mark of a dog's foot branded on his forehead. Infuriated by this, the uncle of that [Brahman], the magician *Viranātha*, who was the king's own minister of foreign affairs, then took revenge upon him." This is confidently related by certain Gurus who by [referring to] the supernatural power of former masters would exalt their own greatness. Through them, too, the story has been propagated that he died in seven days. But how is this likely [in view of the fact] that he died by a lingering disease?

113. If it is said that this event occurred in the course of his illness, then also *Varṇaṭa's* and others' curse might figure here as a cause [of his death].

SAṀGRĀMADEVA (A.D. 948-949).

114. After having ruled for nine years, he died in the year [of the Laukika era four thousand] twenty-four (A.D. 948) on the third day of the dark half of Bhādrapada.

115. *Parvagupta* installed the child-king's grandmother on the throne as his guardian, and [himself] wielded the power, together with the five, *Bhūbhaṭa* and the rest.

116. In due course the strong *Parvagupta* put the others out of the way, together with the grandmother, and thus established himself in the palace as the sole master.

117. Displaying a conduct in which the royal dignity was combined with the functions of a minister, he created the mingled impression of king (*rājan*) and *Rājānaka*.

108-112. K. gives here a summary of another version regarding Yaśaskara's death, which, however, he does not accept By the *gurus* to whom this version is attributed, probably Tantric teachers are meant; comp v. 12.

The branding with the mark of a dog's foot is mentioned *Manu* ix. 237 as a punishment for theft.

I have taken *Cakramelaka* as a local name The word is found only here. The effaced gloss of A_3 seems to have explained it differently; comp. perhaps *cakramilana*, viii. 2730, and note v. 267.

117 The title *Rājānaka*, meaning literally 'almost a king,' used to be given for services rendered to the king; compare Prof BÜHLER, *Report*, p. 42, and below vi. 261. The title has survived in the form *Rāzdān* as a family name of very frequent occurrence among the Brahmans of Kaśmir. It was borne by *Rājānaka Ratnākara*, the author of the Haravijaya (9th century), and by many Kaśmirian authors of note enumerated in the *vaṁśapraśasti* which *Ānanda Rājānaka* (17th century) has appended to his commentary on the *Naiṣadhacarita* (see Deccan College MS, No. 143 of 1875-76), comp also *Haravar.* i. 4; xiii 213.

As the designation of certain high officers (Muhammadans), the term *Rājānaka* is often used by S'rivara and in the Fourth Chron. (also in the shortened form *Rājāna*); comp S'riv. i. 88, iii 162, 388, 390; iv. 225, 298, 355; Fourth Chron 33, 64 sqq, 138, 906.

The title was also known in Trigarta-Kāngra; comp. Prof. BÜHLER's edition of the Baijnāth Praśastis, *Ep. Ind.*, i. p 101; my notes, *ib.*, ii. p. 483, and below viii. 756.

118. *Parvagupta* himself served the child-king by bringing him food, etc., and thus seemed to honest people free from guile.

SAṂGRĀMADEVA (A.D. 948-949).

119. Just those of whom *Yaśaskara* thought that they dreaded treason, and whom he therefore put in office, were instrumental in the ousting of his son.

120. As if he (*Parvagupta*) were the king, he put a brilliant saffron pomade on his beard which spread like a plot of grass, and which had exactly the tawny colour of a young camel's hair.

121 As he was unable to destroy the child openly from fear of a rising of the Ekāṅgas, he employed witchcraft for his extermination.

122-125. When he heard at night a supernatural voice which said: "On the first day of Caitra the kingdom belongs legally to you and your race. If you proceed otherwise, there will be an early end for your life and family,"—he recognised the futility of witchcraft, and became still more uneasy. Fearing the hostile Ekāṅgas, and losing command over himself owing to his rising agitation and apprehensions, he became so miserable day and night that he suddenly collected his troops on a day when people did not move outside on account of a heavy snowfall, and surrounded the palace.

PARVAGUPTA (A.D. 949-950).

126-129. After he had slain in a fight the faithful minister *Rāmavardhana*, who offered resistance in company with his son called *Buddha*, he tied a string with flowers [attached], which had been brought as an offering by his father's (Yaśaskara's) Velāvitta, round the neck of *Saṃgrāma*, 'the Crooked-footed,' (*Vakrāṅghri-Saṃgrāma*), and dragged him from the throne. He then killed him in another hall, and threw him, with a stone bound to his neck, at night, into the *Vitastā*. On the tenth day of the dark half of Phālguna, in the year [of the Laukika era four thousand] twenty-four (A.D. 949), that evil-doer seated himself with sword and armour on the royal throne.

130. He (Parvagupta), who then became king, was the son of *Saṃgrāmagupta*, who had been born in *Pāreviśoka* from a writer (*divira*) called *Abhinava*.

131. Some had previously affirmed that they would oppose him. They all, in terror of him, made obeisance that very morning.

132 The malevolent princes, Ekāṅgas, chiefs, ministers, officials, and Tantrins were afraid of him, and showed nothing but treason.

133. An Ekāṅga called *Madanāditya*, who was descended from the race of *Suyya*, burst his large drum through carelessness in the king's assembly-hall.

120. K., when making this satirical allusion to Parvagupta's toilet, seems to have had in his mind the Kaśmīrī saying: *gāsa lōva hiś chas dāi*, 'his beard is like a bundle of grass.' This is commonly used of a too big beard.

The use of saffron as an unguent is repeatedly referred to as a royal privilege; see viii. 1119, 1897, 3166.

130. Regarding the position of *Pāreviśoka*, comp. note iv. 5; for *divira*, see note v. 177.

PARVAGUPTA (A.D. 949-950).

134 The angry king had his garment taken off and ill-treated him. Having his hair and beard shaved off, he became an ascetic.

135. In this condition he had yet a wife and children, and his descendants live to this day at *Tripureśvara*

136 King *Parvagupta* accumulated treasures, and thus again raised to power the functionaries, those plagues of the people.

137 Yet even he with his ill-gotten riches founded the [shrine of S'iva] *Parvaguptеśvara* near the site of the *Skandabhavanavihāra*

138 Among the [ladies of the] illustrious King *Yaśaskara's* seraglio, one pure-minded queen, like Gaurī, removed all evil report.

139 This virtuous woman cleverly practised a pious fraud upon *Parvagupta*, who, taken by a late-sprouting love, asked for her favours.

140-141. "When the construction of this temple of [Viṣṇu] *Yaśaskarasvāmin*, which my husband left on his death half-finished, is completed, I shall for certain and without fail accord your desire." Thus spoke the fair-browed [lady] to her tempter.

142 Then the king in full pride had that temple completed in a very few days.

143 The pious queen [thereon] suddenly sacrificed her body in a sacrificial fire which had been nourished with ghee, together with a full offering (*pūrnāhuti*).

144. Upon her who had sacrificed her life, there fell in abundance showers of flowers, and upon him who lusted after her, [there fell] words pouring forth reproach.

145 Withered by the long cares and agitations [connected] with his violent enterprises, *Parvagupta* was then seized by dropsy

146 Foolish persons, though they know from their [vain] efforts to appease pains and cares that their existence is short-lived, do yet not cease to push on, deceived by the desire for treacherous fortune

147. Though in this state he was full of apprehensions, yet through some former merits which had not lost their efficacy, he found his end in the precincts of the *Sureśvarī* [Tīrtha]

148 On the thirteenth day of the bright half of Āṣāḍha in the year [of the Laukika era four thousand] twenty-six (A.D. 950) this king lost the royal power which he had attained by treachery.

134-135 From the text it is not clear whether K. means that *Madanāditya's* family followed him into his new status, or that the Ekāṅga, who had after his humiliating punishment turned into a mendicant, married again subsequently.

Regarding the cutting off of the hair as a degrading procedure inflicted, with other punishments, on Brahmans, see Prof. Jolly's *Recht u Sitte*, *Grundriss*, p. 129.

For *Tripureśvara*, comp note v. 40.

137. The position of the *Skandabhavanavihāra* (Khandabavan in S'rinagar) has been discussed in Note *K* in Appendix.

147. Regarding the sacred site of *Sureśvarī*, see note v. 37.

149. If one did not see in this [life evil acts followed] quickly by a death which predicts as consequences terrible sufferings in the other transmundane existence, who would not strive for power through evil acts? PARVAGUPTA (A.D. 949-950).

150. Then his son called *Kṣemagupta*, in whom the fever [produced] by wealth and youth was increased by the drinking of spirits, became king. KṢEMAGUPTA (A.D. 950-958).

151. Bad by nature, he became still more terrifying through the society of wicked persons, just as a dark night [becomes more terrible] when obscured by a threatening cloud.

152. A hundred evil-conducted favourites, with *Phalguna* at their head, attended upon the king, wearing dresses and ornaments alike in value to his own.

153. Though his parasites plundered him, and though he was [given] to dissipation with dice, spirits and women, the king did not become devoid of splendour.

154. The king who yields to the passion of love, is fond of wine, is addicted to dice, and is surrounded by drunkards who plunder the riches of his treasury, is like a lotus which is red (*rāgī*), is full of sweet honey (*madhupraṇayavān*), carries seeds (*vihitākṣasaktir*), and is frequented by bees (*madhupair*) which abstract the essence of its calyx (*kośa*). If then splendour attaches itself to the lotus, be it for the day only, there is no reason whatever to be astonished [at splendour attaching itself to the king].

155. *Vāmana* and other roguish sons of *Jiṣṇu* took the heart of the king and roused in him impure tastes resembling those of a demon.

156. The king, wholly bent on mischief, was sharp in laughing at others, fond of the love of others' wives, and subject to the will of others.

157. He spat at the beards of venerable men, poured abuse into their ears, and dealt blows on their heads.

158. Women gained his attachment by joining their hips, hunters by roaming about [with him] in the forests, and parasites by applauding indecencies.

159. The royal assembly, filled with whores, villains, idiots, and corrupters of boys, was unfit to be visited by the wise.

160. Did the cunning sons of *Jiṣṇu* not make King *Kṣemagupta* dance, just as [if he were] a doll pulled by strolling players with strings?

161. They had given him the name 'Rainer of bracelets' (*Kankaṇavarṣa*), and pleased themselves by making him often shower bracelets on their arms.

162. They secured the king's favour by finding fault with the faultless, by exhibiting curiosities and knocking the heads of unimpeachable persons.

154. As the several puns contained in the first line make a literal translation of this verse impossible, a paraphrase has been given

161. Compare vi 301. *Kankaṇavarṣa* is found as the name of a magician, iv 246.

KṢEMAGUPTA (A.D. 950-958).

163. They took the amorous king to their houses, showed him their wives with breasts and waists exposed, and looted him at gambling.

164-165. They vied with each other in offering him undisturbed enjoyment of love-pleasures. and shamelessly gave up to him their own wives, asking him to indicate their special qualities after a trial. When he had finished and they asked him as to who had pleased him, he let them have [whatever] riches they wished.

166. Among his minions the two beggars *Hari* and *Dhūrjaṭi* were simpletons in [the art of] procuring, as they protected the virtue of their mothers.

167. By making their own body the object of jocular sayings, the [parasites] abandon their honour; by themselves corrupting their women, they deprive their families of integrity; by continuing long in service they destroy their [own] comfort. If, then, just that is renounced [by them] which is worth striving for, I do not know what parasites wish to attain by service.

168. *Bhaṭṭa Phalguṇa*, though he had been a councillor of *Yaśaskara*, yet became in the end his (Kṣemagupta's) courtier. Fie upon the desire to enjoy pleasures!

169. He founded the [temple of Viṣṇu] *Phalguṇasvāmin* and other shrines. Behind his back the king often laughed at his counsel.

170. *Rakka*, the old commander-in-chief (*kampaneśa*), took his place in [this] bad company, and needs accepted blows on the head and the like from him in order to remove disfavour.

171. In order to kill the Ḍāmara *Saṁgrāma*, who, when attacked by assassins, had entered the famous *Jayendravihāra*, he (Kṣemagupta) had the latter burned down without mercy.

172-173. Taking from this Vihāra, which was entirely burned down, the brass of the image of *Sugata* (Buddha), and collecting a mass of stones from decaying temples, he erected the [temple of S'iva] *Kṣemagaurīśvara* in a market-street of the City, thinking foolishly that the foundation of this shrine would perpetuate his fame.

170. Compare regarding *Rakka*, v. 424 sqq.

172-173. The image of *Sugata* is evidently the colossal Buddha statue mentioned iii. 355 in connection with the *Jayendravihāra*.

The temple of *Kṣemagaurīśvara* is referred to as a building of imposing character in Bilhaṇa's description of Pravarapura or S'rinagar, *Vikram.* xviii. 28. Its Maṇḍapas are said there to extend to a '*Saṁgama*' of the Vitastā, described in the preceding verse. Bilhaṇa has omitted to indicate the stream which forms this 'Saṁgama' with the Vitastā. We are therefore unable to fix the position of the Kṣemagaurīśvara temple with certainty.

In speaking of a Saṁgama in S'rinagar, Bilhaṇa may think either of the confluence of the Vitastā with the *Mahāsarit* (*Mār*, comp. note iii. 339-349), or of that with the *Dugdhagaṅgā* (S'vetagaṅgā, now *Chats'kul*). The latter stream joins the Vitastā from the S., at the western extremity of the city and below the last bridge. The *Dugdhagaṅgā* is distinctly mentioned by Bilhaṇa in a preceding passage, xviii. 7, under the name of *Dugdhasindhu*, and its confluence with the Vitastā is, therefore, more likely to be meant by the poet than that of the Mahāsarit.

Our passage is of interest, as it shows clearly

KṢEMAGUPTA (A.D. 950-958).

174. One [man] dies; another takes his property and feels excessively elated. He does not know that on his own death that [property] will go into the treasury of another. O the false reasoning which spreads darkness by its unsurpassed delusions!

175. The lavish *Kṣemagupta* took thirty-six villages from the burnt Vihāra, and gave them into the tenure of the *Khaśa* ruler.

Marriage of *Diddā*.

176. King *Simharāja,* the lord of *Lohara* and other strongholds, who resembled Indra [in power], gave to him his own daughter (Diddā) in marriage.

177. As *Diddā,* the *S'āhi's* daughter's daughter, wholly engrossed his mind, the king became known by the humiliating [appellation] *Diddākṣema*

178. The maternal grandfather of this queen, the illustrious *Bhīma S'āhi*, built the high temple [of Viṣṇu] *Bhīmakeśava*

that the use of stones and other materials from earlier shrines for the erection of new buildings began already in the Hindu period. As to the continuation of the practice in Muhammadan times, and to the present day, the extant buildings of S'rinagar furnish ample evidence.

175. I translate according to the conjectural emendation of Durgāpr., *nirdagdhād grāmāḥ*, instead of A *nirdagdhān grāmāh*, which would suppose the burning of other Vihāras besides the Jayendravihāra.

By the '*Khaśa* ruler' must be understood *Simharāja*, the chief of Lohara That the latter territory fell within the region in which *Khaśa* settlements are mentioned by the Chronicles, has already been shown in note i. 317.

From our passage, as well as vii. 773, where King Utkarṣa, a direct descendant of Simharāja, is designated as a Khaśa, it is clear that the ruling family of Lohara belonged itself to the Khaśa tribe. The chiefs ruling at Rājapuri were of the same race, see e g vii 1276, 1281; viii. 1466. The two families repeatedly intermarried; comp. viii 1464, 1644 sqq.

176. Regarding *Lohara*, the modern *Loh*ᵉ*rin*, compare Note *E* (iv. 177) in Appendix

177-178. It has already been shown in Note *J*, v. 152-155, that *Bhīma S'āhi*, Simharāja's father-in-law and Queen Diddā's maternal grandfather, is identical with King *Bhima*, whom Alberūnī mentions in his list of the 'Hindu Shāhiyas of Kābul' as the successor of Kamalū (Kalhaṇa's Kamaluka, v. 233). In the parallel passage, vii 1081, K. refers distinctly to *Bhima* as 'the S'āhi ruler of the town of Udabhāṇḍa.' By the latter name, the ancient capital of Gandhāra is meant. Compare my paper, *Zur Geschichte der Çāhis von Kābul*, Festgruss an R. v. Roth, p 197 sqq. For coins of Bhima S'āhi, see CUNNINGHAM, *Coins of Med. India*, p. 64

The royal house of the S'āhis gave also subsequently daughters in marriage to the family of the rulers of Lohara; comp. vii. 956, 1470.

BHĪMAKEŚAVA.—It is an indication of Bhima S'āhi's power that he erected a temple bearing his name in the adoptive country of his granddaughter. This shrine of *Bhīmakeśava* must also have been richly endowed. This is evident from the interesting story which K. relates, vii. 1081 sqq., of the rich treasure of gold and jewels confiscated there by King Harṣa more than a century later.

As already indicated in the paper above quoted, I believe that we can recognize Bhima S'āhi's shrine in the ancient temple found at *Bum*ᵉ*zu*, about one mile to the N. of the sacred springs of Mārtāṇḍa (Bavan), and on the left bank of the Lidᵉr river It is now converted into a Muhammadan Ziārat, and covered inside and outside with a thick coating of plaster which prevents a close examination of the details. An accurate description of the building has been given by Bishop COWIE, *J.A S.B*, 1866, p. 100 sq.

The temple is at present supposed to be the resting-place of a Musulmān saint *Bāba Bām*ᵉ*dīn Sāhib*, and forms as such a popular pilgrimage place for the Muhammadans of the Valley. But a recollection of the original character of the building survives in the local tradition, which relates that the saint, who had built this shrine for himself, was originally a Hindu ascetic (*sādhu*). According to the Kaśmiri legendary of the Ziārat, of which I acquired a MS. copy on my visit in Sept, 1891,

Kṣemagupta (A.D. 950-958).

179. *Diddā* became jealous of *Phalguṇa*, the lord of the Gate (*dvārapati*), who had given his daughter *Candralekhā* to the king.

180. The instruction which the king had received from his teachers, and the great pains [which he had taken to acquire] the art of [throwing] darts, were rendered ridiculous by the despicable use [he made of them]

181. He indeed thought his unerring darts, which ought to have been employed in heroic exploits, appropriate for the hunting of jackals.

182. The people saw him ever roaming about with dogs and surrounded by bands of Ḍombas carrying nets and jungle-folk.

183. His life was passed in the enjoyment of jackal hunts, in places like the *Dāmodarāraṇya*, *Lalyāna* and *S'imikā*

the saint, before his conversion to the true faith, bore the name of '*Bhuma Sādhi*' This form must remind us all the more of the name *Bhima S'āhi*, if we take into account the old variant of the latter as recorded by A, in the text of our passage, *śrībhūmasvāmi*°. The substitution of *Sādhi* for *S'āhi* is probably the result of a popular etymology, which endeavoured to find in the name a reference to the supposed original character of the saint *sād* is a common appellation of the Hindu ascetic in Kaśmir

We are led to the same identification by an examination of the name *Bum*ᵉ*zu*, borne by the locality itself This name is mentioned in the Māhātmya of the neighbouring *Mārtāṇḍa-Tīrtha*, ii Paṭala, under the form of *Bhima-dvipa* Here *dvipa* is clearly a rendering of *zu*, which means 'island' in Kś In *Bhima*, which corresponds to *Bum*°, we may recognize an abbreviated form of the name *Bhimakeśava* The Lidar forms several small islands immediately in front of the rocky cliff at the foot of which the temple stands, and this circumstance accounts sufficiently for the formation of the present name of the locality

The Māhātmya, which is of comparatively recent origin, knows nothing of Bhimakeśava, but derives the name *Bhimadvipa* from *Bhimā*, one of the S'aktis of Mārtāṇḍa Against this it must, however, be noted that the pilgrimage route of the Mārtāṇḍatīrtha does *not* include a visit to Bumᵉzu This locality would scarcely have been omitted if an ancient tradition had connected the name of Bumᵉzu with Bhima and the worship of Mārtāṇḍa

[Not much importance can be attached to the mention of *Bum*ᵉ*zu* under the name of *Bhimādevī* in the Fourth Chron 330 The work dates from the end of the 16th century, and its authors betray in more than one instance ignorance of the old local names of the Valley —*Bhimādevī* was in reality worshipped near the modern village of Brain not far from S'rinagar, comp note ii 135]

Close to the temple above described, there is a small cave in the cliff containing a well-preserved little temple The latter has been fully described by CUNNINGHAM, *J A S B.*, 1848, p 252, who, upon grounds by no means conclusive, was prepared to ascribe to it a great antiquity As far as our present knowledge of the history of Kaśmir architecture goes, both this shrine and another small cella, situated a few steps to the S.W of 'Bāmᵃ-Din Sāhib's Ziārat,' and also converted into a Muhammadan tomb, may well be attributed to the time of Bhima S'āhi, or even a later period

DIDDĀKṢEMA — It is very probable that the story here indicated as to Kṣemagupta's nickname *Diddākṣema*, is connected with the legend shown on the coins of this king, *Di Kṣemaguptade*[*va*] In the legend, Cunningham has long ago recognized an abbreviation for Diddā-Kṣemagupta, comp. now *Coins of Med India*, p 45 and pl iv 11 Whatever the reason may have been which induced Kṣemagupta to show his queen's name on his coins, it is clear that this unusual procedure would in itself be sufficient to account for the use of that nickname Regarding the fondness of the modern Kaśmiri for giving nicknames to his rulers, see LAWRENCE, *Valley*, p. 277 For royal nicknames mentioned by K, see v 254, vi 128, 161, viii. 858, 904, 1445

179 Regarding the office of 'lord of the Gate,' see note v 214

183 The *Dāmodarāraṇya* is the alluvial plateau called *Dāmdār Udar*, referred to as *Dāmodarasūda* in connection with the legend of King Dāmodara; see note i 157, 167.

Lalyāna is not otherwise known *S'imikā* is mentioned again vii. 309, and seems to have been a locality in the vicinity of *Vijᵉbrōr*. Its exact position I am unable to trace

184. Then, when hunting on the fourteenth day of the dark half of the month, the king saw a flame issuing from the mouth of a howling she-jackal. KṢEMAGUPTA (A.D. 950-958).

185. Shaken with fright at this sight, he was thereupon seized by the *lūtā*-disease [accompanied] by fever, which caused his death.

186. And he proceeded to die at *Varāhakṣetra*, where he had founded the [Maṭhas called] *S'rīkaṇṭhamaṭha* and *Kṣemamaṭha*, close to *Huṣkapura*.

187. His body was covered with eruptions (*lūtā*) resembling split lentils, and he died on the ninth day of the bright half of Pauṣa, in the year [of the Laukika era four thousand] thirty-four (A.D. 958).

188. Then *Kṣemagupta's* child-son *Abhimanyu* became king under the guardianship of Queen *Diddā*, whose character knew no mercy. ABHIMANYU (A.D. 958-972).

189. The officers who held charge of foreign affairs, the royal household, and other posts, visited the queen's bedchamber without scruples.

190. In the reign of *Abhimanyu* there arose suddenly a terrible conflagration from the neighbourhood of the *Tungeśvara*-market.

It is probable that both *Lalyāna* and *S'imikā* are names of Uḍars or alluvial plateaus. The latter being little suitable for cultivation, are generally uninhabited, and hence favourite haunts of jackals. The Dāmdār Uḍar has in recent years been more than once hunted over by the 'Kashmir foxhounds'

184. It is not clear to which month the date here given is to be referred. As in the Kaśmīr reckoning the month begins with the dark half, the 14th *vadi* of Pauṣa (see vi. 187) might be meant Possibly K refers to the corresponding day of the preceding month Mārgaśiras, which under the name of *S'iva-caturdaśī* is a holiday still observed in Kaśmīr; comp *P.W.*, s.v. *śivacaturdaśī*.

185 Regarding the *lūtā*-disease, see iv 524 sqq.

186 By *Varāhakṣetra* is designated the site and vicinity of the ancient Varāhamūla which is marked by the present town *Varahmul* (vulgo *Bārāmūla*) at the western entrance of the Valley. This locality has enjoyed great sanctity since early times as the dwelling-place of Viṣṇu in his incarnation of *Ādivarāha* or 'Primeval Boar.' The legends connected with the sacred site and the various localities in its neighbourhood are related in the *Varāhakṣetramāh.*, and often alluded to in other Māhātmyas as well as in the *Nīlamata* (1180, 1348 sq) An abstract of these legends, and a very accurate description of the Tīrthas and antiquities of the neighbourhood, will be found in Prof. BÜHLER's *Report*, pp. 11 sqq

K. uses here and vi 204 the expression *Varāhakṣetra* for the whole neighbourhood, including the site of *Huṣkapura* on the left river bank. In the later Chronicles, and in the Māhātmyas, we find *Vārāhakṣetra*, *Varāhakṣetra*, *Varāhatīrtha* used indifferently in the same sense; see e.g. *S'riv* i. 403, Fourth Chron. 403, 520, 644; *Haracar.* xiii. 43, etc

The ancient temple of *Varāha* (*Rājat.* vi 206; vii. 1310; *Jonar* 600) was situated on the narrow strip of ground between the foot of the hills and the right river bank. The town which has sprung up near this shrine, and which occupied the same position as the present Varahmul, is named *Vārāhamūla*, viii. 452, Fourth Chron. 77, or *Varāhamūla*, vii. 1309.

Huṣkapura, which, as shown in note i. 168, corresponds to the modern *Uṣkur*, had the advantage of being situated in an open plain, and was evidently in old times a larger place than its sister-town Varāhamūla. This accounts for the repeated mention of religious foundations at Huṣkapura; comp iv. 188. Hiuen-tsiang refers only to Huṣkapura (*Life*, p 68), but Albērūnī knows both '*Ushkārā*' and 'Baramūlā' at the entrance of the Valley (*India*, i. p. 207). Subsequently *Huṣkapura*-*Uṣkur* has dwindled down to a small village, while *Varāhamūla* has remained a town of importance and the trade emporium to the west.

The position of the two Maṭhas founded by Kṣemagupta at *Huṣkapura* can no longer be traced.

190. As a temple of S'iva *Tungeśvara* is mentioned in ii. 14, it may be assumed that by *Tungeśvarāpaṇa* of our passage is meant the Bazaar near this shrine. The position of the latter has not been ascertained.

ABHIMANYU (A.D. 958-972).

191. This [fire], reaching as far as *Bhikṣukīpāraka* near the [shrine of Viṣṇu] *Vardhanasvāmin*, destroyed the great buildings within the [limits of 'the] Vetāla's measuring line' (*Vetālasūtrapāta*).

192. The fire, as it were, purified the land, by burning the great buildings which the contact of the kings who had been touched by Ḍombas and Caṇḍālas had defiled.

193. The king's mother and guardian, confused in her mind and listening to everybody, after women's wont, did not reflect what was true and what not.

Phalguṇa ousted from prime ministership.

194-195. Previously, while her husband was alive, she had been in enmity with *Phalguna*, the prime minister, on account of the daughter which he had given in marriage to the king. Hence, out of malice he gave a quick assent when on her husband's death she wished to become a Satī, seeing other wives [of the king] ready to immolate themselves.

196. But in front of the funeral pyre she felt regret, and the minister *Naravāhana*, moved to compassion, prevented her by persistent remonstrances from seeking death.

197. Then *Rakka*, who was malignant by nature, put into the embittered queen the apprehension that *Phalguna* would usurp the kingdom.

198. When *Phalguna* became aware, from signs which indicated dislike, that she with all the other ministers felt aversion and anger [towards him], he too fell into apprehension.

199. He was, indeed, an object of hatred for all, since he held the post of prime minister (*sarvādhikāra*) and outshone [them all] by counsel, courage, energy and other good qualities.

200-203. When his son *Kardamarāja* had gone to take the bones of

191. The *Vardhanasvāmin* temple has already been mentioned, iii 357, as marking on one side the extreme limit of Pravarasena's city. Its position is unknown, and so is that of *Bhikṣukīpāraka*

The term *Vetālasūtrapāta* contains clearly a reference to the legend told iii. 348 sq of the demon which indicated to Pravarasena the site for his new city. The territory which was supposed to have been originally marked off by the demon's measuring line, might have borne the name *Vetālasūtrapāta* Regarding the position of the oldest parts of Pravarapura, see note iii 339-349.

199 *Sarvādhikāra*, literally meaning 'charge of all [offices'], is the designation of the post of prime minister, the 'Dewan' of modern native States This is made quite clear by a comparison of viii. 2360 and viii 2400, 2470, where the terms *sarvādhikāra* and *mukhyamantritā*, 'prime ministership,' are used as equivalents for the designation of the identical position. Judging from the comparatively rare mention of the post, it may be concluded that it did not figure regularly as the highest step in the official hierarchy, but was bestowed only on dignitaries of exceptional influence and power This is indicated by the fact that Tuṅga, Queen Diddā's all-powerful minister, bore this title, vi 333, and also by the administrative measures recorded of the *Sarvādhikārin* Gauraka, viii. 560 sqq. A division of the powers attached to the Sarvādhikāra is referred to on occasion of S'ṛṅgāra's death, viii. 2471 For other references see vii. 364, 568; viii 862, 1850.

202 By *Kāṣṭhavāṭa* of our passage cannot possibly be meant the territory of *Kiṣṭvār*

Kṣemagupta to the Ganges, *Phalguṇa*, who distrusted the palace and apprehended [evil] from his enemies, resolved to stop at *Parṇotsa* until his [son's] return. He left the city followed by numerous troops, and had arrived near *Kāṣṭhavāṭa*, together with his possessions and soldiers, when *Diddā*, at the instigation of *Rakka* and others, took a quick resolve, and instead of polite requests sent staff-bearers after him.

204. The proud [Phalguṇa], thereupon, grieved by this fresh dishonour, turned back and marched to *Varāhakṣetra*, attended by a large armed force.

205. On hearing that that man of dignity had returned with an army, *Diddā* with her ministers feared an attack and trembled.

206. He, after long lamenting his master who had gone to rest at that site, laid his sword at the feet of [the image of] *Varāha*.

207. By depositing his sword, the minister allayed [both] the suspicion that he contemplated treason, and the alarm of the king's mother.

208. When employed by a person whose mind does not discriminate between right and wrong, learning (*śāstra*) as well as the sword (*śastra*) creates great misfortune. If he use [either of them] in anger as a remedy, it brings upon him the accusation of deep treachery. For these [two, learning and sword,] which give [to him] such deficient help, only a man of judgment is right in showing a sort of passionate attachment.

209. When *Phalguṇa* with his troops had thus proceeded slowly to *Parṇotsa*, the ministers rejoiced as boys when left by their teacher.

('Kishtwar') to the S E of Kaśmir which otherwise bears this name, as the route to *Parṇotsa* or *Prūnṭs* (see note iv. 140), which Phalguṇa wishes to reach, lies in an entirely different direction. But the locality meant in our passage is clearly the same as the *Kāṣṭhavāṭa* mentioned in viii. 390, in connection with an expedition which Sussala led from *Lohara* (Lohᵃrin) to Kaśmir I have already shown in Note *E* (iv. 177), that on this expedition Sussala must have proceeded by one of the routes which lead from the *Sadrūn* Valley (to the N. of Prūnṭs) into the Valley of the Vitastā below Varāhamūla. It is exactly by one of these routes (over the Hajji Pir or Pajja Passes), that Prūnts is most conveniently approached from Kaśmir. In the above quoted passage, we read that Sussala, after reaching *Kāṣṭhavāṭa*, is stopped by an opposing force assembled at Huṣkapura. In like manner we find in our own narrative that Phalguṇa, when stopped on the way to Parṇotsa, returns from Kāṣṭhavāṭa to Varāhakṣetra, i.e. Varāhamūla.

It follows from the above that Kāṣṭhavāṭa must be the old name of some locality in the western part of the *Kruhin* Pargaṇa, or in the hills lying immediately to the W. of the latter (Valleys of Bunīār and Naushehra). I have not been able to trace in this direction a local name corresponding to Kāṣṭhavāṭa, but it is worth noting that *Kaṣṭᵃvār*, the direct phonetic derivative of Kāṣṭhavāṭa, occurs elsewhere as a local name in Kaśmir. There is a small village called *Kaṣṭᵃvār* close to Nunar in the Dūnṭs ('Doonsoo') Pargaṇa, situated about 74° 45' long. 33° 58' lat.

To the Kāṣṭhavāṭa of our passage refers probably also viii. 468. Regarding *Kāṣṭhavāṭa* as the designation of a territory on the Cināb, see note vii. 590.

203 The term *yaṣṭika*, 'staff-bearer,' used here and below, vi. 215, 217, 237, corresponds literally to the *cōbdār* of modern India. It seems to designate a special class of royal attendants or guards, and is probably the equivalent of *vetrin*, vi. 3; viii. 524.

Regarding the worship of Viṣṇu as Ādivarāha at the Varāhakṣetra, see note vi. 186.

208. By *śāstra* the Nītiśāstra is meant.

ABHIMANYU (A.D. 958-972).

210. *Kṣemagupta's* wife, too, thought of the extension and preservation [of her power], and was kept awake at night by [schemes for] the destruction of her enemies.

Mahiman's rebellion.

211-213. At an earlier time, when *Parvagupta* was aiming at the crown, he had married two daughters to the ministers *Choja* and *Bhūbhaṭa*, who had taken [with him] the oath by sacred libation (*kośapīthin*). The two sons who were born from these, the renowned *Mahiman* and *Pāṭala*, grew up in the king's palace as if they were his own sons, and had remained there up to that time. These two, eager for the throne, entered a conspiracy with *Himmaka* and others who knew no restraint.

214-215. These two powerful [persons] had been turned out from the royal palace by the weak queen While, full of anger, they were going hither and thither from their own house, she sent staff-bearers in open hostility behind *Mahiman*, who had left one [place], in order to have him banished.

216. He had gone to the house of his father-in-law *S'aktisena*. Knowing this, they followed him there also.

217. As the staff-bearers did not leave after *S'aktisena* had politely requested them, he openly gave shelter to his son-in-law, who was in fear.

218-219. Having found a refuge, he was joined by *Himmaka*, *Mukula* and one *Eramantaka*, a resident of *Parihāsapura*, as well as by the famous *Udayagupta*, son of *Amṛtākara*, and by *Yaśodhara* and others, who came from *Lalitādityapura*.

220 Each of them made the earth shake with the [tramp of the] troops [he collected], and forming a confederacy by the side of *Mahiman*, they raised a rebellion

221. At that time of great danger, the faithful minister *Naravāhana* was the only one who, together with his relatives, did not abandon the side of *Diddā*.

222. Then as their forces increased, the enemy with glittering weapons came into the vicinity of the [temple of] *Padmasvāmin*, eager for battle.

223. *Diddā*, thereupon, sent her son to the *S'ūramaṭha*, and in distress sought various means for averting the disaster.

224. With plenty of gold, she quickly bought off the Brahmans from *Lalitādityapura*, and thus broke up the league of her enemies.

211. Compare iv. 424 sq

213. The Tārīkhs of Haidar Malik and Narāyan Kaul give *Himmaka's* name as that of a Turk.

219. *Lalitādityapura* is the same as *Lalitapura* referred to in iv. 187 Its site is marked by the modern *Lat*ⁱ*pōr* on the Vitastā.

222 The temple already mentioned, iv 695, was probably situated in *Padmapura* (Pāmpar); see note *l.c.*

223. The mention of the *S'ūramaṭha* in vi. 243, shows that this building was situated in S'rīnagara; regarding its foundation, see v. 38.

225. They took an oath by sacred libation (*pītakośa*), declaring that if one were attacked they would all resent it, and [then] brought about a reconciliation between *Mahiman* and the queen.

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226. The lame [queen] whom no one had thought capable of stepping over a cow's footprint got over the ocean-like host of [her enemies], just as Hanumat [got over the ocean].

227. Reverence to wealth which possesses [such] wonderful power! For, when given away, it brings about just what jewels and valuable herbs [achieve] when collected,—the cessation of troubles.

228. Thinking that favours were superior even to gold given in bribes, *Diddā* bestowed upon *Yaśodhara* and the rest the command of the army (*kampana*) and other [offices].

229. After a few days she put *Mahiman* out of the way by witchcraft, and the rule of the widow became undisputed in the land.

230. Once the commander-in-chief out of spite, together with his relatives, undertook an expedition against the *S'āhi* ruler *Thakkana*.

Expedition against *S'āhi Thakkana*.

231. Possessed of full energy, he rapidly invaded that country, which is difficult of access on account of its streams and mountains, and captured *Thakkana* by force.

232. He took tribute from that king, who did homage, and watered afresh the creeper of Fame with the water [sprinkled] at the inauguration ceremony (*abhiṣeka*).

233. At that time, *Rakka* and other wicked persons, who had access to the foolish queen, stirred up enmity in her against the commander-in-chief.

234. Into a king, into a crystal, and into the heart of a woman of bad disposition, there enters a fresh passion (*or* colour, *rāga*) when their constant companions are absent.

235. Parasites, by cunningly speaking words which agree with their own thoughts, get a hold over the mind of vulgar people and of courtesans, and [so do] house-slaves over that of their masters.

236. When they said in their conversation that he (Yaśodhara) was betraying [her], and that he had taken money for keeping *Thakkana* [on his throne], she took their slander for the very truth.

237. Thereupon, when the commander-in-chief, swelled with glory, had

230. Nothing is known of the ruler here referred to. He may have been some small chief in a neighbouring hill region claiming descent from the great *S'āhi* family of Kābul and Gandhāra; comp. regarding the latter, note iv. 153 and Note J (v. 152-155). In viii. 913 a Darad chief, Vidyādhara, is mentioned with the title *S'āhi*. The name *Thakkana* occurs elsewhere; comp. vii. 422, 447, etc.

232. The captured king on being installed as a tributary prince receives a fresh *abhiṣeka*.

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reached his residence, *Diddā* despatched staff-bearers with the evident intention of banishing him.

Rising against *Diddā*.

238. When they heard of this insult, *Himmaka*, *Eramantaka* and the others remembered what they had agreed upon under their oath by sacred libation (*kośa*), and raised a rebellion as before.

239. As on the previous occasion, thus again the queen's own troops became disaffected, but *Naravāhana* and those with him did not desert her side.

240. When *S'ubhadhara* and others entered the City in fury, *Diddā* once more sent away her son to the *Bhaṭṭārakamaṭha*.

241. Deluded by fate, they did not destroy her at that moment, while she stayed without her son in the barricaded palace.

242. On the following day already the queen's forces assembled, with the help of which she then secured a somewhat safer position.

243. Then commenced the fighting with the enemy's troops, which held positions extending from near *Jayābhaṭṭārikā* to the vicinity of the *S'ūramatha*.

244. When the royal force, fleeing in a panic, threw itself into the palace, the Ekāṅgas displayed their array at the main gate of the palace (*simhadvāra*).

245. Without regard for their own lives, they rallied the routed force, attacked the enemy's troops, and turned to flight some of [their] opponents.

246. At that moment there arrived *Rājakulabhatta*, scattering the enemy's force by the sound of his martial music, and delighting his own [side].

247. When he arrived, the enemy's army [which was already] scattering, vanished. The deities of war (*śastradevatā*) do not tolerate vile treason.

248-249. *Himmaka*, of terrible valour, who [before] had proved the truth of the report that he could cut through iron chains and split stones in two,—when his sword fell in fierce combat on the waist of *Rājakulabhatta*, could not even cut through the leather of his armour.

250. On seeing this incredible occurrence the [enemy's] force became dejected, and *Himmaka* was slain, and *Yaśodhara* captured by the soldiers.

251. *Eramantaka*, who, in spite of this, had yet for a short time struggled on in the fight, fell from his horse with his sword broken, and was caught alive.

240. The name of the *Bhaṭṭārakamaṭha* survives in that of *Brad'mar*, a quarter of S'rinagar, situated between the fourth and fifth bridges on the right bank of the river. This identification is indicated by the gloss of A_2, vii. 298, and is well-known to the Paṇḍits; comp BÜHLER, *Report*, p. 16. Another reference, viii. 2426, shows that the *Bhaṭṭārakamaṭha* was a building of considerable size; see also *Vikram.* xviii. 11.

From our passage and vi. 223, it appears that Maṭhas, built probably in massive quadrangles, were more defensible places than the royal palace, and hence used as places of refuge; see also viii. 374, 1052.

243. *Jayābhaṭṭārikā*, only here mentioned, is possibly the designation of a temple.

244. Compare for *simhadvāra*, literally 'the lions' gate,' vii. 879, 882; viii. 345, 461, 1452.

252. The illustrious *Udayagupta*, whom, on account of his relationship with the royal family, they did not wish to seize, left the battle and escaped somewhere. ABHIMANYU (A.D. 958-972).

253. As soon as she had thus secured victory, the queen, in wrath, punished *Yaśodhara*, *S'ubhadhara*, and *Mukula*, together with their relatives.

254-255. The valiant *Eramantaka*, too, he of *Parihāsapura*, who had relieved the Kaśmirians from the tax for S'rāddhas at *Gayā*, was thrown into the water of the *Vitastā*, with a large stone bound to his neck, and thus received from the infuriated queen the reward for his false conduct.

256-258. Those treacherous ministers, who, during sixty years from the year [of the Laukika era three thousand nine hundred] seventy-seven (A.D. 901/2) onwards, had robbed sixteen kings, from King *Gopāla*[*varman*] to *Abhimanyu*, of their dignity, lives and riches,—they all, together with their descendants and followers, were quickly exterminated by the angry Queen *Diddā* with a mere terrifying frown, just as the great Asuras [were exterminated] by Durgā.

259. After destroying those whom pride had made overbearing, the queen placed *Rakka* and others in charge of the chief command [of the army] and of the other state offices.

260. Thus the faithful *Naravāhana*, the best of ministers, made the widow [acquire power] over the whole land, and made her resemble Indra [who rules over the whole heaven]. *Naravāhana's* ascendancy.

261. The queen, too, in gratitude herself called that faithful one into the council of ministers with the title of *Rājānaka*.

262. She slept when he slept, took food when he took it, rejoiced in his joy, and from sympathy felt dejected when he was despondent.

263. When he kept within his house, she was not happy without inquiring about his health, without requesting his advice, and without sending him things of her own.

264-266. *Sindhu* and *Bhuyya* were the two sons of a litter-carrier called *Kuyya*. The elder, *Sindhu*, had been previously a favourite in the house of *Parvagupta*, and in due course treasurer. In time he obtained charge of the treasury

254-255. Reference is made here to a certain tax which pilgrims performing S'rāddhas at Gayā had to pay, and from which Eramantaka had freed Kaśmirian visitors of the Tirtha, perhaps by means of a great donation. Exemption from this tax is mentioned again, vii. 1008.

The 'freeing of Gayā,' which is recorded in an inscription of Saṁvat 1516, translated by CUNNINGHAM, *Arch. Survey Rep.*, iii. p. 131, relates probably to a similar act of munificence. Dr. G. A. Grierson kindly informs me that a pilgrims' tax has been levied at Gayā until quite recently for municipal purposes.

256-258. Compare for the exact date of Gopālavarman's accession, v. 222.

261. Comp. regarding this title, note vi. 117.

265. I translate according to the conjectural emendation, *gañjādhyakṣas tataḥ*, shown in note of Ed.

266. Regarding the employ of the term *gañja*, see note vii. 126.

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from the queen. In this continued employ as lord of the treasury (*gañjeśa*) he created new imposts, and became the founder of the [revenue-]office called [after him] *Sindhugañja*.

267. This wicked person told the queen, whose mind was easily impressed, that *Naravāhana* took from her most of the royal power.

268. While she was expressing her agreement, the minister just then by chance, out of fond devotion, requested her to come to his house and partake of a meal.

269. When *Sindhu* told her that if she went there he (Naravāhana) would for certain imprison her and her attendants, the terrified [queen] asked him for advice.

270. Unnoticed, she hurried [back] to the palace without saying [anything], and subsequently sent word that she had got her menses.

271. When the queen had thus turned back from the way to him after the courteous attention which he had shown [her], the minister's attachment and good feeling ceased.

Estrangement between *Diddā* and *Naravāhana*.

272. Subsequently when their [mutual] affection had been removed (*niṣkṛṣṭasnehayoḥ*), intriguers produced between them a thorough estrangement, such as [there is] between sesamum and oil-cake.

273. The diamond can be held as proof against all metals, and stone dykes against the waters, but nothing [is proof] against the false.

274. Those who are more foolish than a child, and yet [at the same time] more cunning than the teacher of the gods (Bṛhaspati),—verily we do not know of what atoms they are composed.

275. The crow, which has a distrustful mind, takes the young ones of other [birds] for its own. The swan, which has the power of separating [by its beak] milk and water, is in dread of an empty cloud. The king, whose mind is sharp [enough] to take care of the people, thinks the words of a rogue true. Fie upon the order [established] by Fate in which cleverness and stupidity are blended!

276. That foolish [queen] who was unable [to use] her feet (*caraṇahīnā*), became, through her want of moral principles (*śrutibāhyatā*), an object of reproach, being in character just like a stupid Brahman [who, being foolish and ignorant of the ritual (*caraṇa*), becomes an object of reproach through his want of Vedic knowledge (*śruti*)].

277. She exasperated *Naravāhana* on repeated occasions to such an extent, that tormented by his disgrace he committed suicide.

272. There is a double sense in *niṣkṛṣṭasnehayoḥ* which in connection with the simile would have to be rendered 'after the oily substance has been extracted.'

278. When men of honour have their sense of dignity outraged by [a slight] for which there is no remedy, and their mind tormented [thereby], what other refuge have they but death?

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279. The royal dignity, when separated from *Naravāhana*, did not spread lustre, [as little] as the night without the moon [or] speech without truth.

280. Hardened by continued cruelty, the queen resolved to kill the sons of *Saṃgrāma*, the Ḍāmara, who had shown prowess, while they were stopping near [her].

281. They fled in fear of her to *Ghoṣa* in *Uttara*, their own [place], and killed *Kayyaka*, the lord of the Gate, and others who attacked them.

282 The queen, fearing a rebellion, disregarded the shame of humiliation, and exerted herself to appease them. How can those who are absorbed by selfishness have a sense of honour?

283. After returning again into her presence, full of apprehension, they took [fresh] courage in an union with *Sthāneśvara* and other chief Ḍāmaras.

Phalguna recalled by Diddā.

284. When *Rakka* died, the queen, who was afraid of them, and was in need of a strong man, called again *Phalguṇa* to her side.

285. Though he had before laid down the sword, he grasped it again while discharging the affairs of the crown. It is indeed difficult to abandon the desire for pleasures.

286. The wonderful greatness of this conqueror of *Rājapurī* and other [regions] became ultimately, [as it were], the paramour (*avaruddha*) of this dissolute old woman.

287. The wicked *Jayagupta*, who was the favoured associate of *Udayarāja*, the queen's brother, was in charge of the Akṣapaṭala [office].

281. By *Uttaraghoṣa*, K means evidently the present village of *Guṣ* in the Uttar Pargaṇa, 74° 17′ long. 34° 31′ lat. The place is mentioned under the name of *Ghoṣa* in the *S'āradāmāh.* 124, and its Nāga is probably referred to under the name of *Goṣa* in the *Nilamata*, 939.

The *Uttar* Pargaṇa in the extreme N.W. of Kramarājya (Kamrāz) is mentioned as *Uttaraka* in *Lokapr.*, ii.

286. For *avaruddha* as the designation of a man who lives with a widow, comp. note iv. 678.

Rājapurī is the old name of the hill-territory now known as *Rajauri*. It lies to the south of the central part of the Pir Pantsāl range, and comprises the valleys which are drained by the Tohi of Rajauri and its tributaries. Its modern Kaśmiri name is *Rāzvir* (the *Rājavira* of the Fourth Chron. 542 sq.). Comp. CUNNINGHAM, *Anc. Geogr.*, p. 129 sq The relations between this small hill-state and Kaśmir are often referred to in the narrative of the last two Books; see Index.

In the time of Hiuen-tsiang, *Rājapurī* (*Ho-lo-she-pu-lo*) was subject to Kaśmir; comp. *Si-yu-ki*, i., p. 163. In Diddā's time, and during the subsequent reigns, the rulers of Rājapurī must have practically enjoyed independence, though the important position held by Rājapurī on the main route to the south seems to have induced the later kings of Kaśmir to make frequent attempts of extending their power in this direction. Albērūni, *India*, i. p. 208, describes correctly the position of 'Rājawari,' and speaks of it as the farthest place to which Muhammadan merchants in his time traded. Regarding the later history of Rajauri, comp. VIGNE, *Travels*, i. pp. 225 sqq.; DREW, *Jummoo*, p. 155.

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288. In company with him, other officials of cruel character plundered *Kaśmīr*, in consequence of the sins which this [land] had accumulated.

289. And at that time *Abhimanyu*, whom the sins of his evil-conducted mother rendered miserable, fell into consumption.

290. He had eyes resembling lotuses, was learned, cherished by the sons of learned men and versed in the S'āstras; learning and youth rendered him brilliant.

291. Him who was of such a noble character, the intercourse with the wicked withered, just as the sun's heat [withers] the S'irīṣa-flower.

292. While yet half full, this moon of the subjects was seized by the eclipse of fate on the third day of the bright half of Kārttika in the year [of the Laukika era four thousand] forty-eight (A.D. 972).

NANDIGUPTA (A.D. 972-973).

293. On his throne stepped his son *Nandigupta*, and into the heart of *Diddā* [entered] great sorrow for her [lost] child.

294. Her grief hid her cruel nature, and she became composed and mild (cool), just as a small sun-crystal [becomes cool] when its peculiar property of producing heat is concealed by darkness.

295. From that time forwards the wealth which she had acquired by evil acts, became purified through her astonishing deeds of piety.

296. *Bhuyya*, *Sindhu's* brother, a man of virtue, who was city prefect, encouraged her in this pious activity.

297. From the time that he had roused in her the priceless affection for her people, and she had abandoned her evil ways, the queen became esteemed by everyone.

298. Rare to find, indeed, is the minister who, free from fierceness, makes it easy [for the subjects] to serve the king, just as the winter [makes it easy to enjoy] the sun.

Pious foundations of *Diddā*.

299. To increase her deceased son's merit, she founded the [temple of Viṣṇu] *Abhimanyusvāmin* and [the town of] *Abhimanyupura*.

300. She built further the [temple of Viṣṇu] *Diddāsvāmin*, together with *Diddāpura*, and a Maṭha for the residence of people from *Madhyadeśa*, *Lāṭa* and *Sauḍotra* (?).

299. Neither the temple nor the town are otherwise known. Regarding another place called *Abhimanyupura*, see i. 175.

300. Nothing is known of the *Diddāsvāmin* temple and of *Diddāpura*.

The Maṭha here referred to is undoubtedly the *Diddāmaṭha* mentioned vii 11; viii. 349. It has left its name to the *Did*ᵃ*mar* quarter of S'rinagar, situated between the sixth and seventh bridges on the right bank of the river. This identification is well known to the Paṇḍits, and is borne out by numerous passages of the later Chronicles which refer to that part of the city under the name of *Diddāmaṭha*; comp. *S'rīv.* iii 173, 186 sqq.; iv. 126; Fourth Chron., 322, 550, 629, 698.

Regarding the significance of the term *Madhyadeśa*, 'the middle country,' see LASSEN, *Ind. Alt.*, i. p. 119, and FLEET, *Ind. Ant.*, xxii. p. 169.—For *Lāṭa*, see note iv. 209.

For the name *S'auḍotra*, which is otherwise

301. To increase the eminence of the merit of her husband, the '*Kaṅkaṇa-varṣa*,' this charming lady, who gave gold in showers, built *Kaṅkaṇapura*.

302. She also built a second [temple of Viṣṇu called] *Diddāsvāmin*, of white stones, which was dazzling as if bathed with the waters of the Gaṅgā as it issues from the feet [of Viṣṇu]

303. She of charming beauty built a Vihāra with a high quadrangle, as an abode for Kaśmīrians and foreigners (*daiśika*).

304. Under the name of her father, *Siṁharāja*, she erected the illustrious [shrine of Viṣṇu] *Siṁhasvāmin*, and a Maṭha for the residence of foreign Brahmans.

305. By the construction of Maṭhas, by the placing of Vaikuṇṭha (Viṣṇu) images and other pious works of her own, she sanctified the confluence of the *Vitastā* and *Sindhu*.

306 Why enumerate [so] many pious works? It is related that she made sixty-four foundations in different localities.

307. The queen, being bent on the restoration of ruined buildings (*jīrnoddhāra*), enclosed with stone walls almost all the temples the surrounding walls of which had been burned down.

308. *Valgā*, a porter-woman, who used to carry about on her back the lame queen at games which required running, caused the *Valgāmaṭha* to be erected.

309. The Timi-fish, though living in sacred water and keeping silence like a Muni, habitually eats those of his own stock; the peacock, though feeding only on rain water, yet daily swallows the snakes; the heron, though keeping in pretended meditation, eats the unsuspecting fishes. There is no knowing either

unknown, the authors of the *P W.*, s.v, *śauḍa*, proposed to read *S'auḍoḍra*, which would give us the two names of *S'auḍa* and *Uḍra* The latter is the old designation of Orissa; see FLEET, *l.c.* p. 192 *S'auḍa* is, perhaps, as suggested in *N.P.W.*, s.v., the same as the ethnic name *S'auṭa* mentioned between Mālava and Gurjara in an inscription published *Ind. Ant.*, xii. p. 218.—LASSEN, *Ind. Alt.*, iii. p. 1044, had suggested the emendation of *Gauḍa* for *S'auḍa*.

301. For Abhimanyu's epithet or nickname *Kaṅkaṇavarṣa*, 'Rainer of bracelets,' see vi 161.

Kaṅkaṇapura is, perhaps, the modern *Kangan*, a village on the right bank of the Sind river, 74° 57′ long. 34° 16′ lat.

303. The word *daiśika* in our passage has been assumed to designate 'people of [Diddā's] own country' (*P. W.*), or 'teachers' (*N.P.W.*). The context, however, shows that it designates the 'foreigner' in contrast to the Kaśmīrian. This is also the meaning distinctly given to the word by Jonarāja in his commentary on *S'rīkaṇṭhac.* xxv. 102 (*deśāntariya*). K. uses the word clearly in the same sense, viii. 1328, where no other interpretation is possible, and in vii 97, 189, 193; viii. 493. Another passage, viii 3058, is doubtful. For *daiśika*, 'foreigner,' comp. *Vikram.* xviii 44, and above note iii. 9 on *deśya*. The meaning 'traveller,' given by Hemacandra for *deśika* (see *P.W.*, s.v.), may also be referred to

Diddā's Vihāra is not mentioned elsewhere.

304. From the reference made to the *Siṁharājamaṭha* in vii. 1568, it might be assumed that this shrine stood somewhere near Vijayeśvara. A temple of Viṣṇu *Siṁharājasvāmin* is mentioned in viii. 1822 at Lohara.

305. Regarding this confluence (*saṁgama*), see Note *I*, v. 97-100.

NANDIGUPTA (A.D. 972-973).

about the pious practices or about the change to sinful acts [on the part] of wicked people.

310. After a single year, when her grief had been allayed, that unfaithful woman, lusting for pleasures, employed witchcraft against her little grandson.

311. On the twelfth day of the bright half of Mārgaśīrṣa in the year [of the Laukika era four thousand] forty-nine (A.D. 973), he was destroyed by her persisting on her unholy course.

TRIBHUVANA (A.D. 973-975).

312. In the same fashion she destroyed her grandson *Tribhuvana*, on the fifth day of the bright half of Mārgaśīrṣa in the year [of the Laukika era four thousand] fifty-one (A.D. 975).

BHĪMAGUPTA (A.D. 975-980/1).

313. Then the cruel [queen] put without hesitation her last grandson, *Bhīmagupta*, on that path of death which bore the name 'throne.'

314. At that time there died also the old *Phalguṇa*, from respect for whom *Diddā* had concealed her cruelty and malignity.

315. Thereafter she committed hundredfold excesses by open misconduct, infuriated just as a female elephant in rut which has torn off its face-covering.

316. Alas, the course of women even of noble descent moves by nature downwards, like that of rivers!

317. Born from the resplendent ocean, the sovereign lord of the waters, Lakṣmī yet takes her permanent abode in the lotus (*jalaja*), which is born in a pool containing but little water. Thus too women of high origin abandon themselves to the low.

Rise of *Tuṅga*.

318-320. *Tuṅga* was the son of *Bāṇa*, a *Khaśa* whose native village was *Baddivāsa* in *Parṇotsa*. He had come as a herdsman of buffaloes. After reaching *Kaśmīr*, together with his five brothers, *Sugandhīsiha*, *Prakaṭa*, *Nāga*, *Aṭṭayika*, and *Ṣaṇmukha*, he obtained employment as a letter-carrier (*lekhahāraka*). Once before the minister of foreign affairs he was seen by the queen and won her heart.

312. The rare coins of this nominal ruler show his name as *Tribhuvanagupta*; see CUNNINGHAM, *Med. Coins of India*, pl. iv. 14.

313. *Bhimagupta* is named as the reigning prince in the Laukika year 4052 (A.D. 976/7), when Kayyaṭa, son of Candrāditya, composed his commentary on the *Devīstotra* of Ānandavardhana; comp. Colophon of the latter text in *Kāvyamālā*, ix. p. 31.

317. In *jalaja* an allusion is intended to *jaḍaja*, 'born from a fool'; comp. notes iv. 10; vii. 1108.

318-320. The modern glossator A₄ identifies *Baddivāsa* with *Bōdōl*, i.e. *Būdil*, a well-known village situated to the south of the Pīr Pantsāl on one of the upper tributaries of the Āns River, circ. 74° 48′ long. 33° 22′ lat. It has given its name to a pass over the range and to a once much-frequented mountain-route, comp. DREW, *Jummoo*, pp. 137, 524. It is to be doubted whether this identification is correct, as Būdil lies a considerable distance from the territory now belonging to Prūnts (Parṇotsa), and is separated from it by a high range of mountains. [Cunningham seems to have heard the same identification, as he mentions, *Anc. Geogr.*, p. 133, '*Badwāl* or *Vaḍḍiwāsa*,' in a list of hill-states to the S. of Kaśmīr. 'Badwāl,' a name which I have not been able to trace, is here probably intended for Būdil.]

The early career of *Tuṅga* finds its parallel in that of many Pahāris, in particular Gujars

321. She had the youth brought up secretly by a messenger, and took, as fate willed, an affection for him, though she had [already] many paramours. **Bhīmagupta (A.D. 975-980/1).**

322. Then the queen, who knew no shame, and was filled with love for *Tuṅga*, killed *Bhuyya* by poison, as he had shown dissatisfaction.

323. Shame upon those bad masters, thoughtless and of perverse mind, who, when pleased, bestow empty praise which carries no reward, and punish a fault with the loss of life and property!

324. The Velāvitta *Devakalaśa*, *Rakka's* son, a shameless wretch, who acted as a procurer, was placed by her in *Bhuyya's* office.

325 Even leading men like *Kardamarāja*, lord of the Gate, and other [chief] officers, even they did procuring. Others [who did the same], how could they be counted?

326-328 When the child *Bhīmagupta*, after living four or five years in the palace, had become a little more developed in intellect, and recognized in his mind that the affairs of the kingdom and his grandmother's ways of living were not right, and in need of reform, he became an object of suspicion to that fickle [queen], who was by nature merciless and deficient [not only] in body [but also] in moral feeling.

329. He was the scion of a noble family whom *Abhimanyu's* wife had secretly substituted [as her own son. It was] for this [reason that] he was of such character.

330. Thereupon the shameless queen, feeling alarmed, openly imprisoned *Bhīmagupta* on *Devakalaśa's* advice.

331. The doubt which had [till now] been felt by the people as to the mischief secretly done to *Nandigupta* and the others, was dispelled by this open act of hers.

332. Having put *Bhīmagupta* to death by various tortures, she herself ascended the throne in the year [of the Laukika era four thousand] fifty-six (A.D. 980/1) **Diddā (A.D. 980/1-1003).**

333. Then *Tuṅga*, whom the queen's infatuation made day by day [more] insolent, became prime minister (*sarvādhikārin*) and was raised above everybody.

334. The former ministers whom *Tuṅga* and his brothers had ousted, were filled with dissatisfaction, and exerted themselves to raise a rebellion in the kingdom.

335. They met in council and brought to *Kaśmīr* Prince *Vigraharāja*, the son of *Diddā's* brother, who was strong and possessed formidable valour. *Vigraharāja's rebellion.*

of the present time. Coming to Kaśmīr from Prūnts and the neighbouring hill-districts with their buffaloes, they find ready employ as *Shikāris*, ḍāk-carriers, etc, owing to their comparative energy and reliability

The *lekhahāraka* is the *khāsid* of modern Indian courts.

324. Compare vi. 296

328. *aṅgaśilavikīnāyāḥ*: an allusion to Diddā's lameness; see vi. 308.

DIDDĀ (A.D. 980/1-1003).

336. On his arrival, he sensibly at once induced the Brahmans holding the chief Agrahāras to enter upon a solemn fast (*prāyopaveśa*), in order to cause disturbance in the kingdom.

337. When the Brahmans had united, the whole of the people was in uproar too, and searched daily in different places for *Tuṅga*, wishing to kill him.

338. *Diddā*, fearing a revolt, hid *Tuṅga* for some days in an apartment with closed doors.

339 By presents of gold, she gained over *Sumanomantaka* and other Brahmans, and then the fast ended.

340. As soon as she had by her bribes warded off this great trouble, *Vigrahārāja's* power was broken, and he went as he had come.

341 *Tuṅga* and his people, having [again secured] the power and strengthened their position, put to death, in due course, *Kardamarāja* and others who had raised the rebellion.

342. When dissatisfied, they exiled *Sulakkana*, *Rakka's* son, and other chief councillors, and brought them back [again], when pleased.

343. *Vigraharāja*, whose enmity was growing, again by secret emissaries caused the Brahmans to begin a solemn fast (*prāya*)

344. The Brahmans met again to hold a fast, [but] as they were willing to take bribes, *Tuṅga*, who had firmly established himself, got rid of them.

345. *Āditya*, a favourite officer (*kaṭakavārika*) of *Vigraharāja*, who had secretly kept among them, fled and was killed.

346. A chamberlain called *Vatsarāja* was wounded and caught alive in his flight by *Nyaṅkotaka* and others

347. Also *Sumanomantaka* and the other Brahmans, who had taken the gold [of Diddā], were all caught and put into prison by *Tuṅga*

Expedition against *Rājapurī*.

348. The ruler of *Rājapurī* showed then arrogance in consequence of *Phalguṇa's* decease, and all the ministers in anger started an expedition against that [land].

349. Thereupon *Pṛthvīpāla*, the valiant king of *Rājapurī*, attacked the *Kaśmīr* force in a defile, and destroyed it.

350. There the ministers *S'ipāṭaka* and *Haṃsarāja* found their death. *Candra* and others fell into [such] distress that death would there have been a relief.

351. Then the heroic *Tuṅga*, with his brothers, suddenly penetrated into *Rājapurī* by another route, and at once burnt it down entirely.

345. The exact meaning of the designation *kaṭakavārika* is uncertain. It is found only once more, viii. 861, where too it is used of a person in the service of the Rājapurī ruler.

DIDDĀ (A.D. 980/1-1003)

352. By this diversion King *Pṛthvipāla* was defeated, and the forces of the other ministers were extricated from the defile.

353. In his helplessness the king paid tribute to *Tuṅga*. Thus that [minister] retrieved on this occasion a lost cause.

354. *Tuṅga* on his return thence to the City (S'rīnagar) received the command of the army, and with the courage of a lion destroyed the hosts of the Ḍāmaras.

Saṁgrāmarāja made Yuvarāja.

355. And *Diddā* without scruple raised the son of her brother *Udayarāja*, called *Saṁgrāmarāja*, to the rank of Yuvarāja after testing him [as follows] :

356. In order to test her nephews, children all, who were assembled before her, she threw down before them a heap of apples (*pālevata*).

357. "How many of these fruits can each get hold of?" Thus she spoke and caused thereby a scramble among the princes.

358. She saw that the others had got but few fruits, but had received their knocks, while *Saṁgrāmarāja* held plenty of fruits and was yet untouched.

359. When she asked him in surprise how he had secured that large number of fruits without getting a blow, he replied to her thus :

360. "I got the fruits by making those [boys] fight furiously with each other, while I kept apart, and thus I remained unhurt."

361. "What successes do not fall to the share of those who without exerting themselves excite the passions of others and stand by with a cool mind?"

362. On hearing this his reply, which showed his collected mind, she who was timid, after women's nature, thought him fit for the throne.

363. Because the courageous think an object attainable by courage, just as the timid [think it attainable] by a cautious course, and this could not be otherwise.

364. Wood even without burning may relieve the cold of monkeys; water and fire may serve to clean the skin of antelopes which purify themselves in the flames (*agniśauca*). Things serve the object of each being according to its ways; they never possess in reality an innate nature.

365. When the queen had gone to heaven on the eighth day of the bright half of Bhādrapada in the year [of the Laukika era four thousand] seventy-nine (A.D. 1003), the Yuvarāja became king.

356. *Pālevata* is believed by the Kaśmīrian Paṇḍits to mean 'apple.' The fruit is mentioned by S'rivara, i. 196, together with *taṅka* (pear?) and *cirā* (apricot?), in the description of a Kaśmīr famine. Compare also the verse quoted in the commentary on *Maṅkha's Kośa*, s.v. *bhāvya*.

364. The wood which, without burning, is supposed to warm the monkeys, is referred to again in viii. 2627, under the designation *vānarendhana*, 'the monkeys' fuel.' The latter passage shows that a wood is meant which cannot be ignited. I have not been able to trace any tree to which such a belief is attached at present in Kaśmīr.

Regarding the antelopes which are supposed to clean themselves in the fire, comp. note v. 15.

Diddā (A.D. 980/1-1003).

366. This is the third wonderful change in the royal dynasties of this country which has taken place through relationship by marriage.

367. In this land cleared from the mass of enemies (*or*, thorns), and abounding in rich possessions, the race of the illustrious *Sātavāhana* attained its rise; as a mango-shoot [grows up] in a pleasure-garden in which inferior trees have been consumed by a forest-fire, and which has been moistened by the water of the clouds.

368. Then *Saṁgrāmarāja*, whose power of firm resolution was hidden by gentleness, supported easily on his arm the whole land, just as the lord of the snakes (S'eṣanāga), while concealing the power of his breath under [his snake-hoods, which have] the charming appearance of a mass of lotus-roots, [supports the whole earth] on the mass of his hoods.

Thus ends the Sixth Taraṅga of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, composed by *Kalhaṇa*, the son of the great Kaśmirian minister, the illustrious Lord *Caṇpaka*.

366. K refers here to the marriage of *Durlabhavardhana* with Anangalekhā, which brought the Kārkoṭa dynasty to the throne, iii. 481 sqq., and to the succession of *Nirjitavarman*, which was brought about by the latter's relationship with Queen *Sugandhā*, v. 251 sqq.

367. Compare regarding *Sātavāhana*, the ancestor of the Lohara family, vii. 1282 sqq.

The adjectives *nirnaṣṭakaṇṭakakule* and *vasusaṁpadāḍhye* may refer either to Kaśmir or to the pleasure-garden with which the land is compared.

368. *S'eṣanāga*, the king of the serpents, supports the earth on his thousand heads. These, on account of their intertangled mass and relatively small size, are compared to lotus-roots.

Colophon. A has after this the following verse: "There ruled here in sixty-four years, one month, a half [month] and eight days, ten kings who enjoyed the pleasures of the earth." The figures here indicated are in agreement with the dates given for Yaśaskara's accession (Laukika era 4015 *circ.* Āṣāḍha śudi 14) and Diddā's death (4079 Bhādrapada śudi 8).

It is probable that the somewhat awkward expression *māse 'pyardhe*, which is liable to be mistaken as 'one half month,' is but an old misreading for *māse 'dhyardhe* In S'āradā writing ध्य and प्य are easily mistaken for each other. This identical clerical error is found viii. 3407.

SEVENTH BOOK.

1. May the lord of Gaurī (S'iva) bless the world, he who worshipped the Twilight (Saṁdhyā) also, while he praised the Daughter of the mountains (Pārvatī), who felt jealous at the prayers addressed to Saṁdhyā with the following artful words: "[O Pārvatī], the adorable body of your mother has been created by Brahman in the spotless family of the Pitṛs. When joined in my embrace in the twilight, you sportively play with my underlip, which is red like the China rose (*japā*)."—*Or*, "[O Saṁdhyā], Brahman has created the adorable body of you, the mother of the spotless family of the Pitṛs. When you make your appearance in the twilight, you are again and again on my lip which is engaged in murmuring prayers (*japa*)."

2. The king bore forbearance (*kṣamā*) in his mind and the earth (*kṣamā*) in his arm; he surpassed leaders of armies (*vāhinīpatīn*) in strength and oceans (*vāhinīpatīn*) in profundity. SAṀGRĀMARĀJA (A.D. 1003-1028)

3-4. While the people all thought that *Tuṅga* would fall at the death of the queen, as the sun [goes down] attended by the twilight when the splendour of day departs, they saw him, on the contrary, even rise after breaking through the host of his various rivals. Who ever knows the course of the Creator?

5. At that time died the valiant and powerful *Candrākara*, who had become related to the king and who was worthy of the prime ministership.

6. The valiant sons of *Puṇyākara*, a rich clerk in the village of *Bhīmaṭikā*, were others who found eternal rest.

7. In the absence of capable ministers, fate led the king against his will to side with *Tuṅga*, no other course being left to him.

8. The queen (Diddā) had before, when she was on the point of death, made *Saṁgrāmarāja* and *Tuṅga* and the rest take an oath by sacred libation (*kośa*) that they would not harm each other.

1. The words put into the mouth of S'iva may by a series of puns be understood as referring either to his consort *Pārvatī* or to *Saṁdhyā*, the personification of the twilight and of the prayer recited at twilight. *Menā*, the mother of Pārvatī and wife of Himavat, belongs to the race of the *Pitṛs* or Manes. *Saṁdhyā* figures as the mother of the Pitṛs. In the above paraphrase both interpretations have been given.

2. Compare note iv. 146.

6. The name *Bhīmaṭikā* probably survives in that of *Bumai*, a large village in the Zain'gir Pargaṇa, situated 74° 30′ long. 34° 22′ lat. Comp. *Bum*[*zu* : *Bhīma*[-*keśava*, note vi. 177-178.

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9. The king then, being unable to take pains and also on account of the [weight of] business, entrusted the affairs of the subjects to *Tuṅga*, and became slack through indulgence in pleasures.

10. How could his timid nature be still more completely illustrated? He allowed his royal dignity to be lowered by unequal matrimonial relations.

11. Anxious to secure assistance, he thus gave his daughter *Loṭhikā* in marriage to the superintendent of the *Diddāmaṭha*, *Preman* by name, who possessed wealth, courage and other [good qualities].

12. How [great is the distance] between a princess fit for a king who is bent on universal conquest, and a Brahman of small mind whose hand is wet with the water of presents!

Rising against Tuṅga.

13. Then the Brahman councillors, in order to bring about the fall of *Tuṅga*, made the Brahmans and the Purohitas of sacred shrines (*pāriṣadya*) start a solemn fast (*prāya*) at *Parihāsapura*.

14. It was difficult for the king to allay this revolt, which was caused by the common resolve of the Brahmans and the ministers, as when fire and storm combine [to cause a conflagration].

15. The Brahmans had been ready even to dethrone the king. When somewhat appeased by supplications, they insisted upon the expulsion of *Tuṅga* as a kind of expiatory oblation (*kṣānticaru*).

16. When the king and *Tuṅga* and his people had agreed to this, those wicked-minded Brahmans persisted in demanding something else.

17-19. They said: "Let us burn this Brahman who has died through *Tuṅga's* violence, in his (Tuṅga's) house." These rogues had taken the body of some dead person out of a well, and were carrying it towards the residence of *Tuṅga*, when the evil spirit (*kṛtyā*) which they had raised by performing a sacrifice of their hair (*keśahoma*), fell back upon them. A strife arose, and suddenly swords were drawn for the destruction of these impure Brahmans.

20. Thereupon the Brahmans fled, and in fright betook themselves to the house of *Rājakalaśa*, who had been their secret instigator.

21. He, whose perfidy had become evident, kept up the fight for a long time, but the Brahmans fled through openings other than the gate and went to their homes.

12. Presents to Brahmans have to be offered accompanied by drops of water, comp. viii. 3401; *Nīlamata*, 990; *Caturvargac.* i pp. 185, 299, 333, etc.; ii p. 40.

13. For *pāriṣadya*, comp. note ii. 132.

15. K. evidently alludes by the expression *kṣānticaru* to a particular sacrificial oblation. The expression is used once more in a simile, viii. 2513.

17-19. The *keśahoma* is mentioned in Purāṇic stories; comp. *Padmapur.*, ii. xxiii. 5 sqq. The Ṛṣis throw their locks into the fire, from which rises a goblin to avenge their wrong.

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22. When *Rājakalaśa* was defeated, the seven sons of *S'rīdhara*, who were Brahmans and councillors, came and fought in the same cause.

23. Having performed great deeds in the fight, they found their death, and all seven entered straight into the world of Sūrya.

Tuṅga's victory.

24. Then when these had fallen in the fight, *Tuṅga* had *Rājakalaśa*, who had been vanquished by *Sugandhisiṁha*, brought to his own house in fetters.

25. *Tuṅga's* grooms quickly carried him wounded and disarmed on their shoulders, and made him dance on the roads.

26. Another minister, *Bhūtikalaśa*, who had also been defeated, went with his son *Pājaka* to the *S'ūramaṭha*.

27. When after some time *Sugandhisiṁha* and the rest had let him free from a feeling of pity, he went abroad, together with his son, burning with the fire of humiliation.

28. This commotion in the land which had arisen from *Parihāsapura*, turned out, as fate willed it, just to the glory of *Tuṅga*.

29. Subsequently, when the king had been propitiated through the minister *Guṇadeva*, *Bhūtikalaśa* returned after having made his ablutions in the Gaṅgā.

30. When he had again slowly secured some foothold in the palace, the king secretly sent emissaries to kill *Tuṅga*.

31. *Tuṅga* became aware of this, and disclosed the matter, whereupon the king again exiled *Bhūtikalaśa* and his son.

32. *Mayyamanataka*, the son of *Candrākara*, who in the course of time had attained some position, also died at that time.

33. The illustrious *Preman* too, the well-wisher of the king, died after having enjoyed for a brief time his union with the king's daughter.

34. All the other friends of the king, like *Ganga* and the rest, died also. Only *Tuṅga*, with his brothers, remained to enjoy pleasures.

35. Thus every occurrence which was expected to cause his fall, by the favour of fate only brought him greater predominance.

36. Thus those very floods of the river which, one might fear, would cause the fall of the tree on the bank where the ground has become loose by the lapse of time, and whose only support is in its roots—they, in truth, give firmness to the soil on which that [tree] stands, by the earth they bring down.

37. But *Tuṅga*, who had been eminently prudent in his conduct, and wholly bent on satisfying the people, became gradually, when the merits of his former [existence] were exhausted, unsteady in mind:

24. *Sugandhisiṁha* was a younger brother of Tuṅga; see vi. 319.

Saṁgrāmarāja (A.D. 1003-1028).

Rise of *Bhadreśvara*.

38. [Thus it happened] that, to his own misfortune, he took a low-born mean Kāyastha *Bhadreśvara* by name, as his assistant.

39-41. This [man's] proper hereditary occupation as a gardener (*ārāmika*) had been to trade in night soil, to act as a butcher, to sell fuel, etc. Then for a living he had hung at the back of officials, carrying their bags and ink-bottles, while a rough woollen cloth rubbed his [own] back. When *Tuṅga*, who was worn out by the cares of endless official and other affairs, made him his assistant, he did not know that by this association he brought about the destruction of [his own] fortune.

42. Ousting the pious and noble-minded *Dharmārka*, he put that wicked person in charge of the Gṛhakṛtya office.

43. Resembling an untimely death, that evil-minded person cut off the sustenance of gods, cows, Brahmans, the poor, strangers, and royal servants.

44. Even a fear-inspiring Kāpālika, who lives on corpses, gives maintenance to his own people, but the wicked *Bhadreśvara* did not allow even his own people to live.

45. In Caitra, *Tuṅga* made *Bhadreśvara* the master over everything, and in the month of Āṣāḍha, *Sugandhisiṅha* died.

46. When this brother of his died who had been able to bear all cares, the distressed *Tuṅga* felt as if his head had been cut off.

Expedition in support of *Trilocanapāla*.

47. In the month of Mārgaśīrṣa the king despatched him to the country of the illustrious *S'āhi Trilocanapāla*, who had asked for help.

39-41. K. evidently means by *ārāmika* the market-gardener, the modern *malīār* of Kaśmir. The work of the latter is invariably connected with the use of night soil or *poudrette* as manure, and is, therefore, considered degrading; comp. Lawrence, *Valley*, pp. 307, 322. An agriculturist who takes up the work of a market-gardener, cuts himself off from agricultural Muhammadans. Butchers too, in Kaśmir, now exclusively Muhammadans, are esteemed men of low occupation, and it is clear that in Hindu times a still stronger taint must have attached to their calling; comp. above iii. 6. From the curious account given in our passage of Bhadreśvara's career, we may conclude that that plasticity of the social system in Kaśmir which at present strikes the observer coming from other parts of India, is not a development of modern date. The peculiar elasticity of social organisation in Kaśmir has been duly noted and illustrated with remarkable facts by Mr. Lawrence, *l.c.* pp. 306 sq.

42. Regarding the *Gṛhakṛtya* office, see v 176.

44. The term *kāpālika* usually designates a sect of S'aiva mendicants who feed out of skulls. Our passage attributes to them the practices of the modern Aghōris.

47-69. *S'āhi Trilocanapāla* is identical with Trilocanapāla, son of Anandapāla, whom Albērūni (*India*, ii. p. 13) mentions as the last independent prince of the 'Hindu Shāhiya dynasty'; comp. Reinaud, *Mémoire*, p. 259 sq.; Troyer, *Rādjat.*, iii. p. 649, and regarding the earlier history of that dynasty, also above Note *J*, v. 152-155. He succumbed to Maḥmūd of Ghazna after a long struggle, of which detailed accounts are given by the Muhammadan historians dealing with that period; see Elliot, *History of India*, ii. p. 434 sqq. From the same sources it appears that *Trilocanapāla* was already during his father's reign (A.D. 1002-1018) at the head of the armies which endeavoured to stem the Muhammadan advance. Trilocanapāla's name appears often greatly disfigured in the Arabic writing of these texts, as 'Puru Jaipal,' 'Nardajanpal,' etc.; comp. Elliott, *l.c.*, ii. p. 426 sq.

There can be no doubt that K.'s narrative, vii. 47-69, relates to one of the campaigns which Maḥmūd of Ghazna directed against Trilocanapāla and his allies. The identity of

48. A large army, attended by many Rājaputras, chief councillors, feudal chiefs, and others [of rank], capable of making the earth shake, followed him.

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Hammīra of our account with Maḥmūd has been recognised by REINAUD, *l.c.* Already before him, THOMAS (*J.R.A.S.*, ix. p. 190 sq.) had shown the derivation of this term from the Arabic title *Amīru-l-mūmenīn*, and its application on coins and elsewhere to the Ghaznavide Sultān. Reinaud has also rightly pointed out that the expression *Turuṣka* used for Trilocanapāla's opponents, vii. 51, 56, is particularly appropriate for Maḥmūd's army, which consisted chiefly of soldiers of Turkish origin.

In my paper '*Zur Geschichte der Çâhis von Kâbul*,' p. 201 sq., I have pointed out that the discrepancy which the Muhammadan accounts show as to the chronology and the topographical details of Maḥmūd's later expeditions, do not permit us at present to identify with certainty the campaign to which K.'s narrative relates. It is also to be regretted that K. has omitted to indicate the year of Tuṅga's expedition. A critical examination of the Muhammadan sources may, however, yet lead to a definite settlement of the question.

Judging from the materials accessible in Elliott's work, most facts seem to point to Maḥmūd's expedition of the year 1013 (the ninth, according to Elliott's reckoning); see *l.c.* ii. p. 450 sqq. Trilocanapāla appears to have met the invader on this occasion for the last time in the Panjāb.

The detailed account which the *Tārīkh-i Yāmīnī* gives of the decisive battle in this campaign (see ELLIOT, *l.c.*, ii. p. 37 sqq.), agrees in some particulars, regarding the positions occupied by the opposing forces, and the changing fortune of the contest, closely enough with K.'s description. Maḥmūd seems to have won his victory in one of the valleys which lead from the region about Jehlam towards Kaśmīr, and to have pursued Trilocanapāla in the latter direction. Some chiefs on the confines of Kaśmīr are said to have made their submission to the Sultān in consequence of this victory. Also the forcible conversion of Kaśmīris to Islām is mentioned on this occasion.

These details agree fully with what the Chronicle tells us of the support given to Trilocanapāla by a Kaśmīrian force, and in particular with the locality which K. indicates for the defeat of the allies. The *Tauṣī* mentioned in verse 53, can scarcely be any other river but the *Tohi*, which flows through *Parṇotsa* (Prūnts), and joins the Vitastā above the town of Jehlam. Through the valley of the Prūnts Tohi leads the most convenient route towards *Lohara* (Loh^arin). From there again a route much used in old times, leading over the Tos^maidān Pass, opens access to Kaśmīr. It is actually by this route that we find two years later Maḥmūd attempting the invasion of Kaśmīr; comp. Note *E*, iv. 177, § 12. The fortress of '*Lohkot*,' Albērūnī's 'fortress of *Lauhūr*' (*India*, i. pp. 208, 317) which stopped his advance on the latter occasion, has been identified in the last quoted note with *Lohara*.

As the valley of the Prūnts Tohi contains to this day a considerable Kaśmīri population as far down as Kōtli, we can understand the notice about the conversion of Kaśmīris. It is not, as has been supposed (LASSEN, *Ind. Alt.*, iii. p. 1048), in contradiction with the fact that Kaśmīr remained actually unconquered.

K. is evidently right in representing the battle on the Tauṣī as having finally decided the fate of the S'āhi dynasty. The Muhammadan historians, in full agreement with the Chronicle, make mention of the subsequent occasions on which Trilocanapāla bravely endeavoured to retrieve his lost fortune. They also show that these battles were no longer fought in the Panjāb, the seat of the power of the later S'āhi kings. Their accounts prove further that K. was justified in the enthusiastic praise he gives to *Trilocanapāla's* personal bravery and to his indomitable courage in misfortune (vii. 60-65).

Trilocanapāla's death is placed by Albērūnī in the year A.H. 412 (A.D. 1021/2). His son *Bhīmapāla*, who survived him only by five years, is no longer mentioned as an independent prince by the Muhammadan historians. The rapid downfall of the powerful *S'āhi* dynasty must have left a deep impression on the mind of contemporary observers. The great qualities of its princes had been acknowledged even by their Muslim adversaries.

Albērūnī, who had witnessed the events which led to the annihilation of the S'āhis' power, says regarding them: "This Hindu Shāhiya dynasty is now extinct, and of the whole house there is no longer the slightest remnant in existence. We must say that, in all their grandeur, they never slackened in the ardent desire of doing that which is good and right, that they were men of noble sentiment and noble bearing" (*India*, ii. p. 13).

The words with which K. refers to the extinction of this great dynasty, vii. 66-69, may thus be taken as representing correctly the feelings which the catastrophe had roused in the hearts of the people.

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49-50. When he, together with his son, had been hospitably received by the *S'āhi* who had gone to meet him, and had been in that land for five or six days, the *S'āhi* noticed that they gave no thought to night-watches, the posting of scouts, to military exercises and other [preparations] proper for an attack, and spoke thus to *Tuṅga*, who was intoxicated [with self-confidence]:

51. "Until you have become acquainted with the *Turuṣka* warfare, you should post yourself on the scarp of this hill, [keeping] idle against your desire."

52. This good counsel of *Trilocana*[*pāla*] he in his pride did not accept, but remained, together with his troops, eagerly looking out for battle.

Battle with *Hammīra*.

53. Then he crossed thence with a rather small force to the other bank of the *Tauṣī*, and defeated a corps which *Hammīra* had sent on a reconnaissance.

54. Though he was filled thereupon with pride, the *S'āhi*, experienced in war, repeated again and again the same advice he had given before.

55. Blinded by his desire for battle, he did not accept the *S'āhi's* counsel. Advice is of no use for those whose destruction is near.

56 In the morning then came in fury and in full battle array the leader of the *Turuṣka* army himself, skilled in stratagem.

57 Thereupon the army of *Tuṅga* dispersed immediately The *S'āhi's* force, however, was seen for [some] time moving about in battle.

58. Even when the *S'āhi's* army was gone, *Jayasiṁha* rushed about fighting, also *S'rīvarahana* and *Vibhramārka*, the Ḍāmara, of *Saṁgrāma's* family.

59. These three valiant men, fighting on the terrible field of battle which resounded with [the tramp of] horses, preserved the honour of their country from being lost.

60. Who would describe the greatness of *Trilocanapāla*, whom numberless enemies even could not defeat in battle?

61. *Trilocana*[*pāla*], causing floods of blood to pour forth in battle, resembled S'iva (*trilocana*) when sending forth the fire which burns the world at the end of the Kalpa.

62. After fighting crores of armour-clad soldiers in the battle, this [prince],

53. Prof BÜHLER, *Report*, p 3, has already pointed out that *Tauṣī* is the ancient form of the appellation *Tohi* which is now borne by several mountain-streams joining the Vitastā and Cināb from the south slopes of the Pīr Pantsāl Range A Tauṣī is mentioned by the *Nīlamata*, 113, along with the Āpagā (Āyak) and Candrabhāgā. Though Prof Bühler is quite right in stating that *Tohi* is a generic appellation now given to any perennial mountain stream in the hill regions to the S of Kaśmīr, yet there can be little doubt, for the reasons indicated in the preceding note, that in our passage the Tohi of Prūnts is meant. The nearest other stream generally known as Tohi, that of Rajauri, flows too far to the E. to have been on Maḥmūd's line of advance. Regarding another mention of the Prūnts Tohi under its proper name, see note viii. 2008.

The term *Tauṣī* is probably, as suggested by Prof Bühler, connected with Skr. *tuṣāra*, 'snow,' and means thus etymologically 'a river coming from the snows.'

58. See v. 306 regarding *Saṁgrāma*.

who was experienced in affairs, came forth singly from among the foes pressing [around him]. SAṂGRĀMARĀJA (A.D. 1003-1028).

63. When *Trilocana*[*pāla*] had gone afar, the whole country was overshadowed by hosts of fierce Caṇḍālas which [resembled clouds of] locusts.

64. Even after he had obtained his victory, *Hammīra* did not breathe freely, thinking of the superhuman prowess of the illustrious *Trilocanapāla*.

65. *Trilocana*[*pāla*] displayed great resolution also after he had fallen from his position, and relying on his force of elephants endeavoured to recover victory.

66. I have not described here at length how rapidly the royal glory of the *S'āhis* has vanished even [down to their very] name, this being only an incident. Destruction of S'āhi kingdom.

67. Nothing is impossible to Fate. It effects with ease what even in dreams appears incredible, what fancy fails to reach.

68-69. That *S'āhi* kingdom whose greatness on the earth has above been briefly indicated in the account of King *S'aṁkaravarman's* reign,—now one asks oneself whether, with its kings, ministers and its court, it ever was or was not.

70. Then *Tuṅga*, after having by his defeat brought about the descent of the *Turuṣkas* on the whole surface of the earth, marched back slowly to his own country.

71. The king, whose character was equal to his courage, felt no anger against *Tuṅga* for his fault, though he had been beaten like a jackal.

72. Still the king felt annoyed at his dependence on *Tuṅga;* even an animal's spirit is pained by dependence on others.

73. Also *Kandarpasiṁha*, *Tuṅga's* son, who was full of pride on account of his wealth and strength, caused him uneasiness by behaving like a king.

74. His brother *Vigrahārāja*, too, who was waiting for his opportunity, urged the king at that time by secret letters to have *Tunga* put out of the way. Intrigue against Tunga.

75. The king wavered for a long time in his mind, remembering the oath by sacred libation (*kośa*) and other [facts], and then, irritated by the repeated urging, spoke thus to the instigators:

76. "If he comes some day within our reach while alone with his son, at that time let us see what we can do."

77. "If otherwise attacked, he is sure to put us to a violent death." Having said this to gain time, the king stopped.

78. These few words fell into their hearts like seeds, and they endeavoured to bring *Tuṅga* into such a situation.

74. Regarding *Vigraharāja*, see vi. 335 sqq.

75. Compare above vii. 8.

76. I have followed Durgāpr.'s reading, *gocare*, as a very acceptable emendation for *gocaro* of A.

SAṀGRĀMARĀJA (A.D. 1003-1028)

79. Within six months [it happened] by the will of fate that *Tuṅga*, when called by the king, left his house in his son's company, though he had had a bad dream.

80. After he had entered the palace and had been in the presence of the king for a short time, he proceeded, accompanied by five or six attendants, to the council hall.

81. *Parvaṭarkaraka* and others followed *Tuṅga* there, and struck him with their swords without having even spoken to the king.

82. Among the attendants of *Tuṅga* only *Siṁharatha* deserved praise, a descendant of *Mahāratha* who had been a minister of *S'aṁkaravarman*.

83. He, though unarmed, threw himself that very moment on the back of *Tuṅga*, at whom they were striking, in order to protect him.

Murder of *Tuṅga*.

84. *Tuṅga's* breath stopped from fear at the first stroke, while the king gave a sigh of relief when *Tuṅga's* breath failed

85-86. The wretched *Pārtha*, son of the Brahman *Dharma* who belonged to the royal council (*āsthānabrāhmaṇa*), and the foolish *Kaṅka*, were with *Tuṅga*. These two [persons] had their bowels moved, put their fingers into their mouths to protect themselves, as if they were cattle, and dropped their weapons in terror.

87. *Caṅga* and others who were *Tuṅga's* intimates and advisers, sat still in their fright like women, though they were armed.

88-89 The king feared that *Tuṅga's* followers, if they did not know of his death, would raise in that tumult conflagrations, fights, and the like, and at once had *Tuṅga's* and his son's heads cut off with the sword, and thrown outside to give courage to his own servants.

90. The troops, when they saw their master's severed head, turned away dispirited. Some of *Tuṅga's* followers. [however], brilliantly displayed the character of [true] servants.

91. *Bhujaṁga*, the son of a Brahman feudal chief (*sāmanta*), who had arrived from his house, made *Saṁgrāmarāja* flee from one apartment to the other.

85-86 The term *āsthānabrāhmaṇa* recurs viii. 1620, and seems to indicate a certain rank which, perhaps, corresponds to that of a *Durbārī* in modern India. The term *āsthānīya*, vii. 1505, has probably the same significance.

K. seems to allude to the ancient Indian custom according to which persons in danger of their life put grass into their mouths to implore mercy. By symbolically representing themselves as cattle, they become inviolable. The Kaśmīrian heroes of our narrative have no grass at hand, and use their fingers as a substitute.

It must, however, also be kept in view that the cutting off of a finger is repeatedly referred to in the Rājat. as a mark of submission; comp. note viii. 1594.

90. *Tuṅga* was commander-in-chief of the army; see vi. 354; vii. 101.

92. Breaking the closed door with his golden staff, he then killed twenty soldiers in the royal assembly hall.

SAṄGRĀMARĀJA (A.D. 1003-1028).

93. The treasurer, *Trailokyarāja*, was killed in the fight, and the brave *Abhinava*, milk-brother of *Kayyāmantaka*.

94. In the courtyard, thirty brave Ekāṅgas who were in the employ of *Tuṅga* lay dead in a row, [which seemed like] a staircase leading to heaven.

95. One *Padmarāja*, though he had taken part in the fight, escaped unhurt, and removed the burning pain caused by the misfortune of the master's death by visiting Tīrthas.

96. Others threw away the sword which helps to protect life in both worlds on the scene of the fight, and lost honour and life.

97. *Caṇḍa*, who fancied himself a good fighter, a foreigner (*daiśika*), *Arjuna* by name, and the Ḍāmara *Helācakra*, threw away their swords and were killed by the foes.

98. With his residence plundered and his treasures robbed, *Tuṅga* was made by the king a mere subject of stories on the twelfth day of the bright half of Āṣāḍha.

99. After *Tuṅga*, whose conduct was free from treachery, along with his son had been slain by the king, it was chiefly rogues who rose to power in the royal palace.

Affairs after Tuṅga's death.

100-101. The king then gave the chief command of the army to *Tuṅga's* brother *Nāga*, who had caused the death of his brother and nephew by corrupting the king's mind through secret calumnies, and who, as the destroyer of his own family, was branded with infamy.

102. *Kṣemā*, the most unfaithful wife of *Kandarpasiṁha*, had love-meetings with *Nāga*, just as the dark night with the goblin.

103. Four days after the disorder had ceased, *Bimbā*, who was a daughter-in-law of *Tuṅga* and a *S'āhi* daughter, entered the fire as a Satī.

104-105. *Maṅkhanā*, the wife of *Tuṅga*, left the country in misery, and took up her residence at *Rājapurī*. She took [with her] the two sons, the well-known *Vicitrasiṁha* and *Mātṛsiṁha*, whom *Mammā*, a concubine (*avaruddhā*), had borne to *Kandarpasiṁha*, as well as this daughter-in-law [herself].

106. The king then put in *Tuṅga's* place the wicked *Bhadreśvara*, who plundered the treasury and what else [belonged to the shrines] of *Bhūteśvara* and other gods.

97. Compare regarding *daiśika* note vi. 303.

103. It is of interest to note that *Tuṅga*, notwithstanding his modest origin, secured a *S'āhi* princess (*sutā S'āheḥ*) for his son. Are we to understand that Bimbā was a daughter of *the* S'āhi, i.e. Trilocanapāla? In this case we should have to assume a nexus between this marriage and the support given to Trilocanapāla by the Kaśmir king.

106. For the shrine of S'iva *Bhūteśvara*, see note i. 107.

Saṅgrāmarāja (A.D. 1003-1028).

107. How could the king's want of judgment be shown further? He gave offices even to people like *Pārtha*.

108. The thoughtless king appointed the most foolish *Pārtha*, who was known to keep up intrigues with his brother's wife, as city prefect (*nagarādhikṛta*).

109. *Pārtha*, whose mind was entirely devoid of merit, committed slaughter and other sins on the holy platform (? *raṅgapīṭha*) of [the Liṅga of S'iva] *Pravareśa*.

110. *Mataṅga*, *Sindhu's* son, the chief of misers, was an expert in the science of fleecing the subjects, and filled the treasury of the greedy king.

111. A clerk, *Devamukha* by name, had once a son called *Candramukha* from a loose woman who used to sell pastry.

112. This [son] under *Tuṅga's* patronage became the king's favourite, and beginning with a cowrie (*varāṭaka*) accumulated crores.

113. He remained a miser when he had reached a great position, and used to sell to his own servants the cakes which others brought him as presents, in accordance with the [hereditary occupation of his] family.

114. The people laughed at him, because he who before had a powerful digestion and sound health, became dyspeptic and sickly when he attained prosperity.

115. He did one pious act at the time of his death, when he gave the third of a crore towards a restoration of the illustrious [shrine of S'iva] *Raṇeśvara*.

116. His three sons, *Nāna*, *Bhāga* and *Nandimukha*, had been made by the king commanders of an army division, subordinate to *Tuṅga*.

117. It was a ridiculous [act] on the part of the king to give them the position of *Tuṅga*. [It was] as when a child collects barley-ears, taking them for gold.

118. These, on being sent by the king to fight with the *Turuṣkas* like *Tuṅga*, turned, fled, and came back again to their own country.

119. Thus, while the ministers were incapable and the king prone to show forbearance, some *Daradas*, Diviras (clerks), and Ḍāmaras obtained predominance.

107 See regarding *Pārtha*, vii. 85

109. The meaning of *raṅgapīṭha* is quite uncertain. The term recurs at the commencement of Lokaprakāśa, iii, in a list mentioning also the *liṅgapīṭha* and *bhadrapīṭha*, but without any explanation. The above rendering has been suggested by the usual meaning of *raṅga*. The simple *pīṭha* designates the base on which a Liṅga or other sacred image is placed (also called *bhadrapīṭha*); comp. iii. 350 and note v. 46.

113. Small offerings are meant such as are made at receptions to persons of consequence; the modern *nazar*.

115. Regarding the shrine of *Raṇeśvara* in S'rinagar, see note iii. 353

118 It seems that we have here an allusion to a subsequent expedition of Maḥmūd against Kaśmir, perhaps the one on which he reached Lohara ('Lohkot'); see note vii. 47

119. The mention of the *Darads* along with the *Diviras* and *Ḍāmaras* is evidently made for the sake of the alliteration.

120. The king's daughter *Loṭhikā* constructed the *Loṭhikāmaṭha*, and founded another Maṭha under the name of her mother *Tilottamā*. SAṂGRĀMARĀJA (A.D. 1003-1028).

121. O, even sinners think sometimes of pious acts! Thus even *Bhadreśvara* built a Vihāra of distinguished merit. Pious foundations.

122. *Saṁgrāmarāja* showed true judgment, and did not establish even a drinking-place (*prapā*), saying that the wealth he owned was unlawfully acquired.

123. The Queen *S'rīlekhā*, daughter of the illustrious *Yaśomaṅgala*, as her husband was of feeble power indulged in licentious conduct.

124. *Tribhuvana*, who was the son of *Sugandhisiha* and *Jayalakṣmī*, became the ardent lover of that queen.

125. Also the sharp-witted *Jayākara*, who worked well in the interest of the treasury, and established the *Jayākaragañja* and other funds (*gañja*), was her paramour.

126. This beautiful [queen], who was very fond of accumulating wealth, and had established 'the Gañja of *Mavagrāma*' and other [funds], obtained great power by the king's favour.

127. This king died on the first day of Āṣāḍha in the year [of the Laukika era four thousand one hundred] four (A.D. 1028), after having had his son *Harirāja* consecrated. HARIRĀJA (A.D. 1028).

128. This [prince], who was attended by wise men (*sumanas*) and who made all hopes (*āśā*) appear, gave delight (*hlāda*) to everyone, just as the festive time of *Caitra*, [which is attended by flowers (*sumanas*) and which illuminates all regions (*āśā*), brings coolness (*hlāda*) to everyone].

129. He whose orders were never infringed cleared the land of thieves, and prohibited the closing of doors in the market-street at night.

120. Regarding *Loṭhikā*, see vii. 11.

The *Loṭhikāmaṭha* appears, from vii. 141 and viii. 435, to have been in S'rīnagar.

121 No mention is found elsewhere of this Vihāra.

122. The use of unlawfully acquired wealth for pious works is declared profitless; see e.g. the passage from the *Viṣṇudharma* quoted *Caturvargac.* i pp. 39 sq. It would also be possible to divide *yo nyāyyatō 'rjitam.*

125-126. The term *gañja* (see iv. 589) designates here and in the parallel passages, vi. 266 (*Sindhugañja*); vii. 570 (*Kalaśagañja*), clearly separate funds for which special sources of revenue were assigned, and which were managed by distinct officers. These funds seem to have received their names from the person who had organized them, or from the place which supplied their revenue.

The latter form of designation is used in the case of the '*Mayagrāmiṇagañja*.' This name is taken from the village *Mayagrāma*, which, as viii. 729 shows, is identical with the present *Mañ'gām* situated in the lower Sind Valley, 74° 52' long. 34° 17' lat. Mañ'gām is a large village with a great area of excellent rice-fields. Under the last settlement the village pays the (for Kaśmir) considerable sum of Rs. 2200 as annual revenue assessment.

In P. Sahibrām's *Tīrthas.* the village figures both under its old name as *Mayagrāma* and as *Manyugrāma* (!).

128. In the month of Caitra falls the commencement of the Kaśmir spring. The adjectives characterizing *Harirāja* may, by a series of puns, be taken also as referring to the month.

HARIRĀJA (A.D. 1028)

130. The rule of this king, which was of unexpected distinction and of brief duration, deserved to be praised among men, like the crescent of the young moon.

131. After ruling the earth for twenty-two days, this king of unblemished fame died on the eighth day of the bright half of Āṣāḍha.

132. The splendour which attends men who shine forth for a short time like stars, passes away just as a [brief] summer night.

133. There was a general report, which was not contradicted, that the licentious queen-mother herself had used witchcraft against her son, who was dissatisfied [with her conduct].

ANANTA (A.D 1028-1063).

134-135. While the king's mother, *S'rīlekhā*, who wished the throne for herself, was coming after taking a bath [where] the arrangements for the installation had been made,—the assembled Ekāṅgas and the [king's] milk-brother, *Sāgara*, made her child-son *Ananta* king.

136-137. If a person anxious to take out a treasure which has already been removed kills the snake which greedily keeps watch over it, this [procures] for him merely a sin Even so, when the king's mother destroyed her son in her desire for the throne, this only [procured] for her a sin, since the throne was taken by another.

138 Such deceptive vision of the throne made that perverse queen forget the love for her child. O, the [false] desire for the enjoyment of pleasures!

Vigraharāja's incursion

139. Then came the child-king's old paternal uncle, *Vigraharāja*, to secure the throne, and displayed his valour.

140. He proceeded from *Lohara* in rapid marches, burnt down the 'Gate' (*dvāra*), and after two and a half days unexpectedly entered the City.

141 He had thrown himself into the *Loṭhikāmaṭha*, and there the troops sent by *S'rīlekhā* killed him and his followers by setting fire [to the place].

131 This verse, in conjunction with verse 127, proves that the luni-solar months were reckoned in K.'s time, as at present in Kaśmīr, *pūrṇimānta*, i.e began with the dark fortnight.

134-135. The relationship indicated vii 139, 251 makes it clear that *Ananta* was Saṃgrāmarāja's son; comp vii. 74.

140. It has been explained in Note *E* on *Lohara*, iv. 177, that it is possible during the summer months, when the Tosᵃmaidān Pass is open, to do the distance between Lohᵃrin and S'rīnagar in the short time indicated by the text. As, however, the distance is at least sixty miles, and as a pass of over 13,000′ in height has to be crossed, it is clear that a performance like that of Vigraharāja presupposes great marching powers on the part of an armed force Compare Albērūnī, *India*, i. p 317: 'the distance from *Lauhūr* to the capital of Kashmir is fifty-six miles, half the way being rugged country, the other half plain.'

By *dvāra* is meant here the watch-station on the Tosᵃmaidān route properly known as *Kārkoṭa-draṅga* Its position is indicated by the village of *Drang*; comp. note viii. 1596, also viii. 1997 and note i. 302. The place where the route passes the scarp of the Tosᵃmaidān plateau before descending to the village of Drang, is still closed by old watch-towers marked on the map. This locality is now called *bar-bal*, i.e. 'the place of the Gate' (Skr. *dvāra* > Kś. *bar*).

142. The lavish queen then built two Maṭhas in honour of her husband and son, and thought day and night of high treason.

143. When in time the king had a little outgrown his childhood, he became, like one born on the throne, addicted to extravagance and other [vices].

Predominance of S'āhis.

144. Most dear to him were *Rudrapāla* and other *S'āhi* princes who exhausted the kingdom's revenues by the large salaries they drew.

145. Though receiving from the king one and a half lakhs [of Dīnnāras] daily for his maintenance, *Rudrapāla* yet never got rid of his money troubles.

146. *Diddāpāla*, though he drew daily eighty thousand [Dīnnāras] from the king, could yet not sleep in peace at night.

147. *Anangapāla*, [that] Vetāla, who was the king's favourite, was ever planning the breaking up of the golden statues of gods.

148. *Rudrapāla* protected those who robbed [others] of their property and lives, and was a safe refuge for thieves, Caṇḍālas, and the like.

149. Kāyasthas, who were *Rudrapāla's* intimates, oppressed the people. The foremost among them, the famous *Utpala*, founded a Maṭha for the blind.

150-152. What more need be said of the king's affection for him (Rudrapāla)? He himself had married the elder daughter of *Inducandra*, the lord of *Jālaṁdhara*, the moon-faced *Āsamati*, on account of her beauty, the same who built a Maṭha called after herself at *Tripureśvara*. He then married her somewhat younger sister, the Queen *Sūryamatī*, to the king.

153. Through the companionship of *Rudra*[*pāla*], who pleased his ears, the king was led into evil habits, just as *Suyodhana* through that of *Karṇa*.

Rising of Tribhuvana.

154. At that time, *Tribhuvana*, the powerful commander-in-chief, collected the Ḍāmaras and came to deprive the king of the throne.

155. He arrived for battle after drawing to himself the whole army, [except] the Ekāṅgas and the mounted soldiers, who did not leave the king's side.

144. The 'S'āhi princes' (S'āhiputrāḥ) here mentioned may be assumed to have been scions of the royal S'āhi family who had come to Kaśmīr as refugees. Their names, *Rudrapāla*, *Diddāpāla*, etc., show the same formation as the names of the last four S'āhi kings, *Jaipāl* (Jayapāla?), *Trilocanapāla*, etc.

145-146. The real value of these salaries must be estimated with reference to what has been explained regarding the Kaśmīr monetary system in Note *H*, iv. 495.

147. Compare Harṣa's procedure, vii. 1091 sqq.

149. As Maṭhas are otherwise regularly designated after their founders or the latter's relatives, it seems probable that the differently formed name *Andhamaṭha* must be taken in its literal meaning as 'a Maṭha for the blind.'

150. As the old kingdom of *Jālaṁdhara* included also Trigarta or Kāngra (see note iv. 177), we may recognize with Cunningham, *Anc Geogr.*, p. 139, in *Inducandra* the *Indracandra* of the genealogical lists of the Kāngra Rājās. That K. himself wrote the name as *Inducandra*, is proved by his use of the expression *indumukhīm* immediately after it.

Bilhaṇa, too, *Vikram.* xviii. 40, calls this queen a daughter of *Indu*, i.e. *Inducandra* (*devī tasya . . . candrikevendujātā*).

153. *Suyodhana*, i.e. *Duryodhana*, the head of the Kauravas

ANANTA (A.D. 1028-1063).

156. With praiseworthy bravery, *Anantadeva* attacked in person *Tribhuvana* in the fight, warding off his unerring darts with his sword.

157. He (Tribhuvana), who was hurt by his mighty strokes, though the armour protected his body, fled and seemed to vomit his glory in the blood [which flowed] from his mouth.

158-159. When, on seeing the king's unexpected strength, he had left the battle and fled, the king, who was [yet] almost a boy, and had hidden his manliness under a modest behaviour, defeated with laudable prowess at *S'ālāsthala* the valorous [attack of] *Abhinava*, a Ḍāmara from *S'amālā*, who was fighting with darts.

160. King *Ananta*, whose sword became covered with flesh and blood [until it looked like] a club, moved about in the battle like a Bhairava, and made the earth shake.

161-162. When the king saw at every step Ekāṅgas whose bodies were slashed with cuts, and had their names reported to him by the attendants, he out of kind feeling relieved the Ekāṅgas of the uncertain dependence on the Akṣapaṭala office, [and gave them instead] a fixed assignment (? *vilabdhisthāvara*).

163. Thus in gratitude he there granted to his servants successively an assignment (*vilabdhi*) to [the amount of] ninety-six crores of Dīnnāras.

164. The story goes that when the king returned from the battle, the hilt of his sword, which had become fixed in his firm grasp, could [only] be removed from his hand after some time, and by sprinkling milk [on it].

165. O, the greatness of the king! When *Tribhuvana* came back from abroad in distress, the king received him, such [as he was], without anger.

166. He had made a relative of his, *Brahmarāja* by name, superintendent of the treasury (*gañjādhipa*). The latter having fallen in enmity with *Rudrapāla*, became disaffected and departed.

159. *S'ālāsthala* is evidently the older form of the name *Halthal* which Abu-l-Faẓl, ii. p. 368, gives as that of a village in the Yech Pargaṇa. Kś. *h* regularly replaces Skr. *ś*. A village *Hal*ᵘ*thal* seems to be known in the Yech Pargaṇa, but I have not been able to trace its position. The same place is probably meant by the *S'alasthala* (sic) mentioned Fourth Chron. 225 in connection with a rebellion in the neighbouring district of Nagām.

S'amālā is the old name of the modern *Hamal* Pargaṇa, which lies in Kamrāz to the W. of Sōpūr. *S'amālā* is frequently mentioned in the last Taraṅga (see viii. 1008, 1011, 1182, etc.), and in the later Chronicles; comp. *Jonar* 92, 107, 252; *S'rīv.* iv. 108, etc. The Ḍāmaras of S'amālā are referred to vii. 1022; viii. 591, 1517, 2749.

161-162. The interpretation of the term *vilabdhi* is doubtful. The word recurs only in the next verse, and from the latter a guess has been made as to its meaning. The probable character of the *Akṣapaṭala* (chief office of accounts), and its connection with the *Ekāṅgas*, has been discussed in notes v. 249, 301.

The purport of our passage seems to be that the king, to show his gratitude, relieved the Ekāṅgas who had been wounded in his service from their harassing duties at the Akṣapaṭala, and fixed for them an assignment independent of that office, i.e. a sort of pension.

ANANTA (A.D. 1028-1063).

Invasion of Darads.

167. Having allied himself with certain Ḍāmaras, he by great efforts [succeeded in] leading [against the king], *Acalamaṅgala*, king of the *Darads*, together with seven *Mleccha* princes.

168. When that [Darad ruler] had reached the village of *Kṣirapṛṣṭha*, the most valiant *Rudrapāla*, eager for battle, went to meet him.

169. After the two forces had arranged to fight on the morrow, the *Darad* ruler went to amuse himself at [a pool which is] the residence of a Nāga called *Piṇḍāraka*.

170. In his wickedness he threw his dart at the body of a fish which was swimming there, though his attendants kept him back.

171. Then the Nāga came forth from that round pool in the shape of a jackal, and the *Darad* ruler threw himself after him, eager for the chase.

172. When the king's troops saw him rushing up, they thought that he was breaking the agreement, and fearing an attack they moved out for battle.

173. Then there arose a battle-feast in which brave men were wedded to the heavenly maids (Apsaras), while the clash of weapons seemed to kindle rows of fires.

174. In that great concourse of warriors, the head of the *Darad* lord was cut off, while the fame of *Rudra*[*pāla*], whose splendour was awe-inspiring, rose afresh.

175. The *Mleccha* kings were slain or captured, while the king of *Kaśmīr* obtained gold, jewels, and other [treasures].

176. *Rudrapāla* brought before his lord the *Darad* king's head, the dripping blood of which was purified by the water[-like] glitter of the pearls on its crest-ornaments.

177. Many similar troubles (*avadālikā*) he had with his brother *Udayanavatsa* and with Brahmans, who held solemn fasts (*prāya*).

168. The gloss of A_1 identifies *Kṣirapṛṣṭha* with '*Kharot*, a village in Kramarājya.' I have not been able to trace this place, though I have heard of the existence of a locality called *Khuyruṭ* in the Uttar Pargaṇa. It is probable that Kṣirapṛṣṭha must be looked for on one of the several routes which lead from the N. of Kamrās into the Kiṣangaṅgā Valley. The greater part of the latter has always been inhabited, as it is at present, by a Darad population. As the Kiṣangaṅgā Valley is connected by several passes with Cilās and Astōr on the Indus, it is possible that the Mleccha, i.e. Muhammadan, chiefs mentioned vii. 167 came from those regions. For a similar invasion of Darads and Mleccha chiefs in K.'s time, see viii. 2760 sqq.

King Ananta's victory over *Darads* and *S'akas* is alluded to by Bilhaṇa, *Vikram.* xviii. 34.

169. It is curious that this Nāga name, which is well-known to the Epics and Purāṇas, does not occur in the long lists of Kaśmīrian sacred springs given by the *Nīlamata* and the Māhātmyas.

173. The sparks from the weapons are imagined to represent the sacrificial fires in the presence of which marriage ceremonies take place

177. The word *avadālikā* seems otherwise unknown. Its apparent etymology from √*dal*, lit. 'rupture,' and the context, justify the above interpretation.

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End of S'āhi princes.

178. Then *Rudrapāla* died of the *lūtā*-disease, and the other *S'āhi* princes too found an early death.

179. When the blindness created by his affection for the *Pālas* (i.e. Rudrapāla and his brothers) had passed away, the king found pleasure in a virtuous life, and became, as it were, a mirror reflecting Queen *Sūryamatī*.

Queen Sūryamatī's pious foundations.

180. She founded the [temple of S'iva] *Gaurīśvara*, and, having the second name of *Subhaṭā*, constructed the meritorious *Subhaṭāmaṭha* on the bank of the *Vitastā*.

181. On the consecration of [the temple of] *Sadāśiva*, she made many Brahmans rich by giving away cows, gold, horses, jewels and other [presents].

182. From love for her younger brother *Kallana*, who was also called *Āśācandra*, she built a Maṭha provided with an Agrahāra under his name.

183. She founded also two Maṭhas by the side of [the shrines of] *Vijayeśa* and *Amareśa* under the names of her brother *Sillana* and of her husband [respectively].

184. And at the glorious [temple of] *Vijayeśvara* she bestowed, as a gift of great merit, one hundred and eight Agrahāras on learned Brahmans.

185. She also granted under her husband's name Agrahāras at *Amareśvara*, and arranged for the consecration of Triśūlas, Bāṇaliṅgas and other [sacred emblems].

178. Regarding *lūtā*, see iv. 524 sq.

180. Bilhaṇa, who devotes to this queen a lengthy eulogium, knows her by the name of *Subhaṭā*. He mentions a temple of S'iva built by her on the bank of the Vitastā, and a Maṭha which she established under her own name in the capital for the residence of students; comp. *Vikram.* xviii. 40-46.

The 'Maṭha of *Sūryamatī*' is mentioned again, vii 1658, and its restoration in K.'s time is referred to in viii. 3321. Sūryamatī's temple of S'iva *Gaurīśvara* is mentioned also vii 207, 673 These passages show that both structures were situated in S'rinagar.

181 Regarding the *Sadāśiva* temple, see note vii. 186-187

183. It is probable that K. refers here and in verse 185 under the name of *Amareśa* or *Amareśvara* to a shrine situated at the site now marked by the village of *Amburhēr*, about four miles to the N of S'rinagar on the road towards the Sind Valley. This place, the modern name of which is clearly derived from *Amareśvara* (comp. Kōṭhēr < Kapaṭeśvara; Jyēṭhēr < Jyeṣṭheśvara, Note C, i. 124), is certainly meant in viii. 506, 590, 729, 756, 1124 All these passages describe fights in the immediate vicinity of S'rinagar. It is also mentioned as *Amareśapura* by *Jonar.* 890.

P. Sāhibrām in his *Tīrthas* gives correctly *Amareśvara* as the old name of the village, and refers to an *Amareśvara* Linga worshipped there On a visit paid to the place in June, 1895, I found considerable remains of an old temple built into the Ziārat of Farrukhzād Sāhib. A little to the W. of the latter, on the shore of the Anch'ār lake, are two Nāgas, one of which, named *Gangā*, is still annually visited by the pilgrims proceeding to the Tīrthas of Mount Haramukuṭa

The now popular Tīrtha of *Amarnāth* (Ks. *Amburnāth*) situated at a great altitude above the sources of the Lid'r (see note i. 267), can scarcely be meant in our passages, as its situation would render the erection of a Maṭha by the side of the sacred image quite impossible.

184. Bilhaṇa, *Vikram.* xviii 45, refers generally to gifts of land and other presents made by Subhaṭā to learned men

One hundred and eight is a sacred number, observed, e.g. in the number of the beads in rosaries.

185. *Triśūlas*, representations of S'iva's trident, as usually displayed on and near S'iva temples.

Bāṇaliṅgas are linga-shaped pebbles brought from the bed of the Narmadā;

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186. When their son *Rājarāja* died, the king and his consort left the royal palace, and took up their residence in the vicinity of [the shrine of] *Sadāśiva*.

New palace built.

187. From that time onwards the kings abandoned the residence of the former dynasties, and in accordance with the custom thus [established] took up their abode in that same [locality]

188. As the king was fond of horses, his favourite horse-trainers obtained through his largesses, as well as by the plunder they made in the country, a position altogether equal [to his own].

189. The foreigner *Ḍallaka*, to whom the king, like one born on the throne, was attached, because he was clever in jests, looted the people at all times.

comp. note ii. 131. They are still used in Kaśmīr, as elsewhere in Northern India, for purposes of worship. Their name is derived from *Bāṇa*, the Asura, who worshipped Indra. Another designation is *Narmadeśvara*.

186-187. This passage is of considerable interest, as it helps us to fix approximately both the position of the temple (or Linga) of *Sadāśiva*, and of the royal palace in Kalhaṇa's time

As regards this later palace, we possess a clear topographical indication in the passages viii. 732, 955, which place the royal residence near the stream (*sarit*) called *Kṣiptikā*. The latter is, as will be shown in note viii. 732, undoubtedly identical with the canal now known as *Kuṭ*ᵉ*kul* This leaves the Vitastā on its left bank below the *Shēr Garhi*, and after a course of about one and a half miles rejoins it close to the seventh bridge Combining the evidence of the above two passages with that of vii. 1539, where the northern or right bank of the river is spoken of as that opposite to the royal palace, we must conclude that the later palace was situated somewhere between the left bank of the river and the present Kuṭᵘkul. As to its exact position we are, however, yet left in doubt

The subsequent references made by K. to the Sadāśiva shrine, vii. 673; viii. 934, 1124 sq., do not help to solve this question But all the more useful are the indications furnished by the Fourth Chronicle.

There we find *Sadāśivapura*, i.e the quarter near Sadāśiva, repeatedly mentioned as a part of the city of S'rīnagar, see 503, 549 sq., 617, 697, 766, 806. Among those passages there are two which clearly place Sadāśivapura on the left river bank and opposite to the quarter of *Samudrāmaṭha*. In 503 sq., we read of a city fight in which the partisans of the *Cakkas* (Tsaks) posted on the river bank in the *Samudrāmaṭha* fired across at their opponents who occupied *Sadāśivapura*. Verses 617 sq., again, describe a great fire which broke out at *Sadāśivapura*, and subsequently crossing the Vitastā, destroyed the *Samudrāmaṭha* with the neighbouring parts of the city

By *Samudrāmaṭha* (called *Samudramaṭha* by S'rīvara, iv 121, 169) is meant certainly the present Mahalla of *Sud*ᵉ*rmar* (comp. Kś. *sud*ᵉ*r*, 'sea' <Skr. *samudra*). This quarter is situated on the right bank of the river, immediately below the second bridge. Opposite to it on the left bank lie the quarters of Zaindār Mahal, Puruᵉyār, Karaphalⁱ Mahal, Malikyār, all belonging to the Zilla *Tāṣ*ᵉ*vān*. Here, then, we have to assume, was situated the shrine of Sadāśiva and the royal residence of Kalhaṇa's time As the Kuṭᵘkul flows in this neighbourhood parallel to the Vitastā, and at a distance of scarcely more than 400 yards from the latter, the above quoted passages of the Rājat which speak of the palace as close to the *Kṣiptikā* or Kuṭᵘkul, fully support our identification.

With the evidence above recorded curiously agrees a local tradition which has survived in this neighbourhood. An ancient Linga, which was standing until a few years ago on the Ghāṭ (yārᵃbal) of Puruṣᵉyār, about fifty yards below the second bridge, has been known to the old Purohitas living in these quarters by the name of Sadāśiva. It has recently been placed in a small temple erected close to its original position on the left river bank. It is possible that we have in the traditional name of this old Linga the last surviving trace of the ancient designation of the locality.

The 'old palace' (*purāṇarājadhānī*) is mentioned viii. 837, but its position is not indicated We may safely assume that, with the rest of the city founded by Pravarasena, it was situated on the right bank of the river

189. For the meaning of *daiśika*, see vi 304.

190-193. *Padmarāja*, a foreigner, who supplied betel-leaves, was a favourite of this [king], who was lavish and fond of the habit of taking betel. It was through this [man] that *Bhoja*, the lord of *Mālava*, had the round tank (*kuṇḍa*) constructed at *Kapaṭeśvara* with heaps of gold that he sent. King *Bhoja* had vowed that he would always wash his face in water from the *Pāpasūdana* Tīrtha, and this [man] made the fulfilment of his difficult vow [possible] by regularly despatching from this [Tīrtha] large numbers of glass jars filled with that water.

194. This man who sold betel-leaves with Nāgarakhaṇḍa and other [ingredients], made the king then give up almost the whole revenue of the country.

190-193 *Bhojarāja* is undoubtedly the King Bhoja of Dhārā, famous as a patron of literature, who ruled over Mālava in the first half of the 11th century The period of his reign can now be fixed approximately as extending from about A.D. 1010 to beyond A.D. 1063; comp. Prof. BÜHLER's remarks, *Epigr. Ind*, i pp. 232 sq, and below vii. 259, where King Bhoja is mentioned as living after Kalaśa's coronation, A.D 1063

The ancient Tīrtha of *Pāpasūdana* at *Kapaṭeśvara*, the modern *Kōṭhēr*, has been discussed in note i. 32.

In the note on my tour of 1891, *Vienna Or. Journal*, v. p. 347, I have already briefly referred to the remains still extant of the enclosure which, according to our text, Bhoja constructed around this sacred spring. The latter now rises in a circular tank of at least sixty yards in diameter, which is enclosed by a solid stone wall, and by steps leading down to the water. The depth of the tank I was unable to ascertain on my short visit in Sept., 1891, but it seemed considerable. From the formation of the ground, it is evident that this tank has been formed by closing artificially the gully in which the spring rises on the hillside. The dam which effected this forms the W. side of the tank

The local tradition of the Purohitas of the Tīrtha, as communicated to me by an old Sadhu (Mahādev Kaul), residing at the spring, maintains that the tank and its stone enclosure were constructed by a Rājā from the Dekhan, called *Mutsukund* (Mucukunda). This king was disfigured by horns which had grown on his head, and had in vain sought relief by visits to numerous sacred sites. When near *Kapaṭeśvara* he noticed that a wounded dog was healed by entering the water of the sacred spring. The king followed his example, and got rid of his horns. Thereupon he testified his gratitude by the construction of the tank. To the same king is ascribed the erection of a temple in the usual Kaśmīr style, of modest dimensions, situated to the E. of the tank, and of several still smaller cellas of which the ruins, more or less well preserved, are found close by.

It is highly probable that this legend, which is known with slight variations also to the Muhammadan villagers of Kōṭhēr, is a reflex of the story recorded by K of King Bhoja's daily ablutions in the water of *Kapaṭeśvara*.

That the latter story itself had some foundation in fact is by no means impossible. The holy water of the Ganges used to be carried in considerable quantities to great distances before the construction of modern roads and railways. Thus Jamadār Khushḥāl Singh, at Ranjit Singh's court, is said to have bathed regularly in Ganges water, and the late Mahārāja Raṇbir Singh of Kaśmīr never to have drunk any other water but that despatched for him from Hardvār

A lingering recollection of King Bhoja's treasures, to which K alludes in verse 190, seems to survive in the story told to me by the villagers, according to which the king, when building the tank, had deposited below it gold and other valuables. These were intended as compensation for the person who would repair the tank. An inscription 'in various characters' is said to have existed until Sikh times near a door in the stone enclosure on the N. side of the tank In this inscription, which was thrown into the tank by the Muhammadan Jāgirdār of the place under Ranjit Singh, the king is believed to have given directions as to where his treasure would be found!

It has to be noted that the circular wall around the tank and the temple above mentioned show architectural features of a comparatively late date, which permit us to assign these structures to King Bhoja's time.

194. It is not clear what is meant by *nāgarakhaṇḍa*. Ginger is called *nāgara*, but I

195. As the king's creditor, he took from him a diadem which was adorned with five resplendent crescents, and the throne, as a security for more money which was due to him. ANANTA (A.D. 1028-1063).

196. In every month on the day of solemn reception, these emblems of regal dignity were brought from his house to be used in the royal assembly.

197. The Queen *Sūryamatī* then put an end to the disgrace caused to the country by *Padmarāja*, by handing over the savings of her own treasury.

198. When consequently the troubles caused by the horse-trainers, by *Ḍallaka* and the rest, had been removed, affairs became once more settled in the country.

199. From that time onwards it was the queen who took the king's business in hand, while the king left off talking about his prowess, and did what he was [bid] to do. *Sūryamatī's* ascendancy.

200. The husband's woman-like submission and her domination over her husband, did not give occasion for blame, as their behaviour towards each other was irreproachable.

201. Wise *Anantadeva* surpassed even the Munis by his devotion to S'iva, his vows, bathings, liberality, morals and other virtues.

202. During the long rule of this king the light of the royal [favour] passed on from one servant to the other, turning ever towards some fresh [suitor], like a maid who has to choose her husband.

203. *Kṣema*, a barber, filled the king's treasury, securing revenue by the [impost of] one-twelfth (*dvādaśabhāga*) and other means.

204-205. Then *Keśava*, an honest Brahman from *Trigarta*, became minister, and threw lustre on the king, just as the moon [throws her light] on a stuccoed terrace. Yet this very person was seen by the people [subsequently] going about alone and in poverty. Fortune, [which is like] a stroke of lightning from the cloud of fate, for whom is it lasting?

206. Considering that possessions are subject to fate, the pride which foolish people take in the greatness of their family and power is false and vain.

207. *Bhūti*, a Vaiśya, who was watchman at the temple of *Gaurīśa*, had [three] sons, *Haladhara*, *Vajra* and *Varāha*.

208. Of these *Haladhara* rose daily higher in *Sūryamatī's* service, and obtained the prime-ministership (*sarvādhikāritā*). *Haladhara* prime minister.

am not aware of its ever being used as an ingredient of betel.

The eating of betel is almost unknown in Kaśmir at the present time. The transport of fresh betel leaves to Kaśmir must have been in old days a difficult matter, and the article accordingly an expensive luxury.

195. For *pañcacandraka*, comp. note v. 231.

196. For *māsārghavāsara*, comp. viii. 170

207. For the temple of S'iva *Gaurīśvara*, see vii. 180.

208. Agrahāras founded by a *Haladhara*, evidently the minister here referred to, are mentioned by Bilhaṇa, *Vikram.* xviii. 19.

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209. As by skilful management he made the smaller chiefs submit, the king, together with his consort, used to watch his face [for orders].

210 The Pādāgra office, which *Kṣema* had first organized, was put by this high-minded [minister] openly above all offices.

211-212. He wisely abolished the royal privilege of marking the gold according to colour (quality), price, etc, which served to bring to light the savings of the people, knowing that succeeding kings would endeavour to seize through punishments and other [means this] accumulated wealth.

213. By executing some of the detested horse-trainers who robbed property and women, he appeased the sufferings of the people.

214. This abolisher of imposts made the confluence of the *Vitastā* and *Sindhu* resplendent with temples glittering in gold, with Maṭhas and Agrahāras

215. His brothers and sons, exalted by the accumulation of riches (*lakṣmī*), never ceased to give rich gifts (*dāna*), just as elephants [rendered mad by the familiarity with Lakṣmī never cease to secrete ichor from their temples (*dāna*)].

216 The illustrious and brave *Bimba*, son of his brother *Varāha*, who held charge as lord of the Gate, showered his bounties just as the clouds at the end of the world [pour down water]

217. He who had brought untimely death upon many Ḍāmaras, lost his life in a fight with the *Khaśas* when he had but few followers and [yet] declined to retreat

Foreign expeditions.

218 King *Ananta*, who won victories over various kings, uprooted at *Campā* King *Sāla*, and placed a new ruler on the throne.

210. The term *pādāgra* is used here and vii 571, 994. viii. 1482, 1964, 2224, 2352, clearly as the designation of some high office. It has not been found outside the Chronicle, and the character of the office to which it refers cannot be established with certainty From our own passage it would appear that the Pādāgra office could be directly managed by the prime minister (see vii 208), and that it was connected with the finance administration (see vii 211 sq) In vii. 571, King Kalaśa, who did not give charge of the *pādāgra* to a certain minister, though the latter was clever in raising revenue, is praised for the regard he hereby evinced for his subjects.

That the officer in charge of the *pādāgra* was concerned with the collection of taxes, may be concluded also from vii 881 and viii 2224. In the latter passage we read of a Prāyopaveśa which the Brahmans start against Citraratha, the Pādāgra officer (viii. 1482), owing to his obstinate persistence in raising the imposts. The same officer is mentioned, viii. 1964, as holding at the same time the posts of Pādāgra and Dvārapati.

Etymologically, the term *pādāgra* might mean 'the [officer who stands] before the feet [of the king]'

211-212 A kind of assay for articles of gold is meant, which enabled the officials to estimate the private means of individuals In old Kaśmir, no doubt, as in modern India, the acquisition of ornaments in gold or silver was the only popular form of effecting investments.

For a tax 'on increments of gold,' see *Manu*, vii 130, and the authorities quoted in the note of Prof. Buhler's translation.

218. *Campā* is the modern hill-state of *Cambā*, which comprises the valleys of all the sources of the Rāvi and some adjoining valleys draining into the Cināb; comp. CUNNINGHAM, *Anc. Geogr.*, p. 141.

King *Sāla* has been rightly identified by

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219. The king, while rashly making wanton inroads into foreign territories, often ran into danger.

220. When on an expedition against *Kalaśa*, the son of *Tukka*, his troops had become worn out, *Haladhara* extricated him from *Vallāpura* by cunning.

221. When he had invaded *Uraśā*, and the enemy had blocked the routes, his commander-in-chief made his retreat possible by clearing the roads.

222. While King *Ananta* was engaged [abroad] in difficult contests with his enemies, various acts of violence occurred [at home] every moment.

223. The illustrious *Rājeśvara*, son of *Bhadreśvara*, who was lord of the Gate, fell by the [hand of] Ḍāmaras residing in *Kramarājya*, and likewise a great many others.

Haladhara's fall.

224. How can a person do service in the king's palace without suffering insults, even if he look upon his task with the eye of prudence and act with discretion?

225. Even *Haladhara* became an object of slander on account of his

Prof. KIELHORN with *Sālavāhana*, who is mentioned as King Somavarmadeva's predecessor in the Cambā grant published *Ind. Ant.*, xvii pp 7 sqq. The latter was executed in the reign of *Āsaṭa*, whose name occurs below, vii. 588, as the ruler of *Campā* under Kalaśa (A.D. 1087).

CUNNINGHAM, *Arch. Survey Rep.*, xiv. pp. 114 sq., has pointed out that the references made by K. in vii. 588, 1512; viii. 538, 1083, 1443, to members of the ruling family of Campā, and their relations with Kaśmīr, are in agreement with the traditional list of the Cambā Rājās as preserved in the family which still rules that hill-state.

Bilhaṇa, *Vikram.* xviii. 38, speaks of King Ananta's supremacy being acknowledged in Campā, Darvābhisāra, Trigarta and Bhartula (Vartula?). CUNNINGHAM, *Anc. Geogr.*, p. 141, places the invasion of *Campā* by Ananta between A.D. 1028 and 1031, but does not give his authority for these dates.

It deserves to be noted that our text shows everywhere the spelling *Campā*, whereas the name (in its alternative form) is written *Caṃpakā* in the grant above quoted. The latter spelling with ṃ is regularly adopted in all S'āradā MSS. for the name of the *Campaka* flower; comp. also the name of Kalhaṇa's father, written *Caṃpaka* throughout in A.

Regarding the character ascribed to the inhabitants of *Campā*, see viii. 1581.

220. *Vallāpura* has been rightly identified by CUNNINGHAM, *Anc. Geogr.*, p. 135, with the old chiefship of *Ballāvar*, situated in the lower hills to the E. of Jammu. The petty Rājās of Ballāvar, some time before their territory was swallowed up by the State of Jammu, had transferred their seat to Basauli on the Rāvi. But the small town of *Ballāvar*, 75° 40′ long. 32° 37′ lat., still retains in the ruins described by DREW, *Jummoo*, p. 84 sq., marks of its former importance.

Kalaśa, the lord of Vallāpura, is mentioned again, vii. 588, as one of the hill Rājās who presented themselves at the court of Kalaśa of Kaśmīr in the winter of A.D. 1087-88. Subsequently in Sussala's reign we find *Padmaka* of Vallāpura, together with his son *Ānandarāja*, joining a league of hill chiefs which supports the Kaśmīrian pretender Bhikṣācara; see viii. 539 sqq., 547 sqq. This prince is at a later date brought from *Vallāpura* to *Rājapurī* by Sussala's enemies, viii 622.

On the other hand, a 'chief of Vallāpura,' *Brahmarājajjala*, is named in the list of faithful Rājaputras from abroad, who stood by *Sussala* in his greatest straits. Here probably a scion of the Vallāpura family is meant. Sussala also had a wife *Jajjalā* from Vallāpura, viii. 1444. Finally, we are informed, viii. 2452, that King Jayasiṃha, after a successful expedition, replaced *Vikramarāja* by Gulhaṇa in the rule of Vallāpura. Cunningham, *l.c.*, states that he found the name of Kalaśa in the genealogical lists of the Ballāvar family. Albērūnī, *India*, i. p. 205, mentions *Ballāwar* on the route from Kanauj to Kaśmīr.

221 For *Uraśā*, and the route to it, see note v. 217.

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continual attendance upon the queen, and was thrown into prison by *Īśacandra* and others who were enraged against him.

226. Deprived by the king of all his property, he underwent the pains of imprisonment. How [can there be] absolute happiness when the power of fortune is uncertain?

227. When the king set him free from prison, the regal majesty [seemed] to return towards him and to embrace him, while the smile of embarrassment which lit up [his] face was [like the brightness produced by] a regal parasol.

228. He experienced in the queen's behaviour from one moment to another sudden changes of wrath and favour, as [one experiences] in the course of the rainy season [sudden changes of] clouded sky and sunshine.

229. Then in course of time the simple-minded king fell [completely] under his wife's domination, which was the harbinger of evil issues.

Ananta's abdication.

230-231. Continually urged on by his wife, who was blinded by love for her son, he was anxious to hand over the royal dignity to his son *Kalaśa*, though wise persons like *Haladhara* endeavoured to dissuade him by referring to the evil consequences of his abdication, which would cause him to regret [it].

232. He ordered the Chamberlain *Raṇāditya* to make the preparations for the coronation, though this [officer] warned him that he would feel regret.

KALAŚA (A.D. 1063-1089).

233. On the sixth day of the bright half of Kārttika in the year [of the Laukika era four thousand] thirty-nine (A.D. 1063), the king had his son crowned.

234-235. When *Raṇāditya* was then presenting the princes in the king's assembly, he, filled with the thought of the greatness of the royal dignity, and being blunt in his manners, put his hand on the king's neck and introduced him with the words: "Your Majesty, this is Prince (*rājaputra*) *Ananta*."

236 When the king turned round and looked at him in anger, he openly laughed, and thus spoke to him bluntly:

237 "Where the rulers of *Kānyakubja* and other [countries] are introduced in this manner, why should there be another procedure followed with you who have resigned the royal power?"

238. "Verily, you will regret it day by day. Not even a Muni can abandon his pride"

239. When the king heard there these words which went to the heart of the far-seeing ministers, he was unable to give an answer.

240-241. When the wise *Haladhara* saw on the next day the new king attended by a regal court, and the old one accompanied only by a few followers, he

234. L gives the correct reading *nivedayan*, as conjectured by Durgāpr.

reproached the king in aptly feigned anger, and thus induced him to resume the [royal] dignity. KALAŚA (A.D. 1063-1089).

242. "Do you not feel ashamed to have rendered your young son unhappy by placing upon him the burden of the crown, and to have looked [only] after your own comfort in this your old age?"

243. "Therefore, you should transact yourself the affairs of the state. Let your son not be deprived of [his] pleasures while he is young."

244. By such words he caused the [old] king to resume his power, and thus defrauded King *Kalaśa* by his diplomatic skill. *Ananta resumes the royal power*

245. Henceforth *Kalaśa* was king merely in name, taking even his meals, etc., regularly in the presence of his parents.

246. At all assemblies, at the worship of weapons and other royal functions, he appeared like an assistant, acting as if he were his father's Purohita.

247. There is no reliance whatever on those who rejoice and are grieved without reason, just as [there is none] on animals.

248. [Thus it came about] that the queen, after having by such persistence induced her husband to yield up the royal power, came to feel regret, and appeared to lose the love for her son.

249. Full of jealousy and embittered in her mind, she would not permit that her daughters-in-law should make in their dress, ornaments and the rest that display which befitted them as a king's young wives.

250. She made the queens of her son constantly do the work of slave-girls, until they did not refuse [to do even] the smearing of the house-floor [with cow-dung, etc.].

251. Once there came to the king his cousin *Kṣitirāja*, the son of his uncle *Vigraharāja*. *Kṣitirāja's visit.*

252. He related to him the grief which tormented his mind, on account of his son *Bhuvanarāja* who was lusting for his throne, and was most vicious.

253. This son of his had taken refuge with the ruler of *Nīlapura*, and was preparing an expedition against his father with the forces of that [ruler].

243. Read *yauvane bhogair* with L.

246. By *astrapūjā* are evidently meant rites in honour of the sword and other weapons, as are performed to the present day among certain Rajpūt communities, e g. in the Dōgrā country.

248. It is noteworthy that the *v.l. kṣipram evānu*° which A₂ quotes as 'from another manuscript,' is actually found in L.

251. *Kṣitirāja*, lord of Lohara, is praised by Bilhaṇa as distinguished in arms as well as in learning, and as a patron of poets, equal in fame to Bhoja; comp. *Vikram.* xviii. 47-50 Bilhaṇa also mentions a victory he won over Rājapuri, and refers to his association with ascetics and his devotion to the worship of Viṣṇu; comp. below vii. 255 sqq. [The printed text of Bilhaṇa's poem, xviii. 47, seems to make *Kṣitirāja* a brother of Queen Sūryamati; *bhrātā*, however, must be taken there, as in our verse, in the sense of cousin.]

Regarding *Vigraharāja*, see vi. 335.

253. Nothing is known about *Nīlapura*. Can it be connected with the locality called *Bappanīla*, viii. 1989, 1993? Its ruler, *Kīrtirāja*, is mentioned once more, vii. 582.

Read *Nīlapurarājam* with L.

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254. And with impious mind he had given the names of [certain] Bhāgavatas whom his father honoured, to dogs, which he invested with the Brahminical thread.

255. Though his wife was opposed to it, he (Kṣitirāja) was piously resolved to seek the nectar of complete renunciation, which would remove the pains of his soul.

Utkarṣa installed at Lohara,

256-257. He bestowed quickly his kingdom upon *Utkarṣa*, the second eldest son of *Kalaśa*, who was born from the Queen *Rāmalekhā*, though he was [still a child] at the breast. Then this royal Ṛṣi set out to visit Tīrthas in the company of wise men.

258. After enjoying the blessings of quietism for many years as a most devout Vaiṣṇava, this pious [prince] attained absorption in Viṣṇu at *Cakradhara*.

259. He and King *Bhoja*, both [themselves] learned and friends of poets, were at that time equally renowned for their exalted liberality.

260. King *Ananta* entrusted his young grandson (Utkarṣa) to the keeping of *Tanvaṅgarāja*, who was the son of his father's cousin (Jassarāja).

261. *Tanvaṅga*, after raising to vigorous strength that dominion [of Lohara] as well as that boy, returned to *Kaśmīr*, and also died at *Cakradhara*.

262. Up to that [time] the members of the royal family in this [land] enjoyed all possessions in common, and their relationship was not stained by treachery.

263-265. *Buddharāja*, the son of *Indurāja*, had a son *Siddharāja*, who begot the brave *Madanarāja*. The latter's son, named *Jindurāja*, a most arrogant man, had, when the king showed himself unfriendly [to him], gone far away from the king's dominions. As he possessed abundant courage, he was now called back to his home by the queen herself, who was troubled by the insolence of the Ḍāmaras, and was appointed minister.

266. He thereupon attacked *S'obha*, the one-eyed Ḍāmara of *Degrāma*, who had caused great trouble to the king, and executed him

254 The *Bhāgavatas* are adherents of an ancient Vaiṣṇava sect.

256-257 Bilhaṇa, *Vikram* xviii. 67, refers to *Utkarṣa*, 'who, holding Lohara, once the glory of Kṣitipati, freed far and wide the earth from the footprints of the Mlecchas', comp Prof. Buhler's *Introduction*, p. 10

Regarding Utkarṣa's subsequent succession to the Kaśmir throne, see vii. 703 sqq

258. For *Cakradhara*, see note i. 38.

259. This verse agrees closely with the terms in which Bilhaṇa, *Vikram.* xviii. 47 sqq, praises *Kṣitirāja*; comp. above notes vii. 251 and iii. 378.

260. For the relationship between *Tanvaṅga* and Ananta, see the gloss in Ed. and the genealogical table of the Lohara family in Appendix.

264 I have translated above according to the v. l. *dūraṁ nṛpati*°, quoted by A, 'from another manuscript.' This reading is now supported by L, which reads with a slight variation *dūre nṛpati*°.

266 *Degrāma*, mentioned only here, is in all probability the modern hamlet of *Dēgām*, situated about one and a half miles to the W. of *S'upiyan* on the left bank of the Rembyār, about 74° 53′ long 33° 43′ lat. A few hundred yards to the S. of Dēgām lies the well-known sacred spring of *Kapālamocana* (marked as 'Nagbal' on the map) In the Māhātmya of the Tīrtha, the place bears the name of *Dvigrāma*, and a fanciful legend is told to account for this name. P. Sāhibrām also writes the name *Dvigrāma* in his *Tīrthas*. There is nothing to indicate a special antiquity for this Tīrtha.

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267. The king then bestowed upon this renowned [leader] the chief command of the army, and forced *Rājapurī* and other regions to pay tribute.

268. *Haladhara*, who had been like a staff supporting King *Ananta's* rule, which was in a critical condition owing to various blunders, died [at that time].

269. When he was dying at *Cakradhara* he spoke thus to the king, who, together with his wife, was by his side, and asked for advice:

270. "Do not undertake hastily reckless expeditions against foreign countries. I had to avert your disaster in *Vallāpura* and elsewhere by cunning."

271. "Beware of this *Jinduräja*, who has raised himself to the highest position. *Jayānanda* will create dissension between you and your son."

272. Remembering this his advice, the king had the powerful *Jinduräja* thrown into prison by *Bijja*, after cunningly making him lay down his arms.

273. Then in the course of time King *Kalaśa*, whose character was not pure, was induced by his servants to take to a way [of living] which is followed by the wicked. *Kalaśa's* evil conduct.

274. Four arrogant princes (*rājaputra*) from the *S'āhi* family, *Bijja*, *Pittharāja*, *Pāja* and another, were his favourites

275. Also *Jayānanda*, the son of the treasurer *Nāga*, was his trusted servant and his instructor in deceit.

276. When the excellent Brahman, *Amarakaṇṭha*, had obtained absorption in S'iva, the king became the pupil of his son *Pramadakaṇṭha*.

277. This teacher (*guru*) instructed him, who was evil-disposed by nature, in wicked practices, and made him ignore the distinction between those [women] who are approachable and those who are not.

278. What more need be said about the unscrupulousness of this teacher? He, without fear, lived in incest even with his own daughter.

279-280. Those honourable and learned men (*bhaṭṭapāda*) who knew how to behave at great rites without fear, and who, grimly conscious of their power and inaccessible to terror, would not pay any regard even to Bhairava,—they fell to the ground in fear and bent their knees before the 'cat-merchant,' and were put at ease [again] when he placed his hand on their heads.

270. Compare vii. 220.

275. For *Nāga*, Tuṅga's brother, see vi. 319; vii. 101.

276. The *Cat. Catalog* mentions an *Amarakaṇṭha* as the author of a commentary on the S'aiva *Mahimnaḥstotra*.

279-280. K. refers, as the following lines show, to a trader who by his quack practice and other swindling acquired reputation as a Guru in the *Tantra* line. That the rites of the latter are meant here, is shown by the expression *samaya*, often used in Tantra works in the sense of 'observance, rite' (comp. *P.W.*, s.v *samayācāra*, also below vii. 523), and by the mention of Bhairava. Faith-healing by means of Mantras is still commonly practised in Kaśmir by persons who are versed in Tantra—or pretend to be so.

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281-283. There was here before a certain merchant who, from the peculiarity of [keeping] a black cat, had received the nickname 'the cat-merchant,' which supplanted his proper name. Deceitful in his ignorance and vaunting his [learning] as a physician and Guru, he had gradually established a position [for himself] as a Guru of dyers and other craftsmen. This merchant gave relief to honourable and learned men by putting his hand, which smelt strongly of cats' droppings and Assafœtida (*hiṅgu*) on their heads.

284. By such Gurus who were thundering daily [in their perorations], worthless though they were in character, he (Kalaśa) was led into darkness, just as the day by the [thundering] clouds.

285-289. There was a strolling player, *Camaka* by name, who knew how to play on the flute, a persistent corrupter of women. At night he was employed along with musicians who kept late hours, ate much food, always exhaled a fetid odour from their throats through vomiting the undigested meat, and resembled sewers, inasmuch as they let pass down [through their throats] the streams of drink as quickly as [the sewers let flow down] the water poured on the back for purification [after a call of nature]. In a drunken freak, *Kanaka*, a son of *Haladhara*, had become angry with him, had him bound to a post, and his nose cut off by his servants. This parasite, whose disfigurement foreboded evil, gradually acquired the new king's attachment by acting as procurer.

290 This cock of a man (*nrkukkura*) obtained as the king's favourite a place even among the councillors, and received the title of *Thakkura*.

291. Just as when he obtained renown he quickly cut off the family connection (*vaṁśa*) which caused him humiliation, so he must have been pleased before with the cutting off of his nose-bridge (*nāsavaṁśa*)

292. The things which that shameless [king] committed in the wickedness kindled [in him] by that person, are, though unfit for relation, told here as connected [with the narrative]

293. Lusting after the wives of others, he did not forbear to enjoy the king's sister *Kallanā* and her daughter *Nāgā*.

281-283 The account given here as to the manner in which this trader got his curious name, is of interest, as it agrees fully with what has been observed regarding the surnames in vogue at present with the Kaśmiri city population. Mr LAWRENCE, *Valley*, p. 310, rightly states: 'In the city the *Krām* name is purely a nickname.' Surnames taken from familiar animals, like *brōr*, 'cat,' *gagur*, 'mouse,' *hund*, 'sheep,' *śāl*, 'jackal,' *punz*, 'monkey,' etc, as well as other often equally unpleasant appellations taken from personal habits, occupations and places, are in general use both among the Brahmans and Muhammadans of S'rinagar

290 *Thakkura* is a title which is otherwise applied in the Chronicle only to the small nobility, presumably Rājpūts, from the hill territories to the south of Kaśmir; comp. vii. 585, 706-780, 1040, viii. 1828, 1942, 1989, 2228, 2278. At present the name *Thākur* is borne in those regions by the chief cultivating class, which ranks next below the Rājpūts; see DREW, *Jummoo*, p 55.

293. Regarding *Nāgā*, compare vii. 1148.

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294. When the old king, together with his wife, came to know of this, he refrained from shame to express censure, but concealed his anguish.

295-297. There was a silly Brahman village-astrologer, called *Loṣṭaka*, who was born at the village of *Ovanā*, and who used to go begging for handfuls of rice. Roaming about at night, he secured the help of the tutelary spirit (*kṣetrapāla*) of the village, and became well-known for guessing the things hidden in people's fists (*muṣṭi*), [which got him the surname of] *Muṣṭiloṣṭaka*. As Guru, procurer, and astrologer, he was most dear to the dissolute young king.

298-302. The superintendent of the *Bhaṭṭārakamaṭha* [was] the pious mendicant *Vyomaśiva*, who in order to obtain the title of *Khurkhuṭa* (?) had undertaken constant austerities. *Mamma*, a blind musician whom he employed at his worship, [kept] a ragamuffin of a Brahman, born at *Avantipura*, *Madana* by name, who used to lead [him about] by his hand. When the latter had left [Mamma], he (Vyomaśiva) had taken him under his protection. Changing his (Madana's) miserable hemp-made garments, he sent him with flowers into the presence of the king, ... whereupon that garrulous fellow joined the bad company of procurers and gradually became the greatest intimate [of the king].

Kalaśa's licentiousness.

303. Quickly deceived and depraved by these and other flattering parasites, *Kalaśa* took even sins for virtues.

304. Those for whom sayings which make one blush are a jest, [for whom] oppression of the subjects is a rightful course, shamelessness distinction, intercourse with women not to be approached a charming attraction, and quiet acceptance of abuse from rogues a matter of honesty,—for such [persons] no action whatever is a bad action, to be avoided from a recognition of its wrongfulness.

305. The king in his lust after illicit amours, used to roam about from house to house during the night, finding no pleasure in the embraces of his own wives.

306. The enjoyment of the wives of others, in which the exceptional pleasure is due to a dependence on others, is for those who are filled with passion [just like] ghee poured into the flaming fire of desire

295. *Ovanā* is identified by the gloss of A₂ with the village of *Uyan*, situated about three miles to the N.E. of Pāmpar (Padmapura), about 75° 2′ long. 34° 2′ lat. Its hot spring is mentioned by VIGNE, *Travels*, ii. p. 34.

Regarding the *kṣetrapāla*, a 'genius loci,' see *P W.*, s.v. The *Vijayeśvaramāhātmya* (Poona MSS., Coll. 1875-76, No. 87) gives, vi. 1 sqq., a definition of the *kṣetrapāla*, in which his functions as an enlightening guide and remover of doubts are specially referred to.

L correctly *bhikṣāko* for A *bhikṣako*.

298-302. Half a verse is missing in the text, which makes the interpretation of the passage doubtful. I am unable to explain the term *khurkhuṭa*, which occurs only here. It can hardly have any connection with the word *khārkhoda*, 'sorcery,' discussed in note iv. 94.

Bhaṅgā, 'hemp,' Kś. *bang*, grows plentifully in Kaśmīr, and 'furnishes an excellent fibre from which strong and durable ropes are made'; see LAWRENCE, *Valley*, p. 69. This material is, as far as I could ascertain, no longer used for clothing. In viii. 98, hemp-made clothes are mentioned as the wear of prisoners in jail.

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307. Having put those five or six procurers at work, the king once proceeded at night to the house of *Jindurāja*, lusting for illicit love.

308. There, in her own house, the daughter-in-law of *Jindurāja*, a very licentious woman, had given an appointment at night to King *Kalaśa*.

309. As he entered the gate of the house, the barking dogs betrayed him, and the Caṇḍāla [watchmen], fearing thieves, rushed at him with drawn swords.

310. When his followers saw that those [Caṇḍālas] were about to strike that [prince], who in his fright had fallen to the ground, they threw themselves over his body and thus saved him.

311. While those [Caṇḍālas] were belabouring him with their fists, his servants liberated him with difficulty by telling them: "Stop, this is King *Kalaśa*."

312. That he had approached the woman after sending before him that [man] who had lost his nose, just that had brought him misfortune in his love-affair

313. He had left his residence enslaved by the glances of his mistress; having been met by the glances of Death, he escaped his end by the will of fate.

314. While he was violating decency, he had suffered through the fault of his own mind humiliation from persons unfit to be touched, king though he were.

315. If even Indra, Candra, and other gods have been brought into shame by the senses, how could then the honour of a man escape being sullied by them?

316. First comes to light mean dishonour, then blameful lust, first righteousness vanishes, then the inherited self-respect, first one's good birth becomes doubtful, but next [one's tenure of] life What does not change for the worse when that philosopher's stone, 'honourable character,' dissolves?

Rupture between *Ananta* and *Kalaśa*

317. That very night, when the dissolute king reached the palace, his parents heard what had happened.

318. They wept long, filled with shame and pain from affection for their son, and decided to imprison him for his faults

319 They passed that night wishing to put on the throne their eldest grandson *Harṣa*, [Queen] *Bappikā's* son, who was the embodiment of all sciences.

320. When, then, in the morning they sent for King *Kalaśa*, he, filled with apprehension, told *Bijja* and *Jayānanda* that he was in fear of his father.

321. In this belief he got somehow to his parent's apartments, taken by the hand by *Jayānanda* and followed by *Bijja*.

312. *Camaka* is meant; see vii. 289. Persons suffering from some disfigurement are supposed to bring ill-luck; comp. *Raghuvaṁśa*, xii. 43, of which verse our passage is an evident reminiscence.

313. The correct reading is supplied by L, *kālakaṭākṣeṇāṁ*.

316. L reads *purojīvitaṁ*, 'further life,' for A *punar jīvitaṁ*.

319. *Bappikā* was a princess from the *Campā* family; comp. note vii. 1512.

322. As soon as he entered his father slapped him in the face, and thus addressed him: "You wretch, give up your dagger!"

323. *Bijja* supported with his hand *Kalaśa*, whose limbs gave way from fright, and touching his sword, he spoke resolutely to the king:

324. "O king, though the foremost of the proud men, do you not know that men of honour should never break the great vow of keeping their self-respect?"

325. "How can I as a Rājaputra, when I have taken my pay and carry arms, abandon my master in these straits while life is in me?"

326. "You are the father, this your son. At another time, when I am not present, you may do, O king, what is proper"

327 After confusing the simple-minded king with words in which were [combined] tender feeling and roughness, *Bijja* left his presence, taking with him his own lord.

328. Wise men praised that superhuman courage of *Bijja*, that he behaved thus even in the presence of *Anantadeva*.

329. Exasperated by the overwhelming force of inevitable events, the wife of the king remained that day in silent prayer.

330. If she had set herself to act, then for certain nothing else could have taken place but either *Kalaśa's* entire destruction or his imprisonment.

331. *Bijja* then conducted the trembling *Kalaśa* quickly to the apartments of his wife *Dilhā*.

332. This clever [woman], who knew what had happened, announced that her husband suffered from headache, and rubbed oil on the head of the frightened [Kalaśa].

333. Forbidding all people under this pretence from entering, she kept her husband concealed and put *Bijja* as a guard at the door.

334. The Queen [Sūryamatī] then relinquished her devout meditation, and, after saying harsh words to the king, went to her son under the pretext of inquiring regarding his health.

335. When the king went in the same way with the fixed resolve of imprisoning him, he was admitted only singly by *Bijja*.

Ananta proceeds to Vijayeśvara.

336. The king was angered by the non-admission of his followers, and thereupon, in the excitement of his rage, set off to proceed to *Vijayakṣetra*.

337. When he, with his wife, had reached *Avantipura* on their way, *Viśśāvaṭṭa* and other local Brahmans approached him and said:

338. "O king, having voluntarily abdicated your power, why do you feel repentance? It is useless to regret what one has done, whether it was right or wrong."

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339. "And it is not proper for you to blame your bad son, if you remember that you have yourself abandoned your subjects to his wickedness."

340. "There is, indeed, no force whatever in a king, [as little] as in a mechanical doll. He will be good or bad according to the subjects' good or bad fortune."

341. "That the clouds send down upon the trees rain as well as lightning, is the result of the retribution for good and bad actions [of a former existence]."

342. "And how is it right that you should have started leaving behind your treasures, when you desire to enjoy comfort after leaving your son who has entered upon a bad course?"

343. "Who would concern himself with a man who has no means (*kośa*), though his abilities may be raised to the highest point (*dhārā*), though his descent (*vaṁśa*) may be noble and his character pure,—or who would touch a sword which is without a scabbard (*kośa*), though there is strength in its blade (*dhārā*), though its hilt (*vaṁśa*) is good, and though it is spotless (*śucimān*)?"

344. On hearing these words, the king wished to return. While he reflected, there approached him his son, with his wife, to soothe him.

345. Thereupon he proceeded to the City, took away all his possessions except the palace buildings, and started once more with his wrath unappeased.

346. He left, after taking along with himself horses, arms, armour, and other [possessions], and then stopped for a short time on the river bank, awaiting the queen.

347. The royal ladies put their various possessions on board ships, and when starting left not even the iron nails in the [walls of the] palace

348. Not aware of [these] events, the people had, on the first occasion, been silent at his departure. But now, on their learning what was taking place, their mouths poured forth lamentations.

349. The people seemed to offer to them in the guise of the tears they shed continuous propitiatory gifts to obtain their pardon, while the town threw [before them] handfuls of flowers.

350 No other sound was then heard on the road but pitiful cries: "O mother! O father! where do you thus go?"

351. When the lamentations from here and there had ceased on the road, there was heard the noise of the torrents, which seemed like the sound of plaintive sighs from the mountains.

352. Their ears, which had become accustomed to the frequent lamentations on the road, seemed to hear lamentations again and again even in the solitude.

343. The puns contained in the epithets necessitate a paraphrase of this verse.

349. The citizens' tears are compared to the propitiatory gifts (*argha*) offered, along with flowers, to the deity at the conclusion of a *pūjā*.

353. The people, when they saw them on the road [brought] to such a condition through their son's fault, would reproach even the birds nesting on the trees for bringing up their young ones.

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354. When they, tormented in their minds by their son's misconduct, caught sight of [the shrine of] *Vijayeśvara*, their hearts were cheered as by the [sight of] a beloved relative.

355. Then they passed the day there, occupied in putting their treasures, horses, servants, and other [belongings] under shelter, and by making the [necessary] arrangements.

356. In the place which was crowded by the mass of bags containing their treasures and belongings, the market streets appeared as if covered with logs of firewood.

357. The princes, who were the sons of *Tanvaṅgarāja*, *Guṅga*, and other relatives, followed him (Ananta); [so did also] *Sūryavarmacandra* and other Ḍāmaras.

Ananta established at Vijayeśvara.

358. The king secured his position by posting *Kṣīrabhaṭa* and other Ḍāmaras as guards at their own [respective] places, *Naunagara*, etc.

359. The illustrious King *Ananta* abandoned all cares, and the days began to pass for him in festivities at *Vijayeśvara*.

360. The hosts of Rājaputras, horsemen, soldiers, and Ḍāmaras, all took up their quarters near the old king.

361. Having left [S'rīnagara] in the month Jyaiṣṭha of the year [of the Laukika era four thousand one hundred] fifty-five (A.D. 1079), he found the delights of heaven on reaching *Vijayakṣetra*.

362 *Kalaśa*, on the other hand, found on the king's departure that the land had lost its wealth, just as [one finds] the place of a hidden treasure empty when its guardian-snake is gone.

363. Wishing to give lustre to his rule, though he was deprived [of means], he consulted with *Bijja* and others, and appointed [persons] enjoying respect as state officers.

364. He put *Jayānanda* in the post of prime minister (*sarvādhikāra*), and *Varāhadeva*, who was a native of the town of *Vitastātra*, in charge of the 'Gate.'

356. The gloss of A_2 gives to *gaṇḍāli* the meaning of Kś. *ganyar* (plural *ganya*), 'log of wood.' This meaning of the word is not known to the dictionaries.

357 In the text °*guṅgā*° should be read with A_1 instead of °*tuṅgā*° of A_2; L °*yuptā*°

Regarding *Guṅga*, brother of *Tanvangarāja*, see vii. 1286.

358. *Naunagara* is the name of the alluvial plateau now called *Naunagar Uḍar*, which stretches on the left bank of the Vitastā from S.E. to N.W. between 75° 5 long 33° 51′ lat and 75° 2′ long. 33° 55′ lat. Compare VIGNE, *Travels*, ii. p. 39. This plateau offers a position commanding all the direct routes between Vij^ebrōr (Vijayeśvara) and S'rinagar on the left river bank. It is mentioned only once more, viii. 995.

359. I translate according to Durgāpr.'s very suitable emendation °*sarvacintasya*.

364 See regarding *Jayānanda*, vii 275. *Vitastātra* is the present *Vith^avutur*; comp. i. 102.

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365. *Vijayamitra*, who had been superintendent of clothing during *Jindurāja's* chief command (*kampana*), was made by the king commander-in-chief.

Kalaśa attacks *Ananta*

366. After appointing others, too, to official posts, according to their merits, the king, who was agitated by the [thought of] having to fight his father, set about to provide funds.

367. Then *Jayānanda*, wishing to collect foot-soldiers, raised eagerly loans from rich people, even if they were disreputable.

368. Having got together an infantry force, he marched to *Avantipura*, accompanied by a band of Rājaputras like *Bijja* and others, in order to fight the old king.

369. *Jindurāja*, who had left his prison, and had been induced by the king's requests to take this opportunity, proceeded to the attack by the route of *S'imikā*.

370. The Ḍāmaras, horsemen, and others who were on the old king's [side], when they heard of the efforts of these [leaders], became excited and joined him with zeal.

371. The whole ground at *Vijayeśvara*, which was shaded by the [royal] parasol, and thus resembled a forest (*chattracchāyāṭavī*), became narrow, [when filled] with the troops of horses which were playing with the balls (*guḍa*) put down [before them]

372. Then *Sūryamatī*, from affection for her son, obtained with much trouble an armistice of two days from her husband, who was in the greatest fury.

373. She despatched thereupon at night *Mayya* and other Brahmans whom she fully trusted, and in her fond love sent through their mouth the following secret message to her son.

374. "Whence this perversity of mind, O son, which forebodes your destruction, that you wish to-day thus to fight your father, whose prowess is terrible?"

375. "Why do you wish to rush, like a moth, into the fire of the wrath of him who has destroyed the king of the *Darads* and other [opponents] by his mere frown?"

369. As to *Jindurāja's* imprisonment, see vii. 282; for *S'imikā*, comp. note vi 183

371. I have translated above according to the reading of L *chatracchāyāṭavi*, which seems preferable to that of A (and the Ed) *śastraih satrāṭavi*; comp vii. 417. The parasol meant might also be that over the temple of S'iva Vijayeśvara

By *guḍa* seem to be meant balls made up of crushed sugar with an admixture of certain condiments, such as are commonly given in India to horses on occasions when greater exertion is required from them. These balls are still known in the Panjāb by the name of *guḍ* (*gūḍ* in Kś)

Kalaśa (A.D. 1063-1089).

376. "When the king, who is like fire, has once mounted his steed, who will protect your troops resembling mere straw?"

377. "What are the divisions of troops, what the valour and the means with which you rashly proceed to fight him, the foremost of the strong?"

378. "Enjoy the whole kingdom which, as fate willed it, he has abandoned to you. What harm does your father do to you by living at a sacred spot?"

379. "Brought by those who desire dissension to this fearful plight, you will, already poor, fall within [a few] days into utter destitution."

380. "Lead away your troops. While I live, there is no fear for you from your father. But rather you should appease him, straightforward as he is, by conciliatory words."

Retreat of Kalaśa.

381. When the son had heard this secret request of his mother from the mouth of the envoys, he withdrew during that very night his troops from all directions to his own [residence].

382. When the [king's] consort heard of the retreat of the troops, she went in the morning to her husband to whom the messengers had brought gladness, and boldly reproached him in turn.

383. Though the queen had put a stop to their mutual insults, yet their minds were again and again perturbed by the instigations of malignant persons.

384. Because that is the character of an enmity, that it enters the heart again and again, even though allayed (*saṁdhīyamānam*), just as a wet garment rends [again and again even though repaired].

385. When the king, after hearing in the outer court (*bāhyāli*) and elsewhere of the doings of his son, returned to his residence with a mortified mind, he became [still more] depressed by the remarks of his bold wife.

386. As the naturally pure-minded [king] was thus getting excited (*lit.* heated up) every day and cooling down every night, he resembled a pool [of pure water] which is reduced by the autumn [and in this condition gets warm in day-time and cools down at night].

387. The son destroyed the houses and other [property] of those who were on his father's side, while the hen-pecked father did nothing to those of the son's faction.

388. Vexed by the rough words of the queen who was blinded by affection for her son, and by those of his harassed followers, the king felt very miserable.

389. He wished to take back the royal dignity from his son, as he knew his force to be lacking brave men, and as he held [but] a low opinion of *Jindurāja's* prowess.

380. The *v.l.* of L *nayāṁdratvaṁ* is evidently a misreading for **nayārdratvaṁ*, which is preferable to A *nayasvārdraṁ*.

384. I am unable to find a suitable sense in the verse unless connecting *bhedaṁ* with the simile; for the latter compare vii. 349.

385. Regarding *bāhyāli*, comp. below vii. 392 and note iv. 62.

KALAŚA (A.D. 1063-1089). **390-391.** When in his desire of deposing his son he had offered the royal dignity to the *sons of Tanvaṅga*, who were averse to [taking] it, the queen, fearing evil for her own descendants, talked him over at night and called *Harṣa* through messengers in order to make him king.

Harṣa joins Ananta. **392.** When *Harṣa* was called by the messengers of his grandparents, he started prepared for the daring feat, though he was guarded by guards who were in attendance in the outer court.

393. Full of energy, he accomplished the [way of] five Yojanas in half a moment by spurring on his steed which was as fast as thought.

394. Many troop-horses in their endeavour to follow that steed which surpassed its training, became wretchedly exhausted on the road.

395. When he had arrived and had thrown himself at the feet of his grandparents, they sprinkled him with drops of their joyful tears [and thus performed, as it were, his abhiṣeka].

396. When his son had reached them, *Kalaśa* trembled in his heart, and refrained from hostile acts in the desire of conciliating his parents.

397. He prudently sent from the City letters to him (Harṣa), and did not openly show his enmity in the disturbed [state of the] country.

398. Thus King *Kalaśa* for a brief time seemed to follow, to some extent, his mother's advice, though the hostility [between him and his father] was growing.

399. When the commander-in-chief, by *Kalaśa's* order, wished to proceed to *Khaśālī*, she induced her husband to allow him to pass after he had done homage.

400. In the meantime the Brahmans held a solemn fast (*prāya*) against both father and son, in order to put a stop to their hostility which caused ruin to the country.

401. When, in compliance with their [demand] a reconciliation had then been effected, the [royal] couple came together to the City for a period of two months.

402. When they learned that their son, by the advice of *Jayānanda* and others, was preparing to imprison them, they left in dismay and went once more to *Vijayeśvara*.

403. The son set at night his (Ananta's) stacks of horse-fodder on fire, and destroyed his foot-soldiers by the use of poison, sword and fire.

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390. Read with L *yadā* for A *tadā*.

393. The direct distance by road from S'rinagar to *Vij"brōr* is about thirty miles. This corresponds exactly to five *Yojanas* or twenty Krośas, if the Krośa is taken at the usual valuation of the modern Kaśmiri *Kruh* (Kōś) as equal to one and a half miles; comp note i. 285.

399. Instead of A *Khaśālāḥ*, L reads *Khaśālīḥ*, which is preferable in view of *Khaśālī*, *S'riv.* iv. 456. I assume that the territory meant is the same which is called *Khaśālaya* in the Fourth Chronicle, and now *Khaiśāl* (obl. *Khaiśāli*, fem.). For its situation, see note i. 317. The direct route to Khaiśāl viā the Marbal Pass leads past Vij"brōr.

KALAŚA (A.D. 1063-1089).

404. Though the enmity was thus growing, the pious queen, enslaved by her [maternal] affection, kept back her husband from reprisals.

405-406. There was then a woman of easy virtue belonging to the fishermen's caste, *Luḍḍā* by name, and her lover was a bald Ḍāmara, called *Thakka*, over whose mind she had complete control. The face of the wicked [Kalaśa] was always lit up by an amused laugh when he heard his attendants mentioning his parents by the names of those two.

407. The king and his consort again relieved the sorrow of their heart by remarkable works of piety, and both gave away their own weights in gold (*tulāpuruṣa*).

Vijayeśvara burned down.

408. As on account of their wealth their firm position remained undisturbed, that unnatural son, in his envy, caused fire to be laid [to their residence] by night.

409. By that fire, the town of *Vijayeśvara* was laid in ashes along with all the stores of the king.

410. The distressed queen, who from grief at the loss of everything was seeking death, was dragged with difficulty from the burning house by the sons of *Tanvaṅga*.

411. All the king's soldiers, who had taken off their clothes to sleep and had risen at night from their beds, were left with [no other] covering [but] the sky.

412. Seeing this [fire] from the highest terrace of the palace, King *Kalaśa* danced about in joy, along with the flames, sheets of which were encompassing the sky.

413. The king, who had lost all his possessions, crossed to the other side of the river, but was sinking [at the same time], together with his wife, in an ocean of sorrows difficult to cross.

414. In the morning the queen recovered a Liṅga made of a jewel which had not been consumed by the fire, and sold it to *Ṭākas* who had come before her, for seventy lakhs [of Dīnnāras].

415. With this money she first purchased food and clothes, which she gave to the servants, and then she also repaired with it the burned houses.

416. So much of gold and other valuables the king got out from the ground below the heaps of ashes, that its mere mention nowadays engages our curiosity.

407. Regarding the custom of distributing in pious gifts one's own weight in gold, see Prof. JOLLY, *Recht und Sitte*, pp. 103 sq.

414. By the name *Ṭāka* a family seems to be designated. According to information supplied to me, there still survives at Vij*brör the recollection of a great Muhammadan family called Ṭāk, which was resident there. Its members are said to have enjoyed considerable reputation as merchants until early in this century.

Prof. BÜHLER, as he kindly informs me, thinks that the family was called *Ṭāka*, because it came from *Ṭakkadeśa* (regarding this territory see above note v. 150). He further points out that Madanapāla, in whose genealogy as given in the opening of the Madanapārijāta (see Aufrecht, *Cat. Bibl. Bodl.*, p. 275), the term *Ṭāka* also occurs, was a native of the same district.

416. Read *bhasmakūṭa°* with L for A *bhasmakūla°*.

KALAŚA (A.D. 1063-1089).

417. The king, with his followers, resided there in the town which was shaded by umbrella-shaped roofs made of reed-matting, and which had become [like] a deserted forest.

418. The old king endeavoured to restore that town, but though he had such large means at his disposal, he did not succeed, for want of the necessary orders from the king.

419. The new king being left unchecked through his mother's favour, was always causing pain to his father by various evil communications.

Ananta asked to leave Kaśmīr.

420-422. The son wished to make his father leave the country, and persisted in ordering him repeatedly, through messengers, to go to *Parṇotsa*. His masterful wife, too, urged him on again and again with taunts to effect this project. Enraged thereupon, he once spoke to her in private, [only] *Thakkana, Tanvaṅga's* son, being present, harsh words such as he had not uttered before:

423. "Pride, honour, valour, royal dignity, power, intellect, riches,—what is it, alas, that I have not lost by following my wife's [will]?"

424. "People hold women to be a useless accessory for men, but in the end men are [but] an instrument of play for women."

425. "Who, indeed, have not in this [world] been made the guests of death, either by the hatred which has arisen in passionate wives, or by the grudge which disaffected [wives have borne them]?"

426. "Some wives have destroyed by magic their husbands' beauty, others their strength, others their intellect, others their virility, and others again their life."

427. "Wives proud of their high-swelling breasts (*payodharaunnatyāt*) destroy the land [of their royal husbands] by [substituting] sons born from another race, just as the rivers [overflowing with rain on the rise of the clouds (*payodharaunnatyāt*) destroy land] by the stones [they bring down]."

428. "Wives foster the children, but destroy the husbands [thinking]: 'Those are a support to the end. What is the use [on the other hand] of such worn-out [husbands]?'"

429. "Though I have known all the time these faults committed by

417. By *naḍatvac*, K. evidently means, as the gloss of A, explains, the material obtained from the swamp-plant *pits*" which is used in Kaśmīr for the making of mats; comp. regarding this industry Mr. LAWRENCE's *Valley*, p. 69. This excellent matting is often employed by the poor as a temporary roofing.

418. "It is said, and with some truth, that even if bidden to a feast, the Kashmiri will not go unless he is forced, and when urgent work is necessary to prevent some disaster to the crops, the villagers themselves say: 'We do not want pay, but we want the slipper' (i.e. compulsion)." LAWRENCE, *Valley*, p. 278.

422. The correct reading *Tānvaṅge* (for A *Tanvaṅge*) is found in L. That *Thakkana* is the son of *Tanvaṅga*, is proved by the text of vii. 517, as restored with the help of L.

[my] wife, yet from regard for [my] high position, I have not put her to disgrace."

430. "This over-powerful [woman], after ruining my happiness here in this [world], is endeavouring to destroy also my hope of happiness in the other world."

431. "Near the time of death [as I am], with wrinkles [in my face] and grey hair, where else is it proper for me to go if not to *Vijayakṣetra?*"

432. "How [otherwise] could I appease that desire of stopping near the door of S'iva's [residence] which [alone] can remove sinfulness?"

433. "A son [ought to be his father's] protector in both worlds. Who else has got [a son] like this, who wishes me to leave a sacred spot and to die on an evil road?"

434. "Now the often repeated story appears true to my mind that this [son] has sprung from another stock, and has been substituted by her."

435. "One should know that a son who differs in looks and manners, who is at enmity with his relatives and without affection for his father, is born from another's seed."

436. When her husband spoke thus, throwing off the restraint upon his energy, which allowed his feelings to manifest themselves [only] after a very long time, she was cut to the quick.

437. When she was thus accosted with harsh words in the presence of a relative, and the secret of her son's origin laid bare, she felt excessively humiliated

438. Because there was a rumour that he (Kalaśa) was the son of a Mahattama called *Praśasta*, and that she had substituted him on the death of her own child.

439. Women who hold their husbands in subjection, think the free word of their husband [as great an insult] as if they had been kicked on their head by the foot of a person of the lowest rank.

440 Then in her rage she addressed to him, like a vulgar woman, and in a loud voice, vehement words the abusiveness of which [indicated] her accustomed self-assertion:

435. This verse looks like a quotation from some Nitiśāstra or Purāṇa.

436. It is doubtful whether the text is here in order, *prāṇāya* does not seem to fit into the construction.

438. The term of *mahattama* seems to designate an office, but the character of the latter is not clear. Sahelaka, an important person, is spoken of as *mahattama*, vii. 1106, 1170, 1176; viii. 440, 560. The last-named passage shows that there could be more than one *mahattama* at the same time.

Regarding *mahattara*, which is a different title, see vii. 659.

The Lokaprakāśa, i., mentions in its list of officials a *rājamahattama*. His duties, as defined in an unfortunately corrupt passage of the iv. Prakāśa, seem to have had some connection with the regal court of justice.

KALAŚA (A.D. 1063-1089).

441. "This pauper, mendicant, idiot, whom fortune has deserted, who has grown old to no purpose, this fool does not know where and what to speak."

442. "He who had before nothing to cover himself with when getting out of his bath,—the people here know what he has not lost when he got me."

443. "Whatever you have said of me, that is true of your own female relatives. This is the time to practise penances. Why do you not do it?"

444. "It might be said: 'He is useless, past his time, turned out of the country by his son: [now] his wife, too, leaves him.' This, indeed, is what I am afraid of."

Ananta's suicide.

445-446. Afflicted by her words, which were full of reproaches and contained references to taints of his family, etc., he remained silent. Then was seen clearly a stream of blood flowing forth from the edge of the couch, [on which he kept] with unchanged appearance.

447. Then while the queen was reeling, *Thakkana*, with tears in his eyes, noticed that the king in his rage had driven a knife into his anus.

448. Moved by shame, the king spoke to him with great firmness: "Let it be announced outside that the king had a hæmorrhage."

449. Kings who are under the will of women, who stubbornly put afresh confidence in a servant who has proved vile, who by their inconsiderate attacks give importance to a small enemy,—[such kings], who have no prudence, find before long their final destruction.

450-451 The servants of the king kept the secret, and spread the story that the king, when troubled by the autumn heat on a ride and thirsty, had drunk coriander-water, which had brought on hæmorrhage. [Thus it came about] that nobody outside learned what had [really] happened.

452. It was on the full moon day of the month Kārttika in the year [of the Laukika era four thousand one hundred] fifty-seven (A.D. 1081) that the king departed from life before [the shrine of] *Vijayeśa*

453. The king, who [ought to have been] accustomed to ease, found at last occasion, freed from the worrying of his wife and son, to stretch out his legs and to sleep.

441-443 K. reproduces here faithfully enough selections from the vituperative phraseology of the common Kaśmīrī woman Abuse of the husband's female relations is, according to my informants, a favourite form of defence adopted by her

Of a very poor man it is said *ṣrān°path ti chüy na*, 'he has not even a bathing cloth [for his loins']

450-451. I have translated according to the gloss of A_2, which renders *dhānya* by the Kś *dānyaval*, 'coriander', comp. *P.W.*, s.v. *dhānya* Coriander-water is taken in Kaśmīr, as also in the Panjāb, as a cooling drink in certain diseases *Dhānyāmbu* might literally also be understood as 'rice-water,' i.e. water from a rice-field But the date of the king's death, the end of Kārttika, speaks against this, as the rice is then cut, and there is no water on the fields.

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454. He bore [after death] no grudge against anyone, nor did anyone bear a grudge against him. Death made [this king] of proud spirit happy and serene.

455. The heir of *Saṁgrāmarāja* lay asleep on the ground, covered with a cloak, as if he were a person dear to no one and helpless.

456. The king who had given away all he had became familiar with the long sleep, rejoicing neither in the laments of his friends nor feeling angry at hostile words.

457. When the husband had sacrificed his life as if in atonement for his breach of courtesy, his wife in gratitude became the guardian [of his interests].

458. To all followers, from prince to Caṇḍāla, she gave the daily allowance due to them, just as if she were at ease, in order to fulfil her husband's obligations.

459. When they had received their allowances, she herself made all followers take before the [Liṅga of S'iva] *Vijayeśa* an oath by sacred libation (*kośa*) in order to [assure] the safety of her grandson.

460. When her grandson crying touched her feet with his head, as she handed [him] the sacred libation, she kissed him on the head, and told him: "Do not trust your father."

461. Then she stood up, and as a Satī herself taking the stick, performed the office of doorkeeper for her husband while she had him adorned for the last [rites]. *Ananta's funeral.*

462. She first ordered a hundred mounted soldiers to watch there over her grandson; then she sent forth her husband placed on a litter.

463. Having thus passed one night and half a day, this devoted wife paid her reverence to [S'iva] *Vijáyeśāna* (Vijayeśa) and proceeded outside seated in a litter.

464. When the people saw those two going forth, the horizon was rent, as it were, by their tumultuous lamentations, which mixed with the vibrating sounds of the funeral music.

465. The moving [images of the] people reflected in the ornaments of the hearse, which was decorated with flags, made it appear as if they were close to the king and striving to follow him.

466. Waving in the wind, the locks of the princes who had put their shoulders under the hearse appeared like splendid Chowries [held] over the king, who was placed in it.

467. Viewing the last service of the troops, the queen reached the burning-ground as the day was sinking.

455. Hindus at the point of death are placed on the ground, where the body is left until the funeral.

459. Regarding the term *kośa*, see note v. 326.

462. L reads *puraḥ*, which is better than A *punaḥ*.

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468. Whether from maternal affection, which is hard to abandon, or for some other reason, she longed at that moment to see her son.

469. Thinking that the dust which the wind had tossed up was raised by an armed force, she looked out, trembling with agitation, in the hope of *Kalaśa's* coming.

470. At that moment some people arrived by the road from the City (S'rīnagar). These she herself asked: "Well, has *Kalaśa* come?"

471. But the son, who had wished to come to his mother, was kept back that time by the fomenters of the quarrel who frightened him in various ways.

Sūryamatī becomes a Satī.

472. After this the queen abandoned the hope of seeing her son, and asking for water from the *Vitastā*, recited the following verse:

473. "But those who die with *Vitastā* water in their body, obtain for certain final deliverance, just like those who proclaim sacred learning."

474. When she had drunk the water brought to her, and had sprinkled it [over parts of her body], she thus cursed those who had destroyed affection [between parents and son] by their calumnies:

475. "May those who have caused the fatal enmity between us two and our son quickly be destroyed together with their descendants!"

476. Through this unfailing curse of the afflicted [queen] *Jayānanda*, *Jindurāja* and others found an early death.

477. In order to put a stop to the slanderous rumours which had grown up with regard to *Haladhara's* position as her confidant, she, the Satī, took an oath in proper form, pledging [her happiness in a] future life.

478. Having thus attested the purity of her moral character, she leaped with a bright smile from the litter into the flaming fire.

479. The sky became encircled [and reddened] with sheets of flames, just as if the gods, in order to celebrate her arrival, had covered [it] with minium.

480. The people did not notice the crackling of the fire owing to their lamentations, nor its heat owing to their hot grief. It thus appeared to them as if it were merely painted in a picture.

481. *Gaṅgādhara*, *Ṭakkibuddha* and the litter-carrier *Daṇḍaka*, and of the female servants *Uddā*, *Nonikā* and *Valgā*, followed her.

473. This verse actually occurs, with a slight variation in the second half (*sarve mokṣaṁ gamiṣyanti yathā te brahmavādinah*), in the *Kṛtyayeśvaramāhātmya*, alleged to belong to the Ādipurāṇa. It is very probable that K. has quoted the verse from this very text. Like modern Paṇḍits, he is likely to have been familiar enough with the Māhātmya of so popular a Tīrtha. The general habit of Indian authors to quote from memory accounts for the difference of the text.

477. Comp above vii. 225.

479. It is customary to paint sacred buildings, etc., with minium on the arrival of honoured guests, and on similar festive occasions.

481. L reads *Caṇḍaka* for *Daṇḍaka*, and *Uddhā* for *Uddā*.

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482. *Senaṭu* and *Kṣemaṭa*, of the families of *Bappaṭa* and *Udbhaṭa*, who had been the king's favourites, renounced the world [and stopped as mendicants] at *Vijayeśvara*.

483. The beings here do not last long, being fragile, as they are [mere] mechanical contrivances. The mind and the glass bottle have [both however] this one lasting quality, that the astonishing tale and the divine Gaṅgā-water which are preserved in them [respectively], do not escape, nor become stale nor decrease.

484. The king's age exceeded sixty-one years when he attained, along with his wife, the union with Pura's enemy (S'iva) and with Gaurī.

485. Then on the fourth day all the sons of *Tanvaṅgarāja* proceeded with their bones to the *Gaṅgā*.

486. *Harṣa*, however, [remained] at *Vijayeśvara* along with his grandparents' treasures and surrounded by their retinue, [and] fell into enmity with his father.

487. In the first feud between father and son, the father had been at the famous *Vijayeśvara;* in this, on the contrary, the son stopped at that [place] and the father in the vicinity of the City (S'rīnagar).

488. Then the father, who was without means and feared poverty, prudently approached his son who was very extravagant, and through envoys asked him for a reconciliation. Reconciliation of *Kalaśa* and *Harṣa*

489. By coming again and again, and using the proper words, with difficulty they induced the haughty prince to enter into a compact with his father.

490. Being granted a daily allowance, the father promised to the son safety for the treasures of his grandparents and for his own person.

491. As he (Kalaśa) proceeded to *Vijayeśvara* to fetch his son, his eyes were tormented by the charred ruins and his ears by the reproaches of the people.

492. After taking an oath by sacred libation (*pītakośa*) he came [back] to the City, bringing with him his son, and placed [there] the treasure which he had put under a seal bearing the latter's name.

493. In the meantime there arose in the king a righteous disposition and a legitimate care for wealth which altogether removed his poverty.

494. *Jayyaka*, who was the clever son of a householder at *Selyapura*, called *Mayana*, had gradually attained the position of a Ḍāmara.

482. By *Udbhaṭa* is probably meant King Jayāpīḍa's Sabhāpati of that name, iv. 495, whose family is again referred to, viii. 2227.

Bappaṭa is scarcely the person referred to in vii. 574.

487. This verse receives a proper sense only by reading with L *pitāputravaire*, instead of A *pitā putravaire*. This reading had already been rightly conjectured by Durgāpr.

494. *Selyapura* is in all probability the modern *S'il'pōr*, a large village in the Dūnts Pargaṇa, situated circ. 74° 45' long. 34° 1' lat. (wrongly spelt 'Shalipoor' on map). This identification is supported by viii. 200 sq., where

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495. By the revenue of his land, and by selling victuals as a trader to far-off regions, this greedy person accumulated wealth, and became in course of time a rival to the lord of wealth (Kubera).

496. After having the ground dug up for a Krośa and a half, he filled it constantly with heaps of money (*dīnnāra*), and then had rice plentifully sown over it.

497. He had the money deposited every night by his servants, and put many secretly out of the way from fear of betrayal.

498. While he endeavoured to take *Bhāṅgila*, his force suddenly fled, and his horse being caught by a vine-creeper he was killed by some foot-soldier.

499. His riches were recovered from the soil, and sufficed to relieve the king for his whole life from money troubles.

500. The water of the *Vitastā* became turbid for many months while day and night his money (*dīnnāra*) was being washed from the earth [sticking to it].

501. A wonder [it is that] high-spirited persons greedily guard riches with much trouble, without giving them away or enjoying them [themselves, merely] that in time they may benefit others.

502. The snake keeps himself alive by feeding on air; he lies in a hole of blinding darkness; being naked, he requires at sexual intercourse that another should give him a screen to remove his embarrassment; exhibiting such miserliness, he guards the treasures for another's sake. Nobody else is great in doing good to others except only the greedy one.

503. Also in many other ways riches of various kinds plentifully reached the fortunate king, just as the rivers [all go] to the ocean.

504. Riches come to a person hundredfold by themselves when his fortune rises, just as the birds gathering from all directions [come] to the tree when the evening [sinks].

505. The rivulets grow strong and nourish the earth at its roots; from the sky flows down the rain, and from [all] directions issues water through the mouths of the conduits. Thus the empty tank is filled in during the rainy season. By which doors do riches not come a hundredfold when good fortune rises?

Selyapura is mentioned in connection with Sussala's march from Lohara to S'rinagar *S'il'pōr* lies on the direct route connecting the Toṣ'maidān Pass, and thus Lohara (Loh'rin), with the capital

498. *Bhāṅgila* corresponds to the modern Pargaṇa *Bāṅgil*, to the S W. of *Par'spōr* (see *Āin-i Akb.*, ii p. 371, 'Bankal') The Ḍāmaras of *Bhāṅgila* are referred to in viii. 3130, in connection with 'S'aṁkaravarman's town,' i.e. *Paṭan* (see note v. 156). Comp. also *Jonar*. 251, 616, *S'rīv.* iii. 386, 464; Fourth Chron. 65.

Jayyaka may be supposed to have been engaged in some local feud with the Ḍāmaras of the neighbourhood.

501 L has for A *kāle kleśena* the *v.l.* *kāyakleśena*, which also gives a suitable sense.

506. Thereafter through a rise in the subjects' [fortune caused by their previous] merits, *Kalaśa's* mind was ever profitably [occupied], just like that of a father, [with plans] for the kindly protection of the people.

KALAŚA (A.D. 1063-1089).

Kalaśa's administration.

507. He showed skill in keeping account of his wealth like a merchant, was careful to spend it in the right way, and had ever an open hand.

508. He himself watched over the present and future income and expenditure, and kept always by his side birch-bark (*bhūrja*) and chalk, like a clerk.

509. No sellers of goods could cheat him, as he purchased jewels and other things personally and according to their intrinsic value.

510. Living in comfort, he divided his time with due regard to the threefold [objects], and was from the afternoon onwards invisible for all officials.

511. As he was watching the acts of his own people and of strangers by means of spies, only the dreams of his subjects remained unknown to him.

512. As he looked after the country just as a householder after his house, no one among the people ever felt misery.

513. The king, who dreaded slander and was conciliatory towards his enemies, never meted out punishment openly, even to thieves.

514. He never had any loss which the ministers had to make good. He rather replaced what the ministers had lost.

515. Under his rule the people were always seen cheerful and happy, occupied with hundreds of marriage-feasts, sacrifices, pilgrimages and other great festivities.

516. The neighbouring rulers, over whom he established his ascendency through a prudent policy, could not even take their food without his superintendents.

517-518. His relatives who were in his service, [namely] *Thakkana* and the other two sons of *Tanvaṅga*, who had returned from abroad, and *Guṅga's* sons, *Malla* and the others, who were the younger brothers of one who had died, he delighted with splendid gifts, just as the moon [delights] the gods and Pitṛs with the divisions of its disc (*kalā*) which are dripping with nectar.

508. *Bhūrja* is the inner bark of the Himalayan birch (*Baetula Bhojpatr*), which has been used in Kaśmīr and in the adjoining hill regions as the general writing material (*bhūrjapattra*) up to the 17th century. Regarding its preparation for writing purposes, etc., compare the detailed account of Prof. BÜHLER, *Report*, pp. 29 sq. Birch-bark is still largely used by village-shopkeepers, Paṭvāris and others in Kaśmīr for keeping brief notes and accounts.

The custom of writing with a white chalky paint on small blackboards of wood or slate has been duly noted by Alberūnī, *India*, i. p. 182. It prevails to this day in Kaśmīr, as all over Northern India, among school-children and shopkeepers.

510 The triad of Dharma, Artha and Kāma is meant. The threefold division of a ruler's time is prescribed *Mahābh.* II. v. 20. K.'s expressions seem to indicate a reminiscence of this passage.

511. Read with L *abhavat param* for A *abhavad yadi*.

517. L gives here the correct reading *tanvaṅgajāhs thakka*°, instead of the meaningless *tanvaṅgasthasthakka*° of A.

The other two sons of Tanvaṅga are *Ajjaka* and *Dhammaṭa;* see vii. 1033, 633 sqq.

KALAŚA (A.D. 1063-1089).

519. Though the king had reached a mature age, he did not get rid of his vice and the evil habits which the wretched foreigners had taught him.

520. The *Ṭakka* called *Vulliya* bought from *Turuṣkas* girls born in various distant regions and brought them to him.

521. With these and the wives which he had taken away from others being enticed by their beauty, he brought the number of the ladies of his seraglio to seventy-two.

522. Though he disported himself daily with many women, his strength did not fail him, on account of [the use of] fish-broth and other aphrodisiacs.

523. And eagerly bent on the celebration of the great rites (*mahāsamaya*) he took great cups in the company of his Gurus, without regard for moderation.

524. This [king], whose doings were thus of a mixed character, built afresh the town and S'iva's stone temple at *Vijayakṣetra*, which had been burned down.

Kalaśa's pious foundations.

525. On the top of the stone temple of *Vijayeśa*, the king placed a parasol of gold which kissed the summit of the firmament.

526. At *Tripureśvara* he founded a permanent endowment (*vyayasthiti*) and a temple of S'iva, the Āmalaka ornament (*āmalasāra*) of which was of gold.

527. Then he who was versed in pious acts founded the [shrine of S'iva] *Kalaśeśvara*, the stone temple of which had a roof [adorned] with innumerable golden cups (*ghaṭī*).

520. Regarding the ethnic designation *Ṭakka*, see note v. 150

521. L reads *pauradāraiśca*, 'wives of citizens.'

522. The use of *matsyayūṣa* (*matsyasūpa*) is repeatedly mentioned by Kṣemendra; see *Samayam.* ii. 25, 71, etc.

523. Tantric rites connected with the drinking of spirits seem to be alluded to. Regarding the expression *mahāsamaya*, compare note vii. 279.

524. See regarding the temple of S'iva *Vijayeśa*, note i. 106. L read rightly *ca śūlinaḥ* for A *na śūlinaḥ*.

526. Compare for *Tripureśvara*, note v. 46.

The expression *svarṇāmalasāra* recurs in the description of temples, vii. 938, viii. 336C, and refers evidently to that crowning portion of the temple spire or *śekhara* which in Hindu architecture is known by the name of *āmalaka*; comp. FERGUSSON, *Ind. Arch.*, p. 222, where the typical form of the Āmalaka is shown in the illustration. The term Āmalaka is derived from the name of the *Āmalaka* tree (also known as *Āmala*, see *N.P.W.*, s.v.), the Emblic Myrobalan, the architectural device so called bearing a striking resemblance to the kernel of the Āmalaka fruit.

Fergusson, *l.c.*, doubts whether the form of the Āmalaka was in reality copied from the fruit so named, and calls the resemblance between the latter and the device a "supposed" one. The resemblance, however, is in reality unmistakable, and our passages show clearly that the architectural term was generally understood as referring to it. *Āmalasāra*, the more exact expression employed by K., means literally 'kernel of the Āmala [fruit].' Hiuen-tsiang too knows Āmalaka (*O-mo-lo-kia-ko*) as an architectural term; see *Si-yu-ki*, ii pp. 95, 136. [I owe this reference to my friend, M. A. Foucher.]

The Āmalaka device, which might roughly be described as having the shape of a melon longitudinally divided by strongly pronounced ribs, is a constant and apparently very ancient feature found in all the styles of architecture prevailing through Northern India. It must have been regularly used also for the decoration of the high roofs of Kaśmir temples. It is found on the Pāyech temple (the only one whose roof is quite intact), as well as on all well-preserved old temple models I have seen; comp. the illustrations, FERGUSSON, *Ind. Arch.*, pp. 238, 290, 295.

527. The position of this temple is unknown. The passages vii. 1073, 1077, show that the gold used in its decoration exposed it to serious risks already in Harṣa's time.

528. When the king wished to put a gilt parasol over the [temple of S'iva] *Kalaśeśa*, there came to him an artist from the *Turuṣka* country. KALAŚA (A.D. 1063-1089).

529-531. This [man] said that he could make the parasol with many thousands of gold [pieces], secreting the art he knew of putting gold on copper. He remained for several days enjoying the king's hospitality, till the minister *Nonaka*, who had a very sharp intellect, discovered his art by means of inference. Put [thus] to shame, he went as he had come, and that parasol was constructed at [the expense of] a very small number of gold pieces.

532. The king, whose magnificence exceeded that of Indra, consecrated a Bāṇaliṅga called *Ananteśa* and numerous other sacred images.

533. When King *Sahajapāla* died, his son *Saṁgrāmapāla* had been placed on the throne of *Rājapurī*. Expedition to Rājapurī.

534. The child-king's uncle *Madanapāla*, who possessed great power and was full of pride, exerted himself to usurp the throne.

535. Through fear of him *Saṁgrāmapāla's* sister took refuge with the king and implored his help; [so also did] the Ṭhakkura *Jassarāja*.

536. The king received the two favourably, and then gave them *Jayānanda*, with *Bijja* and other brave men, as support.

537. When he (Jayānanda) had dispersed there the enemy, and had done his task, he became suspicious to the councillors of *Saṁgrāmapāla*, as he attained prominence and held the country in his power.

538. In their desire to see him gone they tried various means of intimidation, and endeavoured to frighten him; but that brave man did not tremble.

539. He then suspected that *Bijja* had put this apprehension into the *Rājapurī* [councillors], and felt anger against him.

540. When they had put their request to him and had given him presents, he withdrew, but thoughtfully left his troops there under the pretext of [ensuring] security.

541. King *Kalaśa*, who was intelligent and had a deep insight into affairs, rejoiced when he returned after having thus secured *Rājapurī*.

542. Then while *Bijja* and the rest conducted themselves as if they were kings, *Jayānanda* by the will of fate fell into a fatal illness.

543. When the king came to his house to inquire after his health, he told him in the course of conversation that he had to say to him something in secret.

544. When after all [others] had left he kept silent, *Bijja* [also] went outside under the pretext of having to take out betel from his mouth.

By *ghaṭīs* are meant the hemispherical cups, made of various metals, which may still be seen affixed to the pinnacle on the spires of modern temples. Often two of them are combined into a globe.

532. For *bāṇaliṅga*, see note vii. 185.

KALAŚA (A.D. 1063-1089).

545. Though the trusted minister and the king asked him as he was going why he went, yet he with good sense proceeded outside and stopped there.

546. *Jayānanda* related to the king what had happened at *Rājapurī*, and spoke to him thus: "Clearly the kingdom does not belong to you, since *Bijja* has come to power."

547. He also made up for the king a heavy account of the profits which *Bijja* had made for himself in official transactions.

Bijja's exile.

548. When the king disquieted returned to his residence, *Bijja*, who understood the signs, asked for permission to retire [abroad].

549. When he insisted, the king, while seemingly remonstrating with some scant politeness, gave him permission, feeling inwardly glad.

550. Having received the order he went to his house, and after sending his brothers ahead with all his belongings, came to the king to take his leave.

551-552 The behaviour of king and servant, of whom the one was as firm in [maintaining] his regal dignity as the other in [keeping] his reserve, was at that moment somewhat astonishing, [inasmuch] as the king did not keep his favourite servant from going, and the latter, though filled with anger, did not remonstrate with the king to whom he was attached.

553. After conversing for some time in a low voice with the king, who had risen [to take] a few steps with him, *Bijja* departed smiling.

554. Just as *Haladhara* had, on his death-bed, brought about the fall of *Jinduräja*, thus [the dying] *Jayānanda* ousted *Bijja* from his position.

555. The ministers spoke to the king: "There he goes, after leaving nothing in the country but what wealth you have yourself. Let his property be confiscated." But the king did not act upon this.

556. In the expectation that the sovereign would certainly call him back, all people, except the king, followed *Bijja*

557. Fearing an attack from powerful *Bijja*, the king kept awake during five nights, trembling even when a grass blade moved.

558. When those who had followed him, returned after his departure from *S'ūrapura*, the king, freed from his fear, communicated that apprehension to the ministers.

559. When those who had given their opinion for the confiscation of

545. L transposes the words *bhūbhujā* and *mantriṇā*, which is preferable in view of the position of the adjective *āptena*

555. Read with L *tvallakṣmi°*, for A *tallakṣmi°*.

558. The journey from S'rinagar to *S'ūrapura* (*Hurᵃpōr*; see note v. 39) is nowadays put at two and a half daily marches. This gives for Bijja's march to S'ūrapura, and the return journey of those who so far accompanied him, a total of five days.

Bijja's property heard this, they recognized that the king was wise in not acting upon it.

KALAŚA (A.D. 1063-1089).

560. Innocent *Bijja*, however, and those with him were honoured like jewels in every country where they took their abode.

561. Though *Bijja* had risen to still greater importance, he kept his faith, and ever swore by the feet of *Kalaśadeva* as if [he were] a deity.

562. After having thus driven *Bijja* and the others into exile, *Jayānanda* soon died through the curse of *Sūryamatī*, having held the power but for a short time.

563. *Jindurāja*, too, who had opposed King [Ananta], died at that very time, proving that the curse was unfailing.

564. Also *Bijja* and those with him all found an early death in the *Gauḍa* land in consequence of the curse, after enjoying prosperity for a short time.

565. *Bijja* was killed in an accidental brawl, and his younger brothers underwent the sufferings of a long imprisonment.

566. On their escape from this captivity, *Pājaka* was killed by a tiger, and the rest of his younger brothers perished after having gone through sufferings.

567. Two or three of those who had fomented dissension, like *Madana*, did not perish [then], but were destined before long to find an evil death.

568. *Vāmana*, who had been *Jayānanda's* assistant, and was the guardian of his children, was thereupon made prime minister (*sarvādhikārin*).

Vāmana made prime minister.

569. The various wonderful official acts of this politic [minister] are related even to this day by old men in the gatherings of thoughtful people.

570. By confiscating the villages which formed the endowments of the *Avantisvāmin* and other [temples], the greedy king established the [revenue] office (*karmasthāna*) called *Kalaśagañja*.

571. Knowing how to guard [the interests of] his subjects, he did not give the Pādāgra office to the minister *Nonaka*, though he was expert in raising revenue, as he was afraid of his cruelty.

572. *Praśastakalaśa* and the other sons of *Rājakalaśa* as ministers obtained great favour before the king.

573. The king wisely restrained such sons as showed a self-willed disobedient spirit, thieves, and those who were connected with confederacies and the like, and kept them outside his service.

565. I have translated according to L *kalahe*, which seems preferable to A *pramaye*.

570. Regarding the temple of *Avantisvāmin*, see note v. 45, for the meaning of *gañja* ('fund'), comp. note vii. 125-126.

KALAŚA (A.D. 1063-1089).

Foreign expeditions

574. When the lord of *Rājapurī* was again attacked by *Madanapāla*, the king sent the commander *Bappaṭa* for his support.

575. Through the king's lustre, *Madanapāla* was defeated even by so small an officer, and sent to *Kaśmīr* in fetters.

576. *Varāhadeva's* brave brother *Kandarpa*, whom the king made lord of the Gate, crushed the Ḍāmaras.

577. He had learned diplomacy and bravery from *Jindurāja*, and the neighbouring chiefs touched his orders with their crest-ornaments.

578. He won victories in *Rājapurī* and elsewhere; being very irritable, he resigned repeatedly the charge of the 'Gate,' whereupon the king himself conciliated him, and made him accept it [again].

579. *Madana*, whom the king made commander-in-chief, killed *Bopa* and numerous other Ḍāmaras who had grown over-powerful.

580. The falconer *Vijayasiṁha*, whom the king appointed as town prefect from regard for his services, destroyed all thieves.

581. Sending *Kandarpa*, *Udayasiṁha* and others at the same time to *Lohara*, the king forced *Bhuvanarāja* to retreat far away.

582. And when he had received [in marriage] *Bhuvanamatī*, the daughter of *Kīrtirāja*, lord of *Nīlapura*, he got rid of the trouble [caused] by this enemy.

583-584. Taking the office of city prefect from *Vijayasiṁha*, the king bestowed it on *Malla*, the son of *Guṅga*, in order to give him practice in the discharge of official work. He was subsequently made lord of the Gate, [and as such] caused [neighbouring] kings to bear his lustre on their jewelled crowns.

Uraśā invaded by Malla.

585. What is told of the bravery of the proud *Malla* at the invasion of *Uraśā*, is equalled [only by the story] of the son of *Pṛthā*, when he recovered without assistance the cows of *Uttara*.

586. Having crossed the *Kṛṣṇā* with five or six horses, he (Malla) carried off King *Abhaya's* kingdom, together with his herds of horses.

579. Regarding *Madana*, see vii 299-303.

580. L has here the *v.l.* *sevāvaśīkṛtastenapālaṁ*, which would turn Vijayasiṁha into a captain of thieves who was taken into service and employed against his former accomplices, —a procedure often adopted in the East; comp. viii. 62.

581. Read with L *prahitair*.

582. Compare note vii. 253.

583. *Malla's father, Guṅga*, was the brother of Tanvaṅga, and the grandson of Kāntirāja of Lohara; see vii. 357, 517, 1286, and the genealogical table. Malla's family obtained the Kaśmīr throne through his sons Uccala and Sussala.

585. By *Pṛthā's* son is meant *Arjuna*. The story how he recovered the cows of Virāṭa, Uttara's father, which Duryodhana had carried off, is told at length in *Mahābh.* IV., Adhyāyas xxxv. sqq.

586. The *Kṛṣṇā* is the *Kiṣangaṅgā* river which on the route, discussed in note v. 217, has to be crossed above the present Muẓaffarābād in order to reach *Uraśā*, the modern Hazāra. The river is referred to under the abbreviated name also in viii. 3401; *Nīlamata*, 1398; *Haracar.* xii. 44.

I translate according to L *pañcaṣaiḥ* for A *pañcāśaiḥ*.

KALAŚA (A.D. 1063-1089).

Assembly of hill Rājās (A.D. 1087/8).

587. When the king versed in policy had thus brought the earth under his supremacy, there came eight kings at the same time to his capital in the year [of the Laukika era four thousand one hundred] sixty-three (A.D. 1087/8).

588-590. In the presence of the king appeared *Kīrti*, the ruler of *Baddhāpura* (?); *Āsaṭa*, king of *Campā*, and *Kalaśa*, *Tukka's* son, lord of *Vallāpura*; king *Saṁgrāmapāla*, too, lord of *Rājapurī*; *Utkarṣa*, *Lohara's* ruler; *Saṅgaṭa* (?), king of *Uraśā*; *Gāmbhīrasīha*, chief of *Kānda*, and the illustrious *Uttamarāja*, the ruler of *Kāṣṭhavāṭa*.

591. Even this important assemblage of kings could not be noted in the closely packed mass of people, [as little] as the flood of a rain-swollen river in the ocean.

592. Though it was winter at that time, and the water of the *Vitastā* was [frozen as hard] as a rock, yet the kings enjoyed full comfort.

593. Whatever the rulers could imagine in their mind, that they found before their eyes, since *Vāmana* obtained it.

594. The skill of this minister was splendidly revealed as, without confusion, he made the arrangements for this occasion which others could not have met, just as [if it had been] an ordinary one.

588-590. Of the hill-chiefs here enumerated, the name and territory of the first is quite uncertain. The reading of A in our passage, *Kīrtinyabbapurā°*, is certainly faulty, as it does not give the name of the king in the nominative, as required by the analogy of the other names. Above I have followed the reading of L, *Kīrtir Baddhāpurā°*, though I am unable to verify the name of the territory.

In the Addenda to the text edition, I have already pointed out that 'the ruler of *Babbāpura*,' mentioned viii. 538 in a list of Rājās from the hills to the E. of Kaśmīr, corresponds in all probability to the chief named in the first place in our list. This suggestion is confirmed by the fact that L gives there the name of the territory as *Bandhāpura*. It should be noted that the difference between the combined letters *bb*, *ddh* and *ndh*, is comparatively small in S'āradā characters. This explains the variations of the MSS. I cannot identify the local name in any of the above forms.

Could *Kīrti* be an abbreviation of the name of *Kīrtirāja*, who is referred to as ruler of Nīlapura in vii. 582? After the marriage mentioned in the latter passage it is strange to miss Kīrtirāja in the list of princes assembled at Kalaśa's court.

Regarding *Āsaṭa* of *Campā*, see note vii. 218; for *Kalaśa* of *Vallāpura*, vii. 220. *Saṁgrāmapāla* and *Utkarṣa* (Harṣa's brother) have been mentioned, vii. 533 and 256 sq., respectively

The name of the ruler of *Uraśā* (L has correctly *Auraśo* for A *Aurvaśo*) is doubtful; A gives it as *Mungaja*, and L as *Sangaṭa*. I have preferred the latter form, because it is found again, viii. 2178, as the name of a person, and because we have in A a similar mis-spelling (*Mungata* for *Saṅgaṭa*) in viii. 1090.

A Rājā of *Kānda* is referred to in viii 1345, as well as 'a route of *Kānda*' in viii. 53⅜. No clear indication is available as to the position of this territory. But as in the last-named passage *Kānda* seems to be spoken of as on the way from Bhadrāvakāśa or *Bhadravāh* to Kaśmīr, it may be conjectured that Kānda was the name of one of the hill districts immediately to the S.E of Kaśmīr.

By *Kāṣṭhavāṭa* is meant the present hill district of *Kaṣṭ°vār* ('Kishtwar') in the valley of the upper Cināb, to the S.E. of Kaśmīr. This territory, of whose present population more than one-half is Kaśmīri, is often referred to by the later chroniclers; see *Jonar.* 76, 313; *S'rīv* i. 46; Fourth Chron. 735 sqq., 784, 816, 827, 991.

For a description of Kaṣṭ°vār, see DREW, *Jummoo*, pp. 116 sqq. There will be found too an interesting account of the history of its Rajpūt Rājās who remained Hindus till Aurangzeb's time, and practically independent until Gulāb Singh's conquest.

For another *Kāṣṭhavāṭa* in Kaśmīr, see note vi. 202.

593. Read with L *puro* for A *pure*.

KALAŚA (A.D. 1063-1089).

595. When after the kings' departure *Malla* showed himself disinclined to [keep his] office, the king induced *Kandarpa* again to take [charge of the] 'Gate.'

596. This minister, full of pride, undertook an expedition at his own expense and took the strong castle called *Svāpika* by stratagem.

597-599. Then returning to the City he resigned his office, being dispirited for some reason, though the king requested him [to retain it]. Thereupon *Praśastakalaśa*, who had continually to carry messages [between the king and Kandarpa], and who had been angered by his (Kandarpa's) haughty words, plucked up his self-confidence, collected a large number of soldiers with his own money, of which he had a great deal, and obtained [Kandarpa's] place for his own brother *Ratnakalaśa*.

600. Though the latter had purchased a great position with money, he was not in any respect equal to *Kandarpa*. How could a painted lion do the acts of a real one?

601. In due course the king induced again, with much difficulty, that excellent servant to accept the charge of the Rājasthāna in the City.

596. The position of this fort is unknown; L gives the name as *Māṅka*

597-599. L better *praviṣṭo 'tha* for A *praviṣṭo 'pi*; L confirms the emendation *Praśastakalaśo.*

601. The office called *rājasthānādhikāra*, or simply *rājasthāna*, is repeatedly referred to in the last two Books, and was evidently a high post judging from its mention along with the great official charges of the *kampana* and *dvāra*; comp. viii 181, 573, 1046, 1982, 2624. Regarding the functions attached to this office, we can gather some indications only from our own passage and from what K. tells us as to the employ of the 'Rājasthānīya' Alaṁkāra in Jayasiṁha's reign. Our passage shows that the Rājasthānādhikāra was connected with the administration of justice. If we assume that its holder was discharging duties equivalent to those of Chief-Justice, we could account for the literal meaning of the title. That *rājasthāna* is used as the equivalent of *rājagṛha*, or 'royal palace,' is proved by the indifferent use of the titles *rājagṛhya* and *rājasthānīya* in the case of Alaṁkāra, comp. viii. 2618, 2671, 2925.

The administration of justice has always been regarded in India as a direct function of the king, who is to hold court, according to the Smṛtis, in a separate building within his own palace; comp. JOLLY, *Recht u. Sitte*, pp. 132 sq. The delegation of this regal duty to a locum tenens, i.e. a Chief-Justice, is equally well-known to Indian tradition. This delegate, who in the Dharma texts figures under many different names (see JOLLY, *l.c.*), may well have taken his title from the royal palace in which his court was held

In support of this explanation we may refer to viii. 2557, where the same Alaṁkāra is described as holding charge of the duties of the outer palace (*bāhyarājasthānādhikārabhāk*), and to the Lokaprakāśa's note on the *rājasthānīya* The list of great officers given at the commencement of Prakāśa iv, describes him as looking after the protection of the subjects (*prajāpālanārtham udvahati rakṣayati sa rājasthānīyaḥ*). That judicial functions are mentioned here, becomes evident from the passage immediately following, which mentions a fourfold division of courts: *pratiṣṭhitā*, *apratiṣṭhitā*, *mudritā* and *śāsitā* The third designation is exactly that applied to the court held by the king's judicial representative (see JOLLY, *l c*, p. 134).

Subordinate judicial officers may be meant in viii 756, where *rājasthānīyamantriṇaḥ* are mentioned, as well as in vii. 1501 and viii 3132, where several *rājagṛhyas* are referred to The term *rājasthāna* seems to be used in a more general sense, 'royal court,' viii. 270 (see note) and viii. 576. In the latter passage the account-office called *S'eda* is described as a 'Rājasthāna.'

Rājasthānīya is found as an official title also in inscriptions of the Gupta period, but its mention there throws no light on the character of the office; comp. Mr. FLEET's note, *Corpus Inscr. Ind.*, iii. p. 157.

602. A thief having died from an over-severe beating, that kind-hearted [minister] left in dismay also this office and proceeded to the *Gaṅgā*. KALAŚA (A.D. 1063-1089).

603. When the king tried to keep him back by [taking hold of] the hem of his garment, he beat off the king's hand in anger, and proceeded abroad, [whereupon] the king felt incensed against him.

604. When he was again brought before the king, the latter, though he had been deeply hurt, tried only to take away his pride but not his life

605. Thus the king with great firmness and discrimination put up patiently with the acceptance and resignation [of office] on the part of brave men.

606. It was this king who introduced into this [country] the taste for choral songs (*upāṅgagīta*) and a careful selection of female dancers, as customary in other lands.

607. Then the king set about to found near *Jayavana* a town full of great houses, which was to bear his own name.

608. Rows of Maṭhas, Agrahāras, mansions and great buildings with fine tanks and gardens, were built there by the thousand.

609. In the meantime Prince *Harṣa*, who was possessed of exceptional prowess, obtained renown by merits rarely to be found in other kings. Conduct of Prince *Harṣa*.

610 Knowing all languages, a good poet in all tongues, and as a depository of all learning, he became famous even in other countries.

611. He took [into his service and] assigned salaries to persons distinguished for good qualities and valour who had arrived from various countries, and whom his greedy father had left unnoticed

612. As the allowance granted by his father was insufficient for [the prince], who was given to extravagance in his liberality, he had his meals only every second day.

613. Amusing his father in public with songs, as if [he were] a singer, he kept up his establishment with the presents the former gave him.

603. Read with L *yātaṁ taṁ*.

607-608. *Jayavana* is the modern village *Zevan* about six miles to the S E of S'rinagar; comp note i 220 and BÜHLER, *Report*, p. 6. Sculptured stones are found at the Muhammadan burial grounds and also in the houses of the place, but not in sufficient masses to justify the belief that the buildings referred to by K. were really of great extent or massive construction. No reference is found elsewhere to a 'town of Kalaśa.' The Maṭhas which Harṣa is said to have plundered, vii. 961, are perhaps those referred to in our passage.

609-610. Bilhaṇa, too, *Vikram.* xviii. 64-66, praises *Harṣa* for his personal bravery in battle, and for his skill as a poet, by which he surpassed even S'riharṣa. He also refers to his power of composing sweet songs in all languages (*sarvabhāṣākavitva*). Prof. BÜHLER, *Vikram.*, *Introduction*, p. 19, has rightly pointed out that this very passage, by its reference to an earlier royal author, S'riharṣa, makes the suggested attribution of certain compositions, like the *Ratnāvalī*, to Harṣadeva of Kaśmir very doubtful.

It is uncertain also whether we have in any of the verses which the anthologies ascribe to a Harṣadeva (see *Cat. Catalog.* p. 764), compositions of the Kaśmir prince.

KALAŚA (A.D. 1063-1089).

614. Once as he was singing before him, and those assembled were delighted, the king got up and went outside to [attend to] a call of nature.

615. The thoughtful prince seeing his dignity injured by this interruption, was agitated with shame and anger and looked down to the ground.

616. A master who has no patience, a very deceitful friend, a woman of harsh speech, an overbearing son, servants who give haughty replies,—all these can be tolerated, nay, even attendants who cause heart-burning; but not a hearer who shows disregard by contemptuously moving the corners of his eyes to and fro.

Harṣa's disaffection.

617. Then *Viśśāvaṭṭa*, a parasite of his father, told him as if in jest: "Kill him and rule the kingdom."

618. As he (Harsa) reproached him in anger, *Dhammaṭa* too, who was sitting close by, said with a laugh: "He has not spoken what is improper."

619. Greedy of future advantages, the father's followers would like to attach to themselves the youthful princes by showing them secret devotion, just as courtesans [desire to attach to themselves] the companions of their lovers.

620. When his father returned to the assembly, he pleased that proud [prince] by various presents and compliments.

621. But on the next day when he had returned to his own apartments, after having taken his meal by his father's side, *Viśśāvaṭṭa* came and secretly spoke to him as [he had done before].

622. Then when in spite of his repeated remonstrances he persisted in indicating various devices, he (Harṣa) struck him angrily with his hand.

623. When the noble prince saw that the stroke had made him bleed from the nose, he showed compassion.

624. He had his blood washed off by his servants and clothes given to him, saying with a smile: "This much comes even from [merely] saying what is wicked."

625. From the gift that wretched person concluded that he wished what he indeed did not wish, just as [one might infer] from a mere smile [the amorous desire] of another man's wife.

626. Thereupon he urged him on to that act for a very long time, making repeated efforts and using *Dhammaṭa* as an intermediary.

Harṣa's conspiracy.

627. He yielded to the sin which arose from his growing treacherous desire, and conspiring [with others], everywhere posted bravos (*tīkṣṇa*) to kill his father.

628. Often as he (Kalaśa) came into their power, his son, touched by a remnant of affection, did not permit him to be killed; yet he did not abandon that project.

619. I translate after the correct readings of L: °*channaṁ, anugāḥ, kāmisakhīn iva.*

620. Read *māninam* with L.

628. Read with L °*bhūtas tena* and °*spṛśā.*

629. When, then, the band of bravos had obtained the position of confidants [with *Harṣa*], *Viśāvaṭṭa*, fearing betrayal, quickly reported the matter to the king.

630. When the prince heard this, he became alarmed, and did not go that day for his meal to his father, though invited through messengers.

631. As he did not arrive, his father too abandoned all doubt about that affair, and from mental anguish did not take food that day along with his attendants.

632. When *Thakkana* came in the morning with his brother, he (Kalaśa) related to him his misfortune, and putting his head into his lap wept for a long time.

633. After relating the story regarding *Dhammaṭa*, he also said to him in the course of his confused remarks that he ought to seize him (Dhammaṭa) and give him up.

634. But the two sons of *Tanvaṅga* spoke to him thus on behalf of their brother [Dhammaṭa]: "We have no knowledge of his acts."

635-636. "We two, O king, who on the strength of your favour have consecrated ourselves to the protection of those in misfortune, and whose door is open even at night for their admission, how should we, O lord of the earth, though our lives may be at risk, forsake our younger brother, be he innocent or not?"

637. "Should unfaithfulness towards the ruler be imputed to us on account of the protection [offered] to him, then surely there is no other refuge for us but exile."

638. When, weeping and bending their heads down to his feet, the two had thus spoken to him, the king with difficulty granted them permission to leave [the country].

639. Fearing that some one might kill *Dhammaṭa* on the way, they took him between themselves, and then left the country with their troops and horses.

640. When the palace had become empty on the departure of the sons of *Tanvaṅga*, the king sent for his son and spoke to him with kind words:

641. "Since the beginning of things, people in this world have everywhere known the son by his famous father."

642. "I, on the contrary, O son, am known to all people through you, my good son, whose fame has become renowned in all regions of the earth, just as Atri [is known] through [his son], the moon."

632. L reads correctly *nivedayan*.
633. Read with L °*bhyadhattāpi*.

635. L better *vyaktadvārau*.
638. L has *saṁbhāṣya* for A *saṁbhāvya*.

Kalaśa (A.D. 1063-1089).

643. "Say, why do you who are the foremost of the excellent, and whose glory is unrestrained, follow the road of the wicked?"

644. "That I have not handed over to you the treasures of your grandfather and my own, for that you should not blame me till you hear the reason."

645. "I keep the treasures because I bear in mind that a king without means falls under the will of his own people as well as of his enemies."

646. "After completing the foundation of [my] town, I shall throw upon you the burden of the crown and go as an ascetic to *Vārāṇasī* or to *Nandikṣetra.*"

647. "Thus, before long you are to be master of the throne and the treasures. Why do you aim with all your might at something that does not befit the honourable?"

648. "I do not believe what rogues have reported to me regarding you. Let the false rumour be dispelled by a truthful statement."

649. The king said these words with full purpose, wishing from paternal affection that he would deny his action so as to clear himself.

650. For being ready to pardon him, he wished to convince the people by his mere denial.

651. But *Harṣa* acknowledged with respectful words of assent [the truth of] what his father had said, and retired, saying that he would state the facts through a trusted person.

652. The person whom his father sent, he told in embarrassment: "I wished to do that at the instigation of others,"—and [then] went home.

Attack on *Harṣa*.

653. When the king saw the dejected expression in the envoy's face, he beat his head with his hands, and exclaiming: "Woe, O son," ordered him to be attacked.

654. By the order of the king, who had said that if he (Harsa) were killed, he would cut off his own head, the soldiers halted after merely surrounding his residence.

655. The bravos on the other side, who felt certain of their death, closed the gates, gathered round the prince, and thus spoke to him insulting words:

656. "You wretch, who wildly and heedlessly have played at dangerous treason, do you expect to remain alive after having got us killed?"

657. "The father will protect you [as] you protected the father. Between you there is blood-relationship, but we are lost."

658. "Fight in our midst, otherwise we slay you. Clearly there is thus no chance whatever for you to live."

646. L reads *muniḥ* for the meaningless *putraḥ* of A.
647. Read *thate* with L.

652. L gives the correct reading *mamānya*° for A *samānya*°. L has *svāvasathaṁ* as emended.

659. On hearing of this, his own chamberlain (*mahattara*), *Daṇḍaka* by name, who had stood before the distressed king, went to *Harṣa*. KALAŚA (A.D. 1063-1089).

660. When the bravos had admitted him as one of the household, this clever [man] approached the prince and spoke thus, deceiving them all:

661. "O son of a Kṣattriya woman, even the [deities which are the] prime causes (*kāraṇa*), after having lived for ever so many world-periods, must by necessity follow the will of Fate."

662. "Therefore, as unfailing death has now arrived, preserve that pride for the sake of which arms are carried."

663. "You are young, a noble Kṣattriya, you are learned and your renown is widespread. Then what advantage do you expect [to gain] by delaying the fight?"

664. "With such good companions as these, and with me to go in front, death and victory, O illustrious one, are now [equally] brilliant for you."

665. "Get up, have your nails, hair and the rest dressed quickly, and fasten [on your head] the hero's band (*vīrapaṭṭa*), [which is to be] the garland for the marriage with the celestial maids (Apsaras)."

666. After speaking thus he made the prince, with a barber, go to the inner apartments to be shaved, while the bravos complimented him.

667. At [that] moment he threw down his dagger, jumped up in joy, and following behind, bolted firmly [the door of] those apartments.

668. Then he called out to the Rājasthānīya from the window: "The prince is safe here. Do what is proper for you!"

669. Danger arising from ghosts, planets and the like is removed by herbs, that from enemies by armed forces, that from weapons by armour. But wherever on the earth danger may arise for kings, it is quickly removed by those who are old in wisdom.

670. Thereupon the soldiers with tumultuous shouts proceeded to scale the walls, buildings and the rest, in order to penetrate into the prince's residence.

671-672. While the bravos, leaving the prince, who was behind the heavy doors of the mansion, endeavoured to break out and were falling in their eagerness to fight, two or three brave self-respecting men who were innocent, and had been drawn into the affair by being accidentally present, escaped outside.

659. L gives the name as *Caṇḍaka*; comp. vii. 481.

661. By *kāraṇas* are meant here, as the gloss of A_2 indicates, the five deities recognized as such in the S'aiva S'astra: *Brahman, Viṣṇu, Rudra, Īśvara, Sadāśiva.*

668. I have followed here L, which reads *tamorād* for *tamārād* of the MSS. copied from A, this codex itself showing now from verse 667 onwards a lacuna of one leaf. I cannot find elsewhere the form *tamora* for the usual *tamori*, 'window,' but the context clearly requires a word of that meaning.

670. L reads correctly *praviviksavah*.

KALAŚA (A.D. 1063-1089).

673. After leaving the house, which was near the [shrine of] *Sūryamatī-Gaurīśa*, they got close to the [temple of] *Sadāśiva*, killing those who opposed them.

674. *Sahaja*, a relative of the king, though protected by the order of the king who had regard for his kinsmen, was the first to be slain among them.

675. A Brahman named *Tivya*, a brave man and a learned one, *Rāmadeva*, who was distinguished by his valour, and *Keśin*, who was from *Karṇāṭa*, were killed by the opposing soldiers.

676. Some wretches threw away their arms, some killed themselves with their own hands. Thus they found death, imprisonment and other [punishments] fit for cowards.

Harṣa imprisoned (A.D. 1088).

677 On the sixth day of the bright half of Pauṣa in the year [of the Laukika era four thousand one hundred] sixty-four (A.D. 1088), this riot was brought about by the rogues who had sown enmity between father and son.

678. Persistent indulgence in extravagant expenditure, the instigation of a young and beloved wife, attachment to wicked persons, the loss of the former affection on the father's part, quarrelling with a minister, a brother, or with another wife of the father,—these estrange the minds of young princes from their fathers.

679. Thus this prince, owing to the thoughtlessness he acquired in the company of wicked men, was thrown into prison, and fell into misery though accustomed to comforts.

680. When he was thrown into prison the proud Queen *Bhuvanamatī*, who had been made a party to the covenant [between father and son] as a surety, committed suicide by cutting her throat.

681. The king placed trusted councillors as guards over him, and from paternal affection, sent him daily suitable dishes.

682. The king left with him his personal servant, *Prayāga* by name, thinking that the latter was incapable of intrigues.

683. As to *Harṣa*, *Nonaka* advised the king that he should take his life or eyesight, either himself or through others.

684. The king, who in depravation of character sank to the level of animals, abandoned shame and had intercourse with some of his son's wives, just as [if they were those] of an enemy.

673 Regarding the position of these temples, see notes vii 180 and vii 186 sq.

675 L gives the first name as *Trivya*

679. Read with L *buddhiḥ* for A *bandham*

680 The covenant made between Kalaśa and Harṣa on Ananta's death seems to be alluded to, comp vii 490 sqq. and vii 733.

684 L has rightly °*rukalyāt paśutulyo.*

685. Among these *Sugalā*, the grand-daughter of King *Tukka*, endeavoured, when she had obtained her father-in-law's favour, to kill her husband.

Kalaśa (A.D. 1063-1089).

686. *Nonaka* and she, the two, then consulted together, and induced a wicked cook to mix poison into *Harṣa's* food.

687. When *Prayāga* learned this from the mouth of another cook, he got his master to refrain from the food which those [two] had sent.

688. When *Harṣa* heard that the two dogs to which this food had been given for a test had died, he gave up the hope of life.

689. As he believed that his father had arranged this for his secret execution, he henceforth left the dishes, day by day, after merely touching them.

690. He kept himself alive only with food of some sort which *Prayāga* always secured from outside.

691. When the king heard the report of the cooks as to his not taking the food, he sent for *Prayāga* and inquired about the reason of this [conduct].

692. He related the whole story of the poisoning, without mentioning the two instigators and the cook, and that his master knew himself of it.

693. Subsequently, though his father had the cooks changed, the prince ate nothing but what *Prayāga* brought.

694. As all were against him, he took every day which he passed in that [prison], as a gain, without concerning himself about those [days which might be] in store.

695. In the meantime there took place suddenly an unheard-of change for the worse in the king's conduct, which foreboded his end.

696. He destroyed first the copper image of Sūrya, called *Tāmrasvāmin*, and also seized without fear the brass images from the Vihāras.

697. The dissolute king in his cruelty disregarded [all] rules of honourable conduct, [and went so far as] to seize the property of those [who died] without issue.

698. Then he became suddenly afflicted with vital exhaustion which was brought on by over-indulgence in sensual pleasures, [and which] made it manifest that he was suffering under a curse.

Kalaśa's final illness

699. When he was about to prepare for the consecration of sacrificial cups in a S'iva temple, blood from his nose dropped into the cup of *Mahākāla*.

700. This sudden bad omen could not in the least be stopped by the application of remedies, but on the contrary increased.

685. L confirms the emendation in the text by reading *napti bhartur vadhārthinī*.

686. L has rightly *sūdam*.

692. Read with L *sūdam so 'palapya*.

696 Buddha-images are likely to be meant here. Harṣa in his financial difficulties seems to have made a system of the melting down of sacred images; comp. vii. 1091 sqq., 1344.

699. Comp. regarding the rite of the *kumbhapratiṣṭhā*, note iv. 699; for *Mahākāla*, iv. 162

KALAŚA (A.D. 1063-1089).

701. By this continual flow of blood his health waned, and gradually he became confined to his bed in the inner [apartments].

702. By defective digestion and other ailments his body became weak in strength and flesh, and came to resemble the moon when reduced to the sixteenth part of its orb.

Utkarṣa brought from Lohara.

703. He wished to bestow the crown on *Harṣa,* but then noticing the opposition of the ministers, he had *Utkarṣa* brought from the *Lohara* hills in order to have him inaugurated.

704. All persons, high and low, he presented with gifts on his death-bed, but not the wives of his seraglio, being influenced by jealousy.

705. He asked the ministers to bring up *Harṣa,* saying that he would send him out of the country after granting [him] money.

706. They, however, sent away the former guards, put on Ṭhakkuras from *Lohara* to watch him, and delivered him to *Utkarṣa.*

707. The latter had the emaciated [Harṣa] taken out of the dancing-hall (*nāṭyamaṇḍapa*) and imprisoned in the hall of four columns (*catuḥstambha*), separated from his friends.

708. The king, knowing in his helpless condition that his life was about to escape, hurried to proceed to a Tīrtha to die.

709. In the belief that the god [Sūrya] was angered by the destruction of the [image of] *Tāmrasvamin,* he proceeded to take refuge at [the temple of] *Mārtāṇḍa* to save his life.

710. He therefore left *Vijayakṣetra,* which bestows [upon those who die there] final beatitude, and impelled by fear started for that [Tīrtha], though he was a worshipper of S'iva.

711. The official who when he has got his post thinks the whole universe a straw, cries and bends down even before the female servants of the household when he feels pain. Shouting and filled with foolish notions from receiving much wrong advice, what false steps will he not take, child-like, when his end is nigh?

712. The pride [which he had before shown] in the instructions of his Gurus, was rendered ridiculous by such cowardly submission more befitting miserly wretches and the like.

713. On the third day of the bright half of Mārgaśīrṣa, in the evening, the king got from his bed into a litter and started to die.

703. Read with L *'bhiṣektum utkarṣam.*

706. L rightly *tena* for A *tenā°.*

709. Regarding the famous shrine of *Sūrya-Mārtāṇḍa* at *Maṭan,* see note iv. 192.

710. The correct reading *māheśvaro,* conjectured by Durgāpr., is found in L.

711. L rightly *mūrkhapnānī,* *°upadeśādhi°.*

712. An allusion is made here to the king's former initiation into Tantra and S'aiva lore, which makes his late conversion to Vaiṣṇava-worship contemptuous; see vii. 279 sqq.

713. Read *talpād* with L.

714. While the sounds of the kettle-drums drowned the wails of the people, he set out by the water-route in boats, along with his ministers and seraglio. KALAŚA (A.D. 1063-1089).

715. When there remained yet one-fourth of the following day he arrived before the feet of *Mārtāṇḍa*, and offered for the preservation of his life a gold image [of the god].

716. As in his suffering he was looking out eagerly for his elder son, without his orders being obeyed by his attendants, his misery increased.

717. Sighing deeply, he listened through the open door to the singers who outside sang an air composed by *Harṣa*.

718. That at the approach of death their power of command dwindles away, just as the power of quick movement [is lost] in a dream, that, indeed, cuts kings to the quick, and increases the pains caused by the death-struggle.

719. After he had requested that gifts be made to the people and to his eldest son, and while he was giving instructions to *Utkarṣa*, his tongue became heavy.

720. As he was again and again uttering indistinctly [the name] *Harṣa*, *Nonaka*, in order to conceal [the king's] real thought, held a mirror (*ādarśa*) before him.

721. This he pushed back with a smile, biting his lips, shaking his head, and murmuring something; then he kept silent for two and a half days.

722. Then when the last breath was near, he called the ministers by a gesture, and had himself carried by them, recognizing [his desire], before the [image of] *Mārtāṇḍa*.

723. Having enjoyed life for forty-nine years, he reached his end on the sixth day of the bright half of Mārgaśīrṣa in the year [of the Laukika era four thousand one hundred] sixty-five (A.D. 1089). *Kalaśa's* death (A.D. 1089).

724. *Mammanikā* and six other wedded queens, as well as a concubine called *Jayamatī*, followed him [into death].

725. But the whole of womankind was disgraced by his favourite concubine named *Kayyā*.

726. If she did not remember that her lord had given her the foremost position in the whole seraglio, no matter, let her not remember it: because she was of low origin.

714-715. The usual route from Vijayeśvara (Vij'brōr) to the temple of Mārtāṇḍa, lies by the Vitastā to below *Anantnāg* (Islāmābād), and hence across the alluvial plateau for a distance of about five miles.

Read with L *prāptaḥ sa*.

720. Nonaka pretends to mistake the name *Harṣa* for the word *ādarśa*; see gloss of A_2.

721. L reads *kim iva* (for *kim api*), which taken as an *utprekṣā* figure would mean that the king did not utter even a murmur.

KALAŚA (A.D. 1063-1089).

727. But it causes us pain that she, subsequently residing near *Vijayakṣetra*, became the concubine of a village official.

728. Her body, which a king had enjoyed, and which continued comforts had beautified, she yielded up to a villager. Shame upon women of lowly mind!

UTKARṢA (A.D. 1089).

729. While all ministers were taken up with the coronation of *Utkarṣa*, the grateful *Vāmana* alone performed the funeral rites for the king.

730. On the one side there rose the sound of music [accompanying] the coronation ceremony, together with joyful songs, on the other the din of the funeral music, together with wails.

731. Then *Vijayamalla*, King *Kalaśa's* son from the Queen *Padmaśrī*, placed himself in opposition to his brother.

732. To him King *Utkarṣa* promised the same daily allowance which his father had granted to *Harṣadeva*.

733. To inspire confidence, he made certain feudal chiefs and ministers sureties, and gave an allowance to *Jayarāja*, a son of *Kayyā*.

734. Fickle young women, with tears in their eyes, yet look about for other means [of living]; sons, while in front of the very pyre, discuss [affairs connected with] the property. Having noted a hundred times such concern at the death of others, yet there are, O wonder, dull-minded persons who accumulate wealth by evil means for the sake of wives, children and others.

735. Then the new king in his splendour made his way into the City but not into the heart of the citizens, who longed for *Harṣa's* rise [to power].

736 Though it was the day of his advent to the throne, it did not appear to the people as such, being spoilt by the absence of joy, just as a festive day [does not appear as such] to a person suffering from illness.

737. *Harṣadeva*, who had been thrown into a fresh prison in the hall of four columns (*catuḥstambha*) when his sick father set out to die, did not take food on that day.

738. On the next day, as he kept in mute grief like a wanderer who has lost his companions, he was induced with difficulty by the requests of the Ṭhakkuras to take food.

739. They also promised to get him the throne in their own land, saying that he (Utkarṣa) did not deserve to rule both kingdoms in his single person.

740 Having thus been assured of their sympathy, he heard of his father's death, and on the following day, while keeping a fast, was informed of *Utkarṣa's* arrival.

729 For *Vāmana*, see vii. 568.

739 The Ṭhakkuras refer to *Lohara*, which by Utkarṣa's elevation to the Kaśmīr throne had become united with the latter kingdom; comp. vii. 266, 703.

UTKARSA (A.D. 1089).

741. While with his flowing tears he was, [as it were], offering handfuls of water as an oblation [to the Pitṛs], his younger brother, the king, sent word to him by messengers that he should bathe.

742. While he took his bath, the king was preparing for the coronation ceremony, and there arose the sound of the music [accompanying the] Abhiṣeka, together with shouts: "Be victorious."

743. He being versed in [interpreting] omens, knew by this good omen that he would obtain the regal dignity, [just as] by the flash of lightning [one knows the coming of] thunder.

744. Henceforth favourable omens began to present themselves day by day before him whose reign was approaching, just as [if they were] his attendants.

745-746. When his brother sent messengers to induce him to partake of food, he dismissed them with the message: "Let the king exile me after setting me free. I would take a covenant on an oath by sacred libation (*kośa*) not to oppose him. Otherwise I seek death by refusing food."

747. The king then made a false promise, and sending envoys with kind words, induced him to take the oath by sacred libation and to partake of food.

748. The king, when asked by him [for his release], always said that he would do it the next day, and by this procrastination roused in him apprehensions.

749. Thereupon he (Harsa) sent *Prayāgaka* secretly to *Vijayamalla*, after placing in his hand his own ear-ring in [token of his] trust.

750. He (Prayāga) spoke to him: "Your unfortunate elder brother speaks to you in these very words: 'While you are the prince royal and he (Utkarsa) is king, I wither away in captivity.'"

751. He (Vijayamalla) thought long over it in distress, and replied: "How would the politic king do this at my bidding?"

752. "Notwithstanding, I shall use all possible efforts to free you. You, on the other hand, should carefully protect your life."

753. With this message he sent him back to *Harṣadeva*, and thought about means for effecting that object.

754. *Utkarṣa*, as if stupefied by the gods, made after his advent to the throne no effort suitable for putting affairs in order.

755. He did not question *Kandarpa* and the others about state business, though it was he who had given them posts, nor did he transact it himself.

741. Persons who are prevented from attending their parents' funeral, are required to bathe on receiving the news of the latter, just like those who return from the burning-ground.

748. L reads *tadaiṭhyamāna*, as emended.

750. I prefer to read with L *rājñya°* and *śuṣyāmo* for A *rājye, śucyāmo*.

UTKARṢA (A.D. 1089).

756. The only daily occupation of the king was to inspect the hoards of the treasury and to weigh them.

757. Far-sighted people became certain of his avaricious character, from the fact that he did either what cost nothing, or pondered over the cost.

758. The wives of his father, who were difficult to keep in check, spread the story of his greediness because he gave them food with Mudga.

759. Miserly like a priest (*śrotriya*) and of mean character in his actions, he was not liked by the people, who are [eager] to have masters of large minds.

Vijayamalla's departure.

760. *Vijayamalla*, who did not receive from the greedy [king] his fixed allowance, was then in his anger preparing to leave the country.

761. In order to protect himself, he asked all those who had been sureties to accompany him, and these readily went with him.

762. When after his departure from the City he stopped for one night at *Lavaṇotsa*, the soldiers in the force of the sureties came over to his side.

763-764. "If you go while Harṣa is in fetters, the king has attained his object. Therefore it is proper for you to go after you have freed him from his captivity." When they with raised arms thus urged him on, the prince turned back and marched in the morning for the City.

Rising in favour of *Harṣa*.

765. Some Ḍāmaras, too, when they heard that he had turned back for this purpose, joined him.

766-769. *Madhurāvaṭṭa*, the commander of the cavalry, had, as he had been one of the sureties, sent his son *Nāga* to escort the prince when he wished to leave. As the faithful [Nāga], who did not desert the king's side, was proceeding with some mounted men by the route of *Padmapura* to [join] the king, he was delayed by evil omens, and before he had reached the City, the fast-marching prince, whom good omens had encouraged, was investing the palace and burning the houses with his troops, who had fixed firebrands at the points of their darts.

770. Prince *Jayarāja*, too, deserted the king as he was moving out to battle, and joined his (Vijayamalla's) side.

771. The two princes, keeping together, speculated as to what his (Utkarṣa's) course would be, just as two young poets [might speculate as to the course] of a poet famous for his diction.

757. I translate according to L *cintyamānavyayena.*

758. *Mudga* is the *Phaseolus Mungo*, a common pulse much cultivated in Kaśmir under the name of *Mung*. Comp. LAWRENCE, *Valley*, p. 338. The *dāl* made with it is not regarded as a favourite dish by well-to-do people.

760. L *deśād gantum.*

761. L *te cāpi.* Compare vii. 733.

762. L reads *mādhyasthasainyātusyāgre*, probably for °*sainyāt tasyāgre.*

Regarding the position of *Lavaṇotsa*, see note i 329.

766-769. In order to get a proper sense, we must read with L in verse 766 *rājasūnor yiyāsor yaṁ mādhyasthād*, and in 769 *śūlāgro*°

770. Read with L *samarāya* and °*śiśriyat.*

771. Read with L *sahasthitau.*

Utkarṣa (A.D. 1089).

772. He (Vijayamalla) had then the stables of the elephants, buffaloes, etc., set on fire by his soldiers, who declared that they would not go until *Harṣa* was set free.

773-774. Respectable citizens too said: "Let *Harṣadeva* be crowned, who showers gifts like the cloud which is to drown the world. Let this avaricious *Khaśa*, who is like a shopkeeper, be turned out of the kingdom." Then they went to *Harṣa* and covered him in his prison with flowers thrown through the openings of the windows.

775. While this tumult arose *Harṣa* despatched the Ṭhakkuras, and made the force of the king, whose troops had been defeated, take up a neutral position.

776. Having thus inflicted this injury on his enemy [Utkarṣa], though still in prison, he then with limbs trembling from excitement, addressed them thus:

777. I am to-day in fearful danger, so release me from my fetters. Else for certain evil will befall [me] from the king."

778. While they consulted together again and again upon these words, kicks fell upon the gate from outside the building.

779. And a loud voice was heard: "On what perfidy are these rascals bent? Fie, Ṭhakkuras, open the door!"

780. Then as the Ṭhakkuras were frightened, *Harṣa*, courageously disregarding the danger, got the door opened himself.

781. His life kept only in his eyes, when he saw marching up sixteen soldiers of the guard (*vārika*) from *Lohara* who came to kill him.

782-786. These had been despatched by *Utkarṣa* to kill him, after he had heard again and again the advice which *Nonaka* gave him, that all this danger would cease the moment *Harṣa's* head was cut off and exposed. Then as he reflected on what he should have to do thereafter, he recognized that moment that he (Harṣa), if not killed, might yet some day be of use. As they were going, he [therefore] gave them the order: "Relieve the Ṭhakkuras on guard and kill him if I should send this ring as a sign. But if this [other ring] is sent, then set him free from prison." After saying this, he showed them the two rings on his hand, and told them to make sure of delaying [the execution]. [It was for this] that they did not strike him at once after relieving the Ṭhakkuras.

772. L rightly *vādibhiḥ* for A *vādinaḥ*.

773. Regarding the term *Khaśa* as applied to the rulers of Lohara, see note vi. 175.

778. Read with L *dvāri gṛhād*.

779. L has *ca* for A *sa*.

781. The meaning of the term *vārika* is doubtful; it may be derived from *vāra*, 'fixed time,' i.e. 'turn of duty'

782-786. The text of these verses becomes clear if we read with L in 783 *coktā* and *viriñcatā*, and in 785 *°āṅguliyake*

Uṭkarṣa (A.D. 1089

787. He (Harṣa) called each of them by his name, offered them betel, and made them take their place in front of him.

788. They felt ashamed at this hospitable reception, and, when taking betel, let go their weapons from their hands and the intent of murder from their minds.

789. Speech (*go*) brings wealth, creates fame, removes sin, and indeed procures friendship even from the enemy; with every word (*pratipadaṁ*) it follows paths which are agreeable to the wise. Resembling the cow of plenty, what misfortune can it not put right?

790. The prince spoke to them: "Why do you stand as if ashamed? Servants are always free from guilt when executing their masters' orders."

791. "Yet you may delay, in order to watch the wonderful course of affairs, how they will change from moment to moment."

792. "As up in heaven the small clouds change, assuming the appearance of elephants, panthers, beasts of prey, snakes, horses and other [animals],--just thus [change] the waves of emotion in the heart of men, undergoing [in turn] transitions between kindliness and harshness as the moments vary."

793. "Therefore, as I stay here accommodating myself to every moment, so you too may keep watching what shall be the next task."

794. "Or [it may be that] such dangers to the life producing changes of sentiment are [destined] for persons about to ascend the throne."

795. "The heat of summer becomes more oppressive when rain is near. The darkness of night becomes denser on the approach of morning. Thus, too, when exceptional good fortune of overwhelming splendour appears for a person, receding ill-luck increases the vehemence of its afflictions."

796. Speaking in this fashion, he related to them stories of virtuous persons which had a happy issue and bore a resemblance to his own story, while he gathered a good omen from the course of his breath.

797. In order to gain time, he related to them the story about *Hariścandra*, in which he brought out the essential points by clear incidental remarks.

798. Owing to his skill, it was not noticeable that he was [at the same time] endeavouring to gratify them, to protect himself and to secure news from outside.

799. In the meantime ever new plans arose with regard to him, and royal Fortune and the goddess *Kālī* came and went a hundred times.

789. The word *go* is intended to be taken here also in its usual meaning of 'cow'; the verse must be understood as referring equally to the latter.

796. The various forms of breath as means of divination are treated at length in texts like the *Svarodaya* (Jammu MSS. Nos. 2928, 3994).

797. For the story of Hariścandra, see e.g. *Mārkaṇḍeya Pur.*, ix. 82 sqq.

UTKARṢA (A.D. 1089).

Attempts to execute *Harṣa*.

800. Because King *Utkarṣa* often thought of letting him free, and [as often] gave orders to different attendants to kill him.

801. But when he gave the order for his death, he forgot to send the ring [which was to be] the token. Hence the guards did not carry out what his messengers told them.

802. When he found that they had gone in vain, he remembered the arrangement regarding the token, and sent thereupon the Rājaputra *S'ūra*, son of *Satya* (?).

803. At the moment he was putting the token into his hand, fate willed that he made a mistake, and the rings got exchanged.

804. The lord of the *Sindhu*-land (Jayadratha), the supporter of [the race of] *Vṛddhakṣattra*, had his own head cut off through the very boon which he had obtained for the cutting off of another's head. King *S'rutāyudha* was, indeed, struck down in battle by his own divine mace. What is intended to serve for protection, that very thing may, by the will of fate, bring about destruction.

805. Thus the king secured rather his destruction [instead of safety] by forgetting one token and then substituting the other [for it].

806. By the familiar ways of *Harṣa* the guards soon became his well-wishers, and opposed to *Utkarṣa's* commands.

807. When *S'ūra* approached the gate in violent excitement, they thought that he had come for his execution, and were preparing to kill him with their raised weapons.

808. When they opened the fold of the door they saw in his hand the ring, and jumping in joy came up with him to *Harṣa*.

809. When they bent their heads down to his feet and asked him to go out, the prince stood for a short time in thought, not feeling assured.

810. At that time *Vijayamalla* believed that *Harṣadeva* had been killed, and in his fury fought with still more excessive courage.

811. He was about to set fire to the palace when the followers of the king stopped him with difficulty by calling out: "Your elder brother lives."

812. Thereupon the king immediately sent to him *Sugalā*, *Harṣa's* wife, with her husband's earring, to assure him.

799. *Kālī*, a form of Durgā, is here put into relation with *Kāla*, the god of death.

801. To be read with L *tenoktaṁ*, °*tiṣṭhan na*.

802. L gives the name as *Satya*, A as *Satva*, which can scarcely be right.

804. Read with L *vṛddhakṣattradharādharaḥ*, an epithet of Jayadratha. The stories of *Jayadratha* and *S'rutāyudha* are told in the Mahābhārata, VII. cxlvi. 105 sqq. and VII. xcii. 41 sqq., resp.

806 The gloss of A_2 explains the rare word *ābhijanya* by its Kś. derivative, *āb'zun*, 'familiarity.'

811. The emendation *te'grajaḥ* for A *te'nujaḥ*, as proposed in Ed., is confirmed by L *tegdhajaḥ*. The latter is a misreading for *te'grajaḥ*, easily explained in S'āradā characters.

UTKARṢA (A.D. 1089).

Harṣa's liberation.

813. When the prince saw her, he abstained from burning [the palace], and the king thought that *Harṣa's* liberation would remove the danger.

814. *Noṇa, Praśastakalaśa* and other ministers then went themselves, and after freeing *Harṣa* from his fetters, made him leave his prison.

815. With difficulty this invitation proceeded from their mouths, after having come and gone like the breath departing at the point of death.

816. *Harṣa*, however, covered with the flowers which the citizens showered [on him], mounted a horse and proceeded with the ministers to the king, who was still in the fight.

817. After a greeting, the king, his younger brother, spoke to him: "Come back after making your brother [Vijayamalla] withdraw. Then we arrange what is suitable."

818. When he (Harṣa) had agreed to this and had started he (Utkarṣa) left the scene of the fighting, and proceeded with the ministers into the treasury where the gold and other [valuables] were kept.

819. When *Vijayamalla* saw *Harṣadeva* by his side, who had escaped from [so] great a danger, he became for a moment motionless with joy.

820. Then he made obeisance to his feet, and he (Harṣa) again raised him up and embraced him. Many things the helper and the helped had to tell [each other].

821-822. A trusted person then spoke secretly to *Vijayamalla*: "Have that one (Harṣa) first put out of the way. Then killing *Utkarṣa*, you will be king, without a rival." The faithful *Vijayamalla* did not accept this advice, but *Harṣa* recognized it from the hints he noticed, and for a moment he stood trembling.

823. Resembling a bird deprived of its wings, he protected his person, which between his two brothers was like a prey between two falcons, by roaming about on horseback.

824. When the forest-fire has passed away owing to the downpour of the near cloud, the tree is threatened by the lightning; he who has escaped from the crocodile's throat, must fear to get drowned in the ocean. Thus fate soon creates a fresh terror for the person who has warded off a danger, in order that he may realize the sweetness of the good fortune which he is to enjoy afterwards.

825. While he was pretending to give exercise to his horse, [and was thus]

815. L reads *kleśena* (for A *śokena*) and *bahiḥ kṣaṇāt*.

820. Read with L *cotthāpyā°*

821-822. The proper text is restored by L, which reads *hatvotkarṣaṁ* and *harṣas tat tasthau tu*.

823. Read with L *niṣpakṣapattripratimo*.

825 Read with L *rakṣantam*.

protecting his life, some of his own people who had learned the state of things, joined him on foot. UTKARṢA (A.D. 1089).

826. Then, after consulting for a short time with *Vijayamalla*, he went to the king to announce the cessation of hostilities.

827. As he left the prince, and had arrived before the residence [of the king], *Vijayasiṁha* stopped him from entering.

828. He said: "Having escaped, why do you again go to die, O imprudent one? Go and seat yourself without fear on the throne!"

829. As he spoke thus, his servants brought the throne from the treasury, and *Harṣadeva* immediately ascended it. HARṢA (A.D. 1089-1101).

830. And there came before him *Sugalā*, hiding by boldness her great offence, to claim her position as the chief queen.

831. The rumour of his coronation made the councillors assemble from all sides, as the thunder of the cloud [attracts] the Cātaka birds.

832. The cunning *Vijayasiṁha*, too, dragged *Utkarṣa*, who had become distressed on hearing this news, from that hall and led him to another mansion.

833. Deprived of his dignity, and followed by few, he was seen passing before King [Harṣa], who was in the assembly hall. Whose greatness is lasting?

834. As he entered that building, *Vijayasiṁha* posted guards outside, and reported to the king that he had executed this task.

835. The king brought to his side the Ṭhakkuras with whom he had become familiar in his prison, and got rid of the danger from *Vijayamalla*, by having their soldiers posted before [him].

836 He too (Vijayamalla), when he heard that his elder brother had ascended the throne, was going towards him, [but] the latter's messengers conducted him quickly, in a respectful manner, to his own quarters.

837. When the king then saw that that [prince's] soldiers had come before him, he, with politic sense, had him that very moment brought into his presence.

838. With folded hands he rewarded him for his trouble, saying: "You have given me my life and kingdom."

839. Through the favour of fate his well-directed policy at once brought thus the kingdom to rest.

840. The new king, though he yet retained the clothes he had worn in his prison, shone forth on his throne by the dignity which enveloped [him].

827. For *Vijayasiṁha*, see vii. 580.
835. Read with L *rājā pārśvam*.
839. Read with L *nityaivaṁ tad rājyaṁ*.
840 L has *siṁhāsane sa*.

HARṢA (A.D. 1089-1101).

841. At the end of the day, tired out by such violent emotions, he who has effected his rise fell down on his couch, just like [a load-carrier] who has put down his load.

842. Looking, as it were, at this vanity of all things, he did not find there the relief of sleep, though he kept his eyes closed.

843. *Utkarṣa*, however, who had fallen into captivity by a stratagem, was asking advice from his councillors. He had scolded others, when *Nonaka* spoke to him these harsh words:

844. "O king, you did not do what you were advised in the morning. Hear what is appointed regarding [thy] future, which has fallen through this want of wisdom."

845. "To-day you delivered him who was in fetters to those who eat food-remnants; to-morrow, however, he will deliver you into the hands of those who feed on dog's meat."

846. "Hence what other refuge is there at present but death? Even this has become difficult for us to reach since we abandoned fighting."

847. "Or do not the enemies show that refined skill in reviling, which excruciates deeply at the time when one has to touch the fruits of defeat?"

848. "The device which you employed, without thinking of its danger, has lost everything at once and within a moment."

849. "Even a small mischief, if repaired without skill, breaks out again by a hundred openings, just as an old garment [when repaired] with a needle."

Utkarṣa's suicide (A.D. 1089).

850. When he (Utkarṣa) heard this, he left their midst and went into an inner apartment with the concubine called *Sahajā*.

851. Telling her that he would stop there for his evening prayer, he remained for a short time quite alone behind a curtain.

852. Then, as he had no arms, in his desperation he applied a pair of scissors, [used] for cutting cloth, to his throat, and cut the vital arteries.

853. As the scissors fell on the ground with a thud, *Sahajā* became alarmed and saw the blood oozing forth from behind the curtain.

854. Then she saw him with the head hanging down and the thick blood flowing from it, just as when the minerals ooze out of the highest crag of a hill which has been struck by lightning.

855. The noble conduct which she then displayed makes women who are beloved by their husbands carry their heads higher even to this day.

843. Read with L *ākṣipyānyān*.

845. The correct readings are those of L *adhyārpipo* (for A *adhyākṣipo*) and *śvamāṁsāśinām*. *Caṇḍālas*, or other people of low caste, are alluded to, who act as executioners.

849. Compare the simile in vii. 384.

852. L has *prāṇavahas* (for *prāṇavahās*).

HARṢA (A.D. 1089-1101).

856-857. Night leaves the moon [her husband] somewhere when he wanes, and moves away, while dawn follows the footsteps of the sinking sun. For this reason wise men, remembering that love may vary in the end, should not for certain blame or praise women. [Thus it came] that while their origin, social position and their love for their [respective] lords were alike, the conduct of *Kayyā* and of *Sahajā* deserved blame and praise [respectively].

858. She too had been a dancing girl attached to a temple. He had seen her on the dancing-stage, and had taken her as a concubine into the royal seraglio.

859. She made her love shine forth brilliantly, just as [if it were] gold, by entering the pyre after smearing thickly over her limbs the blood of her lover, [which resembled] liquefied red chalk (*gairika*).

860. When she had been a courtesan, she had been favoured also by *Harṣadeva.* Though he, therefore, wished her [to remain alive], she did not renounce death.

861. He (Utkarṣa) was in his twenty-fourth year and had been king for twenty-two days, when he died. After having been left for one night, he was cremated in the morning.

862. Also some quick-eyed [ladies] of his seraglio, who had been on the *Lohara* hill, soon followed his footsteps by the path of fire.

863-865 When the king's followers were disarming his councillors, *Nonaka*, desiring death, refused for a short time to give up his sword, whereupon *Praśastakalaśa*, who belonged to his own band, spoke to him thus: "Who else besides ourselves could be the king's ministers? In [a few] days therefore he will set us free. Considering this, you ought not to throw away your life." Then he made him deliver up his sword, and gave up his own.

866. *Nona*[*ka*], *Silhāra, Bhaṭṭāra, Praśastakalaśa* and the rest were then put in fetters and imprisoned by *Harṣadeva.*

867. In this fashion that wonderful overthrow of a king was effected by *Harṣadeva* in a single day, just as [if he had been] Fate.

868. Many are the kings whom [my narrative has dealt with] some way or another and passed on. [But] now, O ill-luck, a path has been reached which is hard to traverse for the understanding.

Description of Harṣa's character.

869-873. How is it to be related, that story of King *Harṣa* which has seen the rise of all enterprises and yet tells of all failures; which brings to light all [kinds of] settled plans and yet shows the absence of all policy; which

856. Regarding *Kayyā*, comp. vii. 725 sqq.
859. Red chalk (*gairika*) is used in melting gold to give it greater brilliancy. L reads °*gairikasyanda*°.
865. L better *samārpipat*.
869. L correctly °*otsāhodayakṣetraṁ*.

HARṢA (A.D. 1089-1101)

displays an excessive [assertion of the] ruling power and yet has witnessed excessive disregard of orders; which [tells] of excessive abundance of liberality and of [equally] excessive persistence in confiscation; which gives delight by an abundant [display of] compassion and shocks by the superabundance of murders; which is rendered charming by the redundance of pious works and soiled by the superabundance of sins; which is attractive on all sides and yet repulsive, worthy of praise and deserving of blame; which sensible men must magnify and deride, regard with love and yet feel aggrieved at; which is to be blessed and to be condemned, worthy of memory and yet to be dismissed from the mind?

874. Surely he must have been born from atoms of light. How otherwise could he have been, even for the great, difficult to look at, just like the sun?

875. An appearance like his is not to be seen anywhere among mortals or gods. But if the wise were to look out for him [they would see him] among the chiefs of the demons.

876-878. He wore earrings which flashed like the reflected image of the sun; on his round, broad head-dress was fixed a high diadem; he used to look around like a pleased lion, his bushy beard was hanging down low; his shoulders were like those of a bull, his arms great, and his body of a dark-reddish complexion; he had a broad chest with a narrow waist, and his voice was deep like thunder. Thus even superhuman beıngs would have lost [before him] their presence of mind.

879. At the palace gate (*sımhadvā ı a*) he hung up great bells in all four directions, to be informed by their sound of those who had come with the desire of making representations.

880. And when he had once heard their plaintive speech, he fulfilled their desire [as quickly] as the cloud in the rainy season [fulfils] that of the Cātaka birds.

881. Nobody in his court was seen without brilliant dress, without gold oinaments, with a small following, or without a resolute bearing.

882. At that gate of the king's palace at which people from various nations presented themselves, the nches of all countries seemed always to be piled up.

883. In the king's palace, councillors, chamberlains and other [attendants] moved about without number, adorned with golden chains and bracelets.

884. While thus displaying the lustre of his new sovereignty, the king regarded the opinion of *Vijayumalla* just as that of a Guru.

885. As his word was followed by the grateful king, his assembly was thronged with followers like that of the king himself.

873. Read with L *carcā katham*.

874 L *pūṣeva* (for A *prasave*) gives the right sense.

881. The lacuna of A is filled by L *vigatotsāho*.

882. L better *nānājanapadāśrite*.

886. He (Harṣa) did not pay special regard to his own [personal] servants, and guarding against any subversion of the established order of things, bestowed the state offices upon his father's ministers. HARṢA (A.D. 1089-1101).

887. He placed *Kandarpa* in charge of the 'Gate,' *Madana* in chief command of the army (*kampana*), and others like *Vijayasiṁha* and the rest, each in his own [previous] post. Administrative appointments.

888. When his wrath was appeased, he set *Praśastakalaśa* and the rest free from prison, and employed them in their own [former] posts.

889. The minister *Nonaka*, however, and his milk-brother he had executed on the pale, as he remembered with anger their very numerous offences.

890. But from time to time, when matters grew difficult, he remembered that he (Nonaka) had been [a man] of a large mind and devoted to his master, and he felt regret.

891. A capable person is useful sometimes, even if he has committed offences. The fire which has burned down the house, offers assistance for preparing the meal.

892. *Viśśāvaṭṭa* was put to death on the pale by the king's servants, after cutting off his ears and nose in the presence of his wife.

893. In his prosperity, he (Harṣa) bestowed rich gifts on his servants who had come out of captivity, just as the tree blossoming in Caitra [gives rich food] to the black bees which emerge from the holes in the ground.

894. *Sunna*, the son of *Vajra* and grandson of *Kṣema*, who was a descendant of *Rakka*, was together with his younger brother raised to the chief rank among the ministers.

895. When the king went on a journey, and on other occasions, each minister was in turn everywhere mistaken by the spectators for the king.

896. *Jayarāja*, his younger brother, whom he had put at the head of the whole host of chamberlains, was to him more than his own life.

897. *Dhammaṭa*, too, the son of *Tanvaṅga*, who on the death of his two brothers had repaid the debt [of gratitude he owed them] by a pilgrimage to the *Gaṅgā*, came back together with the sons of his brothers.

898. The king welcomed him as one whose two elder brothers had died in his own cause, and looked upon him and his nephews as if they were of his own [family].

886. L rightly *samārpayat*.

892. A gives the name as *Viśśābhaṭṭa*, L as *Bhiḍḍāvaṭṭa*; comp. vii. 617-629.

894. Regarding *Rakka*, see v. 424 sqq.

897. The text of this verse, partly missing in A, is restored by L reading *bhrātror daṇyoḥ śaṁtayor* (recte *śāntayor*) *gataḥ*, and *tānvaṅgiḥ*. Dhammaṭa had been protected by Thakkana and his other brother; comp. vii. 632 sqq. The two elder sons of *Tanvaṅga* seem to have died in exile.

HARṢA (A.D. 1089-1101).

Vijayamalla's rising.

899. In the course of time *Vijayamalla*, at the instigation of wicked persons, became disaffected and planned treason against him, though he (Harṣa) had in the above manner divided the regal power [with him].

900. Evil-minded persons had spoken to him: "Why did you give up the throne to the other when you had conquered it?" To win it he planned the murder of his elder brother.

901. Resolved to kill him in his lonely mansion, he arranged a sacrifice as a pretext, and invited the king [to it].

902. The plan reached the ears of the king, who apprehending an attack, immediately ordered his troops to get ready.

903. As the king's troops got ready, *Vijayamalla* came forth quickly and carried off the king's horses from the stables.

904. Taking the horses, he bravely attacked the king's force when he saw it, and fighting with might hastened to leave the City.

905. Riding on horseback while his wife with him kept holding to his back, he carried on a superhuman fight.

906. Just at that time unseasonable clouds sent down torrents of rain, and the land seemed everywhere flooded.

907. In this fight, where the howling winds produced a noise [similar to that] of many kettle-drums, the prince was enveloped by the shower of rain and by the arrows.

908. As he was moving along with a [gradually] dwindling force, the sons of *Caṇḍaka*, anxious to kill him, kept behind him, just as the acts of a former existence [follow man].

909. The confluence of the *Vitastā* and *Sindhu* where the bridge had been broken by the flood, he crossed swimming, along with his wife, after descending from his horse.

910. Full of resolution, he had plunged with his wife into the thick of the enemy. His steed too crossed the swollen stream, and came after him.

911 After remounting his steed, the brave [Vijayamalla] disappeared from the view of the enemies, and proceeded towards the country of the *Darads* by the route of *Lahara*.

902 L °*nodyamam*, as emended.

908. For A *prākṛtānira* to be read *prāktanīra*; comp. L *praktanā*°

910. The text of the first Pāda is scarcely in order. L has *sattvatvānākarot*. Could this be a corruption for *sattravān nākarot*, 'Brave as he was, he did *not* drop his wife in the thick of the enemy'?

911. The upper Valley of the Kiṣangaṅgā is meant, which is to this day inhabited by *Darads*; see note i. 312. It can be reached by several mountain tracks from the Sind Valley, i.e. Lahara (Lār); comp. note v. 51. By crossing the Vitastā at its confluence with the Sindhu (opposite Shād'pōr), Vijayamalla avoids the necessity of crossing subsequently the latter river on his way to the Dard country

Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101).

912. Though *Kandarpa*, the lord of the Gate, had closed everywhere the routes, he crossed the mountains and reached the town of the *Darads* (*Daratpurī*) hidden in the mountains.

913. There he was hospitably received by the illustrious *Vidyādhara S'āhi*, the *Darad* [ruler], and was joined, as time went on, by some of his own followers.

914. When King *Harṣa* heard that Ḍāmaras and others were taking up the feud, he felt terrified, and day by day employed [fresh] stratagems.

915. These failed. After passing the winter in the town of the *Darads* (*Daratpura*), he (Vijayamalla) precipitately started on an expedition in the month of Caitra, having received messages from the Ḍāmaras.

916. This proud [prince], after escaping from his [previous] dangers, lost his life accidentally by an avalanche, while stopping in a tent on the road.

917. The object for the execution of which resolute men display great zeal, is frustrated by fate through a very slight matter.

918. The lotuses which the sun exerts himself to open with a thousand rays (*kara*),—the Creator uproots them, if he is angered, by the single trunk (*kara*) of an elephant.

919. King *Harṣa's* royal power, which for some time was reduced by the fear of a struggle for the crown, began then again to expand

920 At that time the title 'Rājā' could not be applied to anyone; not to him, because he was too exalted, not to the other kings, because they were too petty.

Harṣa's innovations.

921. The king, who was free from jealousy, introduced into his land elegant fashions, just as the spring [brings flowers] into the forest.

922. Formerly people in this country had, with the single exception of the king, worn their hair loose, had carried no head-dress and no ear-ornaments.

923-924. In this land where the commander-in-chief *Madana*, by dressing his hair in braids, and the prime minister *Jayānanda*, by wearing a short coat of bright colour, had incurred the king's displeasure, there this ruler introduced for general wear a dress which was fit for a king

912. By the 'town of the Darads,' mentioned here and viii 1153, is, perhaps, meant the modern *Gurēz*, the chief place of the Upper Kiṣangaṅgā Valley; comp. Drew, *Jummoo*, pp. 394 sq. The epithet *giriguptā*, 'hidden in the mountains,' would well apply to that place. Gurēz lies in a valley whose level ground is nowhere more than about one mile broad, all around rise high mountain ranges.

913. The title *S'āhi* of the Dard ruler is indicated by L, which fills the lacuna here shown in A. The title Shāh has been borne for centuries back by the Dard rulers of Citrāl and Yāsin (comp Cunningham, *Numismatic Chron*, Third Ser. ix., p. 281). But whether it is of pre-Muhammadan origin and connected with the royal title of the S'āhis of the Kābul Valley, is doubtful.

919 Read with L *prabhavituṁ* for A *prabhayatu*.

922. Read with L *niṣkarṇābharaṇāḥ*.

923. Compare regarding *Madana*, vii. 579; *Jayānanda*, vii 275, 364.

Can the change of fashion here referred to have had something to do with the spread of customs from the Muhammadan West?

HARṢA (A.D. 1089-1101).

925. When some of his ministers had got themselves up in brilliant finery, he, without feeling jealous, got his own female attendants to swing lights (*ārātrika*) around them.

926. As he was fond in his amusements of the *Dākṣiṇātya* (Dekkan) fashion, he introduced a coin-type (*taṅka*) copied from that of *Karṇāṭa*.

927. People appeared in his assembly hall with waving palm-leaves, adorned with big forehead-marks of sandal ointment, and wearing splendid long daggers.

928-931. His ladies of restless brows wore long garlands formed by their hair-braids into which were [woven] golden Ketaka-leaf [ornaments]; the pendants which they wore over their forehead-marks made the latter unsteady; they joined the corners of their eyes with their ears by a line drawn with collyrium; into the ends of their locks which were not veiled, were twined golden strings; with the hanging-down train of their lower garments they kissed the ground; their breasts were dressed in jackets which covered [but] half the length of their arms; their smiles seemed to spread [the perfume of] camphor as they moved about; when dressed in man's attire they wore a delusive likeness to the god of love.

932. By addressing their prayers to him, beggars became able to support others, just as the clouds through the aid of the ocean [become] capable of refreshing all beings.

933. By the favours of this liberal king who showered gold about, all bands of singers came to vie with kings.

934. The king, who was the crest-jewel of the learned, adorned men of learning with jewels, and bestowed upon them the privileges of [using] litters, horses, parasols, etc.

935-937. *Bilhaṇa*, who had left *Kaśmīr* in the reign of King *Kalaśa*, had been made by *Parmāḍi*, the lord of *Karṇāṭa*, his Chief Paṇḍit (*vidyāpati*), and

925. Regarding the *ārātrika* ceremony, see note v. 483.

926. CUNNINGHAM, *Coins of Med. India*, p. 34 (plate v. 22, 23), has described the actual coins to which K. refers here. They are of gold, and bear Harṣa's name. Their type is quite different from that maintained through the whole of the Hindu coinage of Kaśmīr. According to CUNNINGHAM, 'the fact of the coins being made in imitation of those of *Karṇāṭa* is fully corroborated by the coins of that country.' It may be noted that these coins are extremely rare, while the ordinary copper (or brass) coins of Harṣa are quite common to the present day.

The word *taṅka* means here, as well as viii. 152 sq., simply 'coin-type' or 'die,' and does not, as assumed by Cunningham (see *l.c.* note 16), designate a coin of 'fine gold'; comp. also vi. 88.

931. The smile is compared to the camphor on account of its brightness.

935-937. The bearing of this interesting passage has been first recognized by Prof. BÜHLER, who has translated and discussed it in the Introduction to his edition of Bilhaṇa's *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, pp. 21 sq. The name of the poet had previously been hidden by the erroneous reading *Rilhaṇo* for *Bilhaṇo* found in the Calcutta Ed. and Troyer's translation. The available data regarding the life and works of *Bilhaṇa* have been set forth exhaustively in Chapter i. of Prof. BÜHLER's *Introduction*; comp. also the notice in Prof. AUFRECHT's *Cat. Catal.*, s.v.

Parmāḍi is the well-known surname or

when travelling on elephants through the hill-country of *Karṇāṭa*, his parasol was borne aloft before the king. When he heard that the liberal *Harṣa* was like a kinsman to true poets, he thought even so great a splendour a deception.

HARṢA (A.D. 1089-1101).

938. The very numerous palaces of the king shone forth with wonderful splendour, having golden Āmalaka ornaments and buildings which reached to the clouds.

939. In his *Nandana* grove there were of all trees only the wishing trees (*kalpadruma*) absent, as he had put them to shame by his liberality.

940. He made the lake called *Pampā*, which was full of water [and the resort] of various kinds of birds and animals, extend its curved shores to the horizon.

941. Surely, not even Bṛhaspati is able to name clearly all the sciences in which he was versed.

942. Even to this day, if one of the songs which he composed for the voice is heard, tears roll on the eye-lashes even of his enemies.

943. Ever fond of amusement, he slept for two watches of the day and kept awake at night, when he held his assemblies

Harṣa's court.

944. He passed his nights in the assembly-hall, which was illuminated by a thousand lamps, attending meetings of learned men, musical performances and dances

945. When the conversation ceased, there was heard only the rustling sound from the chewing of betel, and that which was caused by the movement of the ladies' locks and the S'ephālī flowers [bound up with them].

946-949. What Bṛhaspati could fully describe the nightly court [held] by this king whose splendour surpassed that of Indra? The canopies were like clouds, the lights like a wall of fire; the golden sticks resembled the lightning and the multitudes of swords were like smoke; lovely ladies took the place of the Apsaras and ministers that of the stars; its scholars were like an assembly of

biruḍa of the Cālukya king Vikramāditya-Tribhuvanamalla whose family history and exploits form the subject of Bilhaṇa's above mentioned poem. He reigned at Kalyāna in the years 1076-1127 (see *l.c* p. 20)

K.'s statement as to the honours paid to Bilhaṇa at Parmāḍi's court, agrees closely with what the poet himself tells us in *Vikram.* xviii. 101 ("There the lucky poet received from the *Cālukya* king, the terror of the Colas, the dignity of Chief Paṇḍit, distinguished by the grant of a blue parasol and a mast elephant." BÜHLER). Possibly K. knew this very passage; comp. above note vii 259.

K.'s notice that Bilhaṇa left Kaśmir during the reign of *Kalaśa*, is of importance for the poet's biography. With reference to the weighty reasons shown by Prof. BÜHLER, we must assume that the period between 1068-1081 is meant here when Kalaśa was nominally ruler, not the time of his actual rule after his father's death.

The reading of L *viniryātaṁ*, verse 935, is preferable to A *viniryāntaṁ*; L has also *kāle* for *rājye*.

938. Regarding the term *āmalasāra*, comp. note vii. 526.

939. *Nandana* is the name of Indra's grove. Harṣa might have given this appellation to a pleasure garden.

940 The lake (*saras*) here referred to is in all probability the lagoon called now *Pamba Sar*. This lies to the E. of *Paṭan*, and extends as far as *Gūnd-Ibrāhim* (74° 39′ long. 34° 10′ lat.), and the stream marked *Adin* on the map.

943. Read with L *dattāsthānasya*.

Rṣis and its singers like Gandharvas; it was the fixed meeting-place of Kubera and Yama and the one common pleasure-grove of liberality and terror.

950 At that time the use of gold and silver money (*dīnnāra*) was plentiful in this land, but that of copper money rare.

951. At that time only the mean *Sunna* was close-fisted from avarice, though he had become the prefect of police (*daṇḍanāyaka*), and was exalted above all.

952. His own Maṭhas at *Jayavana*, *Sūryāmūlaka* and *Vijayeśvara*, which were [left] without endowments [for their maintenance], attest his avarice.

953 The royal fortune of *Paṭṭa* found its proper object in the relief of the sufferings of those who were hungry, sick, helpless, poor or otherwise [distressed].

954. *Caṇpaka* spent every year seven days at *Nandikṣetra* and turned there to pious use the wealth he had acquired during the whole time [intervening between his visits].

955 The king, who completely relieved the distress of his supplicants, profusely provided Brahmans with skins of black antelopes, cows with calves, and other presents.

956. *Vasantalekhā*, the king's wife, who belonged to the *S'āhi* family, founded Maṭhas and Agrahāras in the City and at the holy *Tripureśvara*.

957. Thus it seemed as if in some degree the flame of S'aiva-devotion was rising [at his court], yet one cannot call his reign one of noble transactions.

958. When the new ministers had gradually attained power, they caused delusions in the king's mind from spite against his former advisers.

959 The peacock, whose feet are attacked by leprosy, runs and catches the many-footed snake, the sun, which has a thousand feet (rays), is guided step by

950 The fact underlying this poetically extravagant statement is that Harṣa is the only later Kaśmīr king of whom authentic gold and silver pieces have hitherto been found comp CUNNINGHAM, *Coins of Med India*, pp 36 sq and plate v 21-23, also above note vii. 926.

Of copper and brass coins Harṣa appears to have struck a very large quantity, these pieces being far more commonly met with in the Bāzārs nowadays than those of any other Kaśmīr ruler His gold and silver coins are, on the contrary, extremely rare.

951 The term *daṇḍanāyaka* is found only in the vii Book as the official designation of *Sunna* Its literal meaning is 'prefect of punishments' The term, as well as *mahādaṇḍanāyaka*, is found in Nepāl and Canarese inscriptions; see *Ind Ant.*, viii p. 19 sq; ix. p. 167; x p 129.

952 *Sūryāmūlaka* is only here mentioned. Regarding *Jayavana*, see above, vii. 607.

954 *Caṇpaka*, repeatedly mentioned in the subsequent narrative (vii 1117, 1177, 1586, 1623) as a chief official of Harṣa, cannot be anyone else but Kalhaṇa's father, who in the colophons bears the title *prabhu*, 'lord.' Any doubt on this point is removed by the evident care shown by K in his account of Harṣa's end to justify *Caṇpaka's* conduct in those critical circumstances; comp. vii. 1586 sqq From viii. 2365 it might be concluded that Caṇpaka had ultimately retired to *Nandikṣetra*, i.e. the Tīrtha of *Bhūteśvara*; comp. regarding the latter, notes i. 36 and i. 107.

955 The skin of the black antelope is required at religious ceremonies for the seating of the Purohita

956. Regarding the Tīrtha of *Tripureśvara*, see note v. 46.

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step by the Thighless (the Dawn). It is the amusement of fate that the strong are deceived by the weak, and that those who hold all affairs in their hands are confused by those without power.

960. [Thus it came to pass] that the lord of the people, who was eminent by the knowledge of all sciences, had his mind perverted, even by foolish ministers.

961. In order to revenge the enmity shown by his deceased father, he plundered the Maṭha and other [endowments of the latter] which bore the name of *Rājadhānī*.

962. In his liberality he squandered right and left the riches which his greedy [father] had accumulated, and called him by the name of '*Pāpasena*' ('he whose army was one of villains').

963. Confused in his senses, verily the king placed three hundred and sixty women of doubtful character in his seraglio.

964. He took there continually whatever women [he could get]; only women of the Ḍomba and Caṇḍāla class he excluded.

965. In the meantime *Bhuvanarāja*, secretly instigated by the foot-soldiers garrisoning the castle (*koṭapadāti*), was again forming designs to seize *Lohara*.

966. When on reaching *Darpitapura* he heard that *Kandarpa*, the lord of the Gate, had marched out to fight him, he again disappeared.

Expedition against *Rājapurī*.

967. About this time also King *Saṁgrāmapāla*, the proud lord of *Rājapurī*, became, for some reason, disaffected.

968. While *Kandarpa* was engaged in bringing the discontented soldiers garrisoning the castle (*koṭabhṛtya*) under control, the king in his anger sent the prefect of police (Sunna) against *Rājapurī*.

969. Marching with great forces by the route of *Lohara*, he unwisely delayed for one and a half months on the outskirts of the castle [of Lohara].

970. Fearing the [heat of the] approaching Āṣāḍha month, as well as the ardour of the enemy, he did not show any determination [to start] on the expedition.

961. The Maṭhas and other buildings which Kalaśa began to erect at *Jayavana*, vii 607 sq., might be meant here.

965. The context clearly requires here the emendation of *loharā°* for A *laharā°* and of *preryamāṇo* for *pūryamāṇo*: comp. regarding Bhuvanarāja, vii. 252 sqq., 581. The identical clerical error has occurred in the name *Lohara* viii 914; comp note v. 51. [Reference to L is impossible for our passage, as the leaf of the MS. containing vii. 959-978 has not come into my hands.]

The 'soldiers garrisoning the castle' (*koṭapadāti* or *koṭabhṛtya*) are repeatedly mentioned in connection with *Lohara*: see viii 10, 1796, 2029 They correspond to the *killahdār* troops kept up in small detachments until a few years ago for the garrisoning of the numerous small forts in the hill-regions around Kaśmir; see DREW, *Jummoo*, p. 95. These troops were permanently settled in particular forts, and generally held land in their neighbourhood.

966. The position of *Darpitapura* is unknown; comp. note iv. 183.

970. The summer heat in the valleys immediately to the S. of Lohara is considerable, and bad fevers prevail; see viii. 1878, and Note *E*, iv. 177, § 10.

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971. Thereupon the king in his want of discrimination addressed his reproaches to *Kandarpa*, who was keeping inactive.

972. Vexed by these reproaches, the latter took a vow that he would fast till he had conquered *Rājapurī*, and then set out, though he had no supplies.

973. On the sixth day which *Kandarpa* passed fasting in the depth of the mountains, *Rājapurī* was at [a distance of] more than one Yojana.

974. Not stopped by the enemy's forces, and shaking off the opponents' weapons, he entered [Rājapurī], just as a lion [enters] the forest, treading down the plantain twigs.

975. From the forces of the prefect of police only one leader followed him, *Kularāja*, a descendant of the family of *Buddharāja*.

976. When he fell in the outer court of [the palace of] *Rājapurī*, after having slain a host of opponents, the enemy thought from his white parasol that *Kandarpa* was killed.

Capture of *Rājapurī*.

977. But at midday the mighty *Kandarpa* himself penetrated into the royal palace of *Rājapurī* with twenty or thirty soldiers.

978. Three hundred of his foot stopped before *Rājapurī* thirty thousand of the enemy's soldiers who would not turn to flight

979. In that battle there fell two hundred of the *Kaśmīrians*, but of the *Khaśas*, four hundred covered the ground.

980. When the enemy had been routed, Death had his kitchen in the numberless pyres [extending] far away which were cremating the dead of the battle.

981. Thus that brave man appeased his master's reproach, which was [troubling him like] a Vetāla, by the flesh and blood offered with violence on the deadly field of battle.

982. When only one watch of the day remained, the enemy rallied once more, and exasperated by their defeat came to attack *Kandarpa*.

983. Thereupon he threw into the mêlée burning arrows smeared over with vegetable oil, struck by which the enemies caught fire.

984. Believing that he knew [the use of] the weapon of fire (*āgneya astra*), they became frightened and fled in bewilderment, cursing their return.

971. Emend °*pātratāṁ* with Durgāpr. for A °*mātratāṁ*.

973. The distance from *Lohara* (Loh'rin) to *Rājapuri*, i.e. the town of *Rajauri*, viâ Sūrăn and Thāna, may be estimated at four marches. Kandarpa took, perhaps, a more difficult track across the mountains.

975. For *Buddharāja*, see vii 263.

979. Read *adhyaśerata* with L.

980. The correct text is restored by L *hatān āsīd raṇe*.

981. Read with L *rabhasārpitaiḥ*.

983 L correctly *uttaptān, oṣadhi°*, *prājvalan dviṣaḥ*.

984 For the *āgneyāstra* repeatedly referred to in the Epics, see DOWSON, *Mythology*, p. 6.

985. Intrepidity, presence of mind, strength, skilful use of contrivances and calmness do not even in great dangers abandon great men's minds, which are armed with firmness.

986. After re-entering the palace, when the sun was sinking, he saw the outer court (*bāhyālī*) again occupied by large forces.

987. As he was preparing to go out to fight, he heard that the prefect of police had arrived, whose soldiers had hidden themselves from fright on seeing the terrible battle-field.

988. Some by seeing their own men killed become more spirited in battle, others tremble on seeing killed enemies. Who knows the difference between mortals?

989. Then he (Kandarpa) went out and brought him in who had strayed into the danger, just as a crow when emulating the wild goose dives into the ocean.

990. Who else with only his personal fortitude would invade an enemy's country in which the subjects are faithful, which has a large army, is united, and possessed of a full treasury?

991. *Kandarpa* then took tribute from the lord of *Rājapurī*, who paid homage, and returned within a single month to his own country.

992. That the king honoured him by going to meet him, and by other marks of respect, caused violent head-aches to the prefect of police and to others.

993-995. The hard-hearted *Ānanda*, who, when acting as administrator (?) at *Parihāsapura*, had made his name in the priest corporation (*parṣad*) called *Vātagaṇḍa*, had been put by the king, upon the advice of councillors who were won over by large bribes, in charge of the Pādāgra and other [offices] after ousting *Vāmana*. He was at that time aspiring to the office of lord of the Gate, and was greatly supported by the ministers who were *Kandarpa's* enemies.

988. Read with L *kecid, parakiyais*

990. Read with L *vyūḍhasainyam*

991. L rightly *svāṁ bhuvam*

993-995. It is not certain what is meant by the expression *pāṁpālyaṁ kurvan*. From the reference made to the corporation of priests at Parihāsapura, it might be concluded that Ānanda had something to do with the administration of the property of this corporation, and of the shrine to which the latter was attached. In note ii. 132 it has been shown that by *parṣad* is designated a corporation of Purohitas which receives jointly the revenue of a temple or pilgrimage-place.

In all modern corporations of this kind I have come across in Kaśmir and the Panjāb, there is a kind of manager usually called *Dārōgha*, who realizes the income of the corporation from grants, pilgrims' donations, etc., and distributes it among the individual Purohita families. This manager takes for himself a respectable share of the revenue, and at the greater Tīrthas is a person of considerable influence and means. He holds his office generally by inheritance, but care is taken that he should not be a Purohita himself or connected with any of the local Purohita families. Ānanda may have been an administrator of this sort at one of the temples at *Parihāsapura*; comp. iv. 194 sqq. and Note *F*.

Ānanda himself is called *Vātagaṇḍa* in vii. 1177.

Regarding the term *pādāgra*, see note vii. 571

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Kandarpa at Lohara.

996. At his instigation the king sent *Kandarpa* to guard *Lohara*, where the enemies [of the king] were in rebellion, after bestowing on him the governorship.

997. By this trick those wicked ministers, who desired their own rise, removed that man of resource and courage from the foolish king.

998. A foolish and ignorant king devoid of judgment soon finds his end, when at the instigation of rogues he sends abroad the eloquent [adviser], because he might make a good envoy; abandons the wise one, because his words might cause estrangement from relatives; and forsakes the strong one, because he might usurp the throne.

999. The attachment to *Kandarpa*, though much cherished, disappeared gradually from the king's heart when he did not see him, just as sand [passes] from one's fist.

1000. "*Kandarpa* has taken to himself *Utkarṣa's* son, and plans to make him lord of *Lohara*." Thus spoke the ministers to the king.

1001. The king agreed with this, and immediately sent *Paṭṭa* and a *Ṭakku*, *Asidhara* by name, with a force to kill that relative.

1002-1003. *Kandarpa*, who had learned of that scheme through a mis-delivery of letters, felt after their arrival for a short time disheartened and apprehensive. Then *Asidhara* tried to seize him, as he was amusing himself at dice, by [coming] before him as if he were his servant, and rubbing his hand.

1004. Thereupon he (Kandarpa) drew out his hand and rubbed the hand of the other with the fore-joint of his thumb [so strongly] that he lost his skin just like a wetted bird.

1005. In his indignation he reproached the king for his want of judgment, and himself for his attachment to the king, and thus addressed *Paṭṭa*.

1006. "The king, whose mind is ruled [by others], should send my family [to me]. Then I shall deliver the castle and go abroad."

1007. When he had been joined by his relatives, whom they brought and handed over to him, the minister left his post and proceeded to *Vārāṇasī*.

1008. By slaying one chief and appointing another, he freed the *Kaśmīrians* from the tax on S'rāddhas at *Gayā*.

996. The office of governor (*maṇḍaleśvara*) is mentioned in connection with Lohara, viii 1228, 1814, 2029. The title is very frequently given in the vii Book to *Ananda*; see vii. 1178, 1227, 1231, etc. The latter, as governor, seems to have held charge of Kaśmīr proper.

998. Read *kāraṇ* with L.

1000. The reading of L *utkarṣajaputram* is preferable to that of A (*°putrāv*), because the following verse speaks only of one relative of Harṣa.

1002. Read with L *'bhūd yadā*.

1004. L *nistvaktvaṁ* as emended.

1008. Compare note vi. 254.

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1009. He also, by killing a captain of robbers together with his men on a dangerous road, made the eastern region free from enemies for travellers.*

1010. He removed and destroyed a terrible tiger at *Vārāṇasī*, and embellished the eastern region with Maṭhas devoted to pious uses.

1011. The evil councillors, who had obtained their aim by his expatriation, then injured the undertakings of the king by their mutual jealousy.

1012. Where bad councillors, deeply intoxicated by over-indulgence and perverted in their minds by unrestrained jealousy, rush at each other like bucks which wish to relieve their itching horns, in a few days the king comes totally to grief like a post between [them].

Dhammaṭa's conspiracy.

1013. As time went on, *Dhammaṭa*, *Tanvaṅga's* son, who was lusting for the throne, formed a treacherous design to kill the king.

1014-1015. He instigated *Jayarāja* to kill the king, after having long reflected in his crooked mind: "The reproach of treason will fall upon him, while I shall succeed to the throne, as he is unfitted by his descent from a courtezan."

1016. He (Jayarāja) engaged for the king's murder some desperadoes from the village of *Bilāva*, and drew two or three women from the [king's] seraglio into the plot.

1017. When this plan was approaching execution, the king by chance despatched *Dhammaṭa* as envoy to *Rājapurī*, with great honours.

1018. While he was stopping at the house of *Sahasramaṅgala* [to which he had gone] for the sake of an auspicious day, *Jayarāja*, who apprehended failure, came to visit him.

1019. While they were in the hall secretly conferring together about this matter, a servant of *Prayāga* was listening, hidden behind the wall.

1020. He gave information of the affair to *Prayāga*, upon whose report the king prohibited *Dhammaṭa* from leaving.

1021. The king, being afraid of destroying his own kin, was slow in taking counter-measures, and only guarded his own person, daily living in terror

1022. *Jayarāja*, however, on seeing that he had failed [in his design], summoned to himself two brave Ḍāmaras from *S'amālā*, called *Vāga* and *Pāja*.

1023. When the king heard from [Jayarāja's] own servants, who betrayed

1009. Read with L *sasainyaṁ* and *adhvaninānāṁ*.

1014-1015. Read with A, L *veśyā°*; comp. regarding *Kayyā*, Jayarāja's mother, vii. 725, 857.

1016. *Bilāva*, only here mentioned, is probably the present village of *Bilau*, situated in the Chirāṭh Pargaṇa, circ. 74° 55′ long. 33° 51′ lat. ('Belloh' on map).

1018. If the auspicious time for the commencement of a journey astrologically falls earlier than the time by which the person concerned finds it convenient to start, he may *pro formâ* leave his own residence and proceed to the house of a friend or other conveniently situated building in the same place. He can then begin his real journey whenever convenient. This innocent ruse is still commonly practised by Kaśmīrī Brahmans.

1022. L gives the first name as *Nāga*.

HARṢA (A.D. 1089-1101).

and deserted him, that he was preparing to leave, he placed by night guards in all directions.

1024. In the morning *Tanvaṅga's* son (Dhammaṭa), giving out as a pretext that he was ready for his journey, foolishly took *Jayarāja* to the four-pillared pavilion (*catuṣka*) to [attend at the king's] worship.

1025. Then, as the king kept himself locked up in his apartments, he (Jayarāja) went with *Dhammaṭa* and his nephew into the assembly hall.

1026. Thereupon *Prayāga*, by the king's orders, placed guards outside, and told *Dhammaṭa*, in a low voice, to seize *Jayarāja*.

1027-1029. To the king, who, by the favour of fate, showed a clear intellect on frequent occasions, this plan had appeared the best. He thought: "*Jayarāja*, relying on *Dhammaṭa*, will certainly give up his sword. *Dhammaṭa* must conclude from that order that he has not been found out. If the two fight, and one or both fall, it is our advantage, or in case they should openly show their being in league, even the people will approve of their execution."

1030. Thereupon *Tanvaṅga's* son, feeling assured that the king had certainly not found him out, went up to *Jayarāja* and boldly spoke to him:

1031. "The king is dissatisfied with you. If you are indeed free from guilt, at once give up your sword to show your innocence"

Jayarāja's execution (A.D. 1095).

1032. He (Jayarāja), who was skilled with the sword and bow, gave up his sword as if [he had been] a common person, being deluded by fate or infatuated by his confidence in him (Dhammaṭa).

1033. Disgusted at the sight of his weakness, *Ṭulla*, the son of *Ajjaka* and grandson of *Tanvaṅga*, spoke to him these harsh words.

1034-1035. "O you wretch, not of *Kayyā* by King *Kalaśa* were you begotten. Your father was surely some coward, whoever he [may have been]." When thus addressed by that [prince], who knew no yielding in resolute conduct, he became like one over whom cold water had been poured in his sleep.

1036. When he was asked to give an account of his treason, he showed fortitude, and, though subjected to tortures, named only himself as concerned in it, but not *Dhammaṭa*.

1037. As poisoned food failed [to kill him], owing to the strength of a spell against poison [which he possessed], he was put to death at night by a rope drawn round his neck.

1038. After the chamberlain *Jayyuka* had cut off the head, his body was

1024. For *catuṣka* comp. note on *catuṣkikā*, vii. 1550.

1025. L rightly *sthitasyāsthāna*°. The nephew is *Ṭulla* (see vii. 1033), the son of *Tanvaṅga's* second son *Ajjaka*.

1029. Read *prājñasya* with L.

1038. The name *Bhaṭṭāranaḍvalā* survives in that of the *Brārinambal*, a lagoon fed by the Mar (Mahāsarit) and situated between the south-eastern quarters of S'rinagar in

thrown into the water of the *Bhaṭṭāranaḍvalā*, and became food for the fishes. HARṢA (A.D. 1089-1101).

1039. After killing him in the month Bhādrapada of the year [of the Laukika era four thousand one hundred] seventy-one (A.D. 1095), the king, whose mind was deep, planned also the murder of *Dhammaṭa*.

1040. In order to execute this, he secretly gave orders to a valiant Ṭhakkura from *Lohara*, called *Kalaśarāja*, the best of his soldiers.

1041. "When *Prayāga* sends a messenger to you, you carry this out." This he said to him, showing him many marks of kindness.

1042. *Prayāgaka*, from fear of failure, did not despatch that messenger, but spoke to the angry king: "Let this be done after holding council."

1043. When thereupon the king was holding a council, after calling the five chief ministers, *Vāmana* locked the door, and, barring it with his own body, said:

1044. "If that [deed] is accomplished, before this resolution and the ministers here go out, then success cannot fail."

1045. Then *Prayāga*, by the king's order, despatched a messenger, and the murderer (*tīkṣṇa*) *Kalaśarāja* came up along with his two sons.

1046. At that time the son of *Tanvaṅga* (Dhammaṭa) was with two or three attendants inside the palace, sunning his falcon. *Dhammaṭa murdered.*

1047. While he was expressing his fear at seeing *Kalaśarāja* in front and his sons behind [himself], his own attendants deserted him.

1048-1049. Just as he was getting up from his seat and putting his hand on his sword to strike at *Kalaśarāja*, who called out: "O *Dhammaṭa*, can you draw your sword?"—he received strokes from him in front and from his sons behind, and was dead in a short time.

1050. In his agony he struck the elder son of *Kalaśarāja*, but strangely enough wounded him but slightly on account of his bad weapon.

1051. By ill-luck the sword of this valiant [prince] had got broken just in those days. Hence [it came that] he was badly armed.

1052. After killing him they threw him on the back, as hunters [throw down] a bird, and by the king's order the S'vapākas left him there as food for the dogs.

1053. The king himself came into the court-yard and protected *Ralhaṇa* and *Salhaṇa*, the grandsons of *Tanvaṅga*, who had laid down their swords.

front of Dilāwer Khān's Bāgh. [*Brāri* is an obl. case of *brōr*, the Kś. derivative of *bhaṭṭāraka*. Kś. *nambal* < Skr. *naḍvalā* is a term commonly applied to lagoons and marshes.]

1042. L clears the text by reading *taṁ dūtam aprahinvan* and *kupitam*.

1048. Read with L *śaknoṣi dhammaṭa* and *taṁ* (for A *tu*).

HARṢA (A.D. 1089-1101).

1054-1055. *Ṭulla* and others who were preparing for an attack and were eagerly wishing to fight, were artfully deceived by the cunning *Udayasiṁha*, who came and said: "You are my sons." Relying on him as a man of honour, and wishing [to save their] life, they laid down their arms.

1056. Accepting his advice that they should clear themselves by going before the king, they took their way towards the royal palace.

1057. Then *Ṭulla's* parasol-bearer, who from his childhood had been brought up on the food-remnants from the house of *Tanvaṅga's* son, spoke to him with a laugh:

1058. "O grandson of *Tanvaṅga*, you have forgotten what you said before to *Jayarāja*: 'O you wretch, not of *Kayyā*, etc.'"

1059. "Just such a critical moment has presented itself for you. O fool, why do you cling to weakness when it is the time for firm resolution?"

1060. "Surely, therefore, you were begotten by my father who fed on food-remnants; I, on the contrary, by your father who enjoyed renown"

1061. After saying this he put himself fighting under the splashing shower of the swords, and fell while nobly washing off, as it were, the impurity of his origin.

1062. While *Ṭulla* and the others were resolving to go before the king, they were [arrested and] thrown into prison by the king's men.

1063. Intoxicated by the excess of youth, like trees in the spring, they appeared to the king deserving to be spared from compassion.

1064. But a wicked *Takka*, *Bimbiya* by name, prevailed upon the king to have them executed, and strangled them at night.

Execution of *Tanvaṅga's* grandsons.

1065. *Ṭulla*, *Vijayarāja*, *Bulla* and *Gulla*, these four grandsons of *Tanvaṅga*, rolled in death at the place of execution

1066. The beauty which remained with them even in death is described to this day by those of great age, who let flow showers of tears while relating [their story].

1067. Their young teeth, which, by the continued use of betel [had become red], fell out and made the place of execution appear for a long time as if a necklace of rubies had been scattered.

1068. The king, uprooting his own family, put to death by secret execution also *Ḍomba*, the elder of the two sons of *Utkarṣa*, whom he had [himself] brought up.

1054. A gives the name as *Udayasiṁha*, L as *Udayasiha*; the first form is found in both MSS. vii. 581, the latter vii. 1299.

1056. Read with L *samākarṇya*, for A *samāgatya*.

1058. Compare vii. 1034.

1060. L °*puṣṭinā* gives a better sense than A °*muṣṭinā*.

1061. A °*jalajjalam* has probably to be emended with Durgāpr. in °*jalajjhalam*; L °*jalajjhalam*.

1064 For A *saṁprekṣya* read with L *saṁprerya*.

1068. In *Ḍomba* we have an example of an opprobrious name given for the superstitious reasons fully explained in Major

1069. He also destroyed *Jayamalla*, the son of *Vijayamalla*, looking upon the child which had displayed brightness, as [if it were] a spark of fire. HARṢA (A.D. 1089-1101)

1070. The kings whom fate ruins, clear their kingdom from rivals by killing their relatives who would preserve it, [with the result] that some one [else] enjoys it alone.

1071. The foolish Aśvattha tree, in order to make the well-grown comb of honey in the dense thicket of its numerous high branches easy to approach and seize by any lucky person, by fate's instigation takes to shaking spontaneously, and puts the bees which guard that [honey] well out of the way by killing them with the blows of its [falling] leaves.

1072. The king, whose mind was perverted by the most sinful perfidies against his relatives, came then to be exploited by rogues [to such an extent] as would be incredible even of simpletons.

1073. *Kṣema*, the son of *Vāmana*, knowing that he hated his father, urged him on to remove the gold on the parasol which was placed over the [shrine of S'iva] *Kalaśeśa*.

1074. The pious *Prayāgaka* cunningly stopped this plan of his, just as a firm mahaut [stops] the wish of the run-away elephant to throw himself over a precipice.

1075-1076. The wretch *Loṣṭadhara*, *Haladhara's* grandson, who was as clever in insinuating himself always with kings of depraved conduct (*naṣṭaceṣṭānām*) as a Vetāla in getting into [motionless] corpses, spoke thus once in secret to the king, in the hope of gratifying him:

1077. "Let the villages, the gold, and other [property] bestowed upon the [temple of S'iva] *Kalaśeśvara* be taken away. With the stones of that temple I shall build you a bridge over the *Vitastā*."

1078. "I paint a picture on the sky; with lotus-threads I weave a dress; I procure the gold seen in dreams; I build a wall with snow." A king of obtuse mind takes verily even such and similar sayings for truths. That [king] who in bewilderment has nothing to say to such things, has no maturity [of mind], and can only be deceived.

1079. But *Prayāga* dissuaded his lord also from this intention, just as the careful attendant [dissuades] a sick person from demanding unwholesome food.

TEMPLE's *Proper names of Panjābis*, p. 22 sqq.; comp. below note viii. 17. Such names are still common throughout the whole of India, and are usually given to children born after the death of their elder predecessors.

1071. The *Aśvattha* (Ficus religiosa L.), is called *caladala* because its leaves are ever dropping, comp. *Amarakośa*, ii. 4, 20

1073. Regarding the gilt parasol of the *Kalaśeśa* temple, see vii. 528 sqq.

1077-1078. The passage shows that the building of stone bridges over greater rivers was unknown in Kaśmir during Hindu times; comp. note iii. 354.

HARṢA (A.D. 1089-1101).

Spoliation of Bhīmakeśava temple.

1080. Then *Loṣṭadhara*, once at a time of jesting, asked the king to set a god free from his captivity.

1081. On the king asking what [he meant by] this, he thus spoke to him, with a smile: "There was once at the town of *Udabhāṇḍa* the *S'āhi* called *Bhīma*."

1082. "The *Bhīmakeśava* [temple], which he founded, was on account of a quarrel among the members of the Purohita corporation (*pāriṣadya*) locked up for a long time in the reign of *Kalaśadeva*."

1083. "When, after settling the quarrel, they opened the door [of the temple] they noticed that the silver armour [of the god's image] had been stolen by thieves."

1084. "From fear of such [theft], evidently, they have kept that [image] again locked up from that time to the present day, together with the treasures and [sacrificial] apparatus belonging to it"

1085. "Let, therefore, the treasures of this [shrine], which cause the fear of theft, be taken away. Let that [image], too, freed from its captivity, enjoy its treats of flowers, lights and other [offerings]"

1086. Thus urged on by him, the king acted in that way, and found thereupon a treasury full of jewels, gold and other [valuables].

1087. And he reflected upon what riches there might be in other wealthy temples, when there was such wealth in this deserted shrine.

1088. The members of the local Purohita corporation then induced the king by a solemn fast (*prāya*) to grant [them] in compensation exemption from the forced carriage of loads (*rūḍhabhāroḍhi*).

1089. As he was addicted to extravagant expenditure upon various corps of his army, his thoughts in consequence of the above assumption became in time firmly fixed upon the spoliation of temples.

1090. Then the greedy-minded [king] plundered from all temples the wonderful treasures which former kings had bestowed there.

1091. In order to get hold of the statues of gods, too, when the treasures [of the temples] had been carried off, he appointed *Udayarāja* 'prefect for the overthrow of divine images' (*devotpāṭananāyaka*).

1081. Regarding *Bhīma S'āhi*, and the temple erected by him, compare note vi. 178. For *Udabhāṇḍapura* (Waihand, Und), see Note *J*, v. 152-155.

L fills the lacuna in this verse by reading *bhīmābhidhaḥ śāhir*.

1082. The emendation *pāriṣadyānāṁ* is confirmed by L. For the term *pāriṣadya*, comp. note ii. 132.

1087. Read with L *vasu* for A *vastu*.

1088. The term *rūḍhabhāroḍhi*, corresponding to the modern *Bēgār*, has been explained in note v. 174.

The context requires the emendation *kṛtaprāyaiḥ* for *kṛtaprāyaḥ*; comp. the expressions *kṛtaprāya* and *kṛtaprāyopaveśa*. in vi. 25; vii. 177, 1088, viii. 658, 811.

1089. Read with L *nānāsenāṅga*°.

1091. Compare with the following account of Harṣa's iconoclasm the reference made

HARṢA (A.D. 1089-1101).

1092. In order to defile the statues of gods he had excrements and urine poured over their faces by naked mendicants whose noses, feet and hands had rotted away.

Desecration of divine images.

1093. Divine images made of gold, silver, and other [materials] rolled about even on the roads, which were covered with night soil, as [if they were] logs of wood.

1094. Crippled naked mendicants and the like covered the images of the gods, which were dragged along by ropes round their ankles, with spittings instead of flowers.

1095. There was not one temple in a village, town or in the City which was not despoiled of its images by that *Turuṣka*, King *Harṣa*.

1096. Only two chief divine images were respected by him, the illustrious *Raṇasvāmin* in the City, and *Mārtāṇḍa* [among the images] in townships.

1097-1098. Among colossal images, two statues of *Buddha* were saved through requests addressed by chance to the king at a time when he was free with his favours, namely the one at *Parihāsapura* by the singer *Kanaka*, who was born there, and the other in the City by the S'ramaṇa *Kuśalaśrī*.

1099. Those who are anxious to amass fortunes do not stop from evil actions, though in this world they may have reached riches which are a wonder for all Thus the elephant, though he is the pleasure-seat of the [lotus-born goddess] Lakṣmī, yet somehow falls into the sin of destroying the lotus-tank [in his desire] to obtain the lotus-flowers.

Harṣa's exactions.

1100-1101. O shame! Though he possessed his grandfather's and father's treasures and those which *Utkarṣa* at the commencement of his reign had brought from *Lohara*, and though he had confiscated from the temples the riches [bestowed] by former kings, yet he endeavoured to secure [more] wealth by oppressing the householders.

1102. Merely upon his order the bad ministers then appointed numerous officers, who took their designation from frequent new imposts.

vii. 1344 to the destruction of the silver image of *Parihāsakeśava*. This, however, occurred only in the year preceding Harṣa's death, and at a time when he must have been reduced to great financial straits by Uccala's rebellion.

For a doubtful reference to the '*devotpāṭananāyaka*,' see note vii. 1541.

1093. For *gaṇḍāli*, see note vii. 356.

1094. L *rugṇā nagnāṭa*°.

1095. Harṣa, on account of his procedure against sacred images, may well be called a Turuṣka, i.e. a Muhammadan. But may not the use of this epithet, along with the fact of his iconoclasm, be taken as an indication of Harṣa's leanings towards Muhammadanism? Compare vii. 922 sqq., 1149.

1096. For the temples of *Raṇasvāmin* and *Mārtāṇḍa*, see notes iii. 453; iv. 192.

Read, with L *pattaneṣvapi*.

1097-1098. The great *Buddha* statue at *Parihāsapura* is certainly the one which King Lalitāditya erected in the Rājavihāra; see note iv. 200. The statue in the City is evidently identical with the *Bṛhadbuddha* mentioned as still standing in S'rīnagara in the time of *Sussala*; see viii. 1184.

Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101).

1103-1104. Shame, shame, when royal servants know nothing but time-serving. [It was due to this] that even the minister *Gauraka*, though a respectable man, old as he was, accepted upon the king's order the office of 'prefect of property' (*arthanāyaka*) [and with it] the function of plundering the property of all temples and villages.

1105-1106. *Sahelaka*, of the Purohita corporation (*pārṣada*) at the temple of *Samarasvāmin*, who as the adviser of *Vijayamalla* had been hateful to the king, obtained the position of 'prefect of property' by securing a doubled revenue, and having [once] obtained access to the king, became in time Mahattama.

1107. What more [need be said]? As he was seizing the property of all by all [sorts of] 'prefects' (*nāyaka*), he appointed also a 'prefect of night soil' to raise revenue.

1108. Owing to his senselessness (*jāḍya*), which was only hidden by the appellation [given to him] 'he who is pregnant with riches' (*śrīgarbha*), the employ of these treasures (*kośa*) corresponded to their manner of acquisition.

[1109-1114. General description of the frivolous pastimes of kings, and how they fall under the power of flattering courtiers.]

1115. Whatever folly of kings has thus been noticed in passing, all this becomes insignificant by the side of *Harṣadeva's* senselessness.

1116. To one named *Bhīmanāyaka*, who could play charming music, he gave, when pleased by his performance on a drum, an elephant together with a female elephant.

1117. On this account, *Kanaka*, a younger brother of *Canpaka*, became [Harṣa's] own pupil in singing, and exerted himself with much trouble in practising songs.

1118. To compensate him for his trouble he gave him a lakh of money (*dīnnāra*) in gold, without flinching.

1106. Regarding the title *mahattama*, see note vii. 438.

1107. The important part which the night soil of the city plays in Kaśmir horticulture, has been referred to in note vii. 39.

1108. The meaning of the first half of this verse is not quite certain. By *śrīgarbha* an epithet of Harṣa seems to be alluded to; comp vii. 1424, and Kṣemagupta's appellation *Kaṅkaṇavarṣa*, vi. 301. Perhaps a pun is intended upon the word *kośa*, which might also be taken in the sense of 'calyx of the lotus' The words of the first half verse might be interpreted also as referring to the lotus. (The lotus, on account of its growth in the water, *jala*, is often credited with the quality of being *jaḍa*, 'dull'; comp. e.g iv. 110; vi. 317, also vii. 1379; viii. 2479.)

1115. The recollection of Harṣa's mad proceedings still lives in the Kaśmiri phrase: *Yi kyaho, Harṣ'dīv hyu*, 'Why, he is like *Harṣadeva!*' It is applied to persons who commit foolish and extravagant acts.

1117. In the absence of any contradictory evidence we must assume that this *Kanaka*, brother of Canpaka, whom Harṣa rewarded so magnificently for taking singing lessons from him, was Kalhaṇa's own uncle. The high position of the family would explain in some way the extravagant present.

Regarding the probable value of the sum indicated, compare Note *H* (iv. 495).

Harṣa's love for Candalā.

1119. When he saw a picture of *Candalā*, the beautiful wife of *Parmāṇḍi*, the lord of *Karṇāṭa*, he was struck by the god of love.

1120. Low-natured parasites urge on senseless princes by continual incitements to ridiculous jealousy, as [if they were] dogs.

1121. Having his head turned by the parasites, he shamelessly vowed before his court to obtain *Candalā* and to overthrow *Parmāṇḍi*.

1122. As he had taken a vow not to use unboiled camphor [until then], wandering poets thus ridiculed while pretending to praise him:

1123. "From speech and dress you are recognizable as a wanderer from the Dekkan. From the scent, too, we know that you have a ball of camphor in your hand. If it is boiled, then go and hand it as an offering to King *Harṣa*; if not, keep it, because such is found at present in yonder cocoanut tree."

1124. "The king of brilliant lustre has renounced the chewing of Potāsa until he has slain the lord of *Karṇāṭa*; until he has embraced *Candalā*; until he has effected his entry into the town of *Kalyāna*; until he has seen the *Pimmalā*; until he has satisfied his curiosity about the great treasures [hidden] in the ground of the king's park."

1125. The wretch *Madana*, the commander-in-chief, pleased the king by accepting the post of chamberlain to that [queen] *in effigie*.

1126. To provide her with dresses and ornaments, and to appease her jealousy, he drew from the king regularly an apportionate allowance for her.

1127. In this story *Madana's* roguery and shamelessness and the king's foolishness and caprice became manifest, like [gold] on the touch-stone.

1128. Other parasites plundered him by showing him an old woman and saying: "There, we have brought you your mother *Bappikā* from heaven."

1129. Others brought slave girls before him and said they were goddesses. He worshipped them, and abandoning his exalted position and wealth was laughed at by the people.

1119. For *Parmāṇḍi*, i.e. Vikramāditya of Kalyāṇa, see note vii. 935 sqq. His wedding with *Candralekhā* or *Candaladevi*, the daughter of the S'ilahāra prince of Karahāṭa, is described in the vii. and viii. Cantos of the Vikramāṅkadevacarita. Bilhaṇa gives a lengthy account of the charms of the princess whom the king is said to have won in a Svayaṁvara; comp. Prof. Buhler's *Introduction*, pp. 38 sqq.

1122. Camphor is prepared as a crystalline substance, deposited on cooling, from a decoction made from chips of certain kinds of wood; comp. Watt, *Economic Prod.*, ii. p. 84. 'Unboiled camphor' is, therefore, a nonentity. Harṣa's vow is as ludicrous as his boast to invade Karṇāṭa.

1124. *Kalyāṇa*, the old capital of the Western Calukyas, is identical with the modern town of that name in the Bidar district of Haidarābād.

Pimmalā (L *Primmalā*) may be a river, as suggested in *N.P.W.*, s.v. The name seems otherwise unknown.

Potāsa is given in the *Rājanighaṇṭu* as the name of a kind of camphor; see *P.W.*, s.v.

1128. L gives the correct form of the name as emended in Ed.; see vii. 319.

Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101).

1130. These [slave girls], instructed by the parasites, who taught them [to give] counsels etc. [pretended to have been obtained] from conversations with the gods, confused his mind.

1131. Some among these [slave girls] showed themselves eager for amorous intercourse at those occasions, and the king forsook his good fortune by touching them with his own body.

1132. As he was anxious to live for a very long time, they granted him, when in his foolishness he asked for a long life, hundreds of years to live.

1133. When he desired to give magic perfection to his body (*piṇḍasiddhi*), some Ḍomba made him swallow a drink which, he pretended, was an elixir having that power.

1134. What object is there in relating the other foolish acts of this [king], who at the bidding of his parasites gave away portions of his life just as [if it were] a procurable property?

1135. What respectable man could relate the other even more shameful practices of his which he followed to obtain strength and beauty?

1136. Being of small intellect, he was thus for many a year thrown into absolute blindness by his own senselessness and the wickedness of evil advisers.

1137-1138. As there are at present persons of little faith whose minds are swayed by doubts in regard to the miraculous deeds of *Meghavāhana* and other [ancient kings], so there will be surely in time people who will not believe these astonishing misdeeds which I relate.

1139. Afflicted with want of wisdom as he thus was, in a kingdom full of deceit, yet he was, while he lived, never at the mercy of enemies watching for weak points.

1140-1141. That he was never shot at with an arrow and killed, or wounded by one or the other enemy when at night he was standing upright in the illuminated hall, and teaching in person the dancing-girls how to act,—that must be due to [there having been] a balance of the life-period [allotted to him], or to the sinfulness of his subjects.

1142. Then there occurred somehow serious misconduct among the women of his seraglio, which foreboded the fall of the king, who himself was the embodiment of all that is immoral.

1130. I translate according to L *tā vyomacarasaṁlāpa*°.

1132. L reads 'myriads of years' (°*varṣāyutānyasmai*).

1133. The meaning of the term *piṇḍasiddhi* is not certain.

1137. Compare regarding *Meghavāhana* the stories related iii. 15 sqq.

1141. Read with L *tadāyuḥ*°.

1142. L *sarvāśuddhi*° as emended.

1143. These youths mad with love, and those women excited by youth, were at that time aiming at *Harṣadeva's* destruction.

1144. In his fury he had some women executed with their lovers, others he expelled from his seraglio and exiled them along with their paramours.

1145. All his servants, feeling troubled by the guilt they had themselves incurred in their wickedness, wished him evil and plotted for his death.

1146. He showed in all respects such weakness of moral sense as befitted a son of King *Kalaśa*.

1147. His father's wives, who had brought him up on their arms, he took in his arms, kissed them, and continually disported himself with them.

1148. He had carnal intercourse with his sisters, and angered by a harsh word he punished and violated *Nāgā*, the daughter of his father's sister.

1149. While continually supporting the *Turuṣka* captains of hundreds with money, this perverse-minded [king] ate domesticated pigs until his death.

1149 *bis*. Thus by his misconduct he sullied to excess the company of this [country's] kings, just as an animal [would sully that] of wise men

1150. Angered on one occasion, this indolent king undertook an expedition against *Rājapurī*, with all his collected forces. Expedition against *Rājapurī*.

1151. When the [other] kings saw the incomparable outfit of his army, they feared that he would have strength to invade the three worlds.

1152. He, however, on seeing the fort of *Pṛthvīgiri*, desired to capture it, and placed his camp at its foot without entering the capital [of Rājapurī]. Siege of *Pṛthvīgiri*.

1153. When he had stopped there for more than a month, the defenders of the fort became distressed owing to their food and other supplies being exhausted.

1154. How large were not the tribute and the supplies which King *Saṁgrāmapāla* offered in order to save that [garrison] ?

1155. When the king showed firmness and did not accept those [offers], he bribed the prefect of police (Sunna).

1156. When the king did not agree to turn back, he (Sunna) secretly instigated the soldiers to claim a large marching allowance.

1147. Read with L *āropya* for A *āruhya*.

1148. It is doubtful whether the *Nāgā* here mentioned is identical with the princess of that name referred to in vii. 293. Kallanā, the mother of the latter, is there described as an aunt of Kalaśa, not as his sister, as our passage would represent her.

1149. It can scarcely be doubted that K. is alluding here to Muhammadan troop-leaders in Harṣa's service. By eating pork, which the latter would not touch, the king puts himself lower even than the Mlecchas. May we recognize in the mention here made of 'Turuṣka' officers, another indication of Harṣa's propensity towards Muhammadanism? Comp. above, note vii. 1095.

1149 bis. This verse is missing in A. The text is supplied by L: *itthaṁ ācaratānarthaṁ pārthivānām ihādhikum | paṅktiḥ sandūṣitā tena tiraśceva vipaścitām.*

1150. Read with L *sarvābhisāreṇa*.

1152. L *rājadhānīṁ* is preferable to A *rājapurīṁ*.

I am unable to trace the position of the *Pṛthvīgiri* fort, which is only here mentioned.

Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101).

1157. Thereupon these [men], who were mostly of low character, began under ironical sayings a solemn fast (*prāya*), and as the king's treasury was far away, his army fell into disorder.

1158. While the king was arranging to meet this [difficulty], the prefect of police started, as another means of intimidation, the [rumour of an] attack from the *Turuṣkas*.

Retreat from *Pṛthvīgiri.*

1159. Thereupon the king, who had but little firmness, raised his camp and marched off in fright, leaving his whole treasure and stores on the roads.

1160. A servant who is trusted without having been tested, at a critical time brings disaster upon his masters, like a bad sword in a fight.

1161. This [minister], being himself unfit, did not wish others who possessed fitness [to be around the king], and thereby spoilt the king's fortune, just as a low-bred horse [spoils] a stable.

1162. From that time onwards the glory of the king vanished, and his epithet of *Pratāpacakravartin* ('the glorious ruler of the universe') faded away altogether.

1163. With a dejected face he praised *Kandarpa*, who had accomplished [alone] that enterprise in which he with all his servants had failed.

1164. When he wished to recall him, the prefect of police prevented this intention of the slow-witted king by an intrigue.

1165. Having then learned his perfidy, the king imprisoned the prefect of police, yet punished him only as the case made it necessary, not because he felt angry.

1166. While he was [detained] in a stronghold and in doubt as to his life, he greedily collected the betel, clothes and other [articles] sent [to him] by servants and relatives.

1167. The king, however, misled by fate, re-instated in his post this [minister], who was born to bring about his total ruin and who deserved death.

1168. The parasites, by dexterous praises, stirred the king up again, just as *Karṇa* and the rest [stirred up] the descendant of *Kuru* (Duryodhana), after he had been defeated on the expedition against the herdsmen (*ghoṣa*).

1169. The disputant who has been defeated in the discussion compensates himself for his late defeat by insulting his opponent with abuse; the wife who has become unfaithful, by worrying her husband with wretched quarrels; and the official who has lost all his wealth and greatness, by getting the king into trouble.

1165. Read with L *pratipatty*°.

1166. The conjectural emendation *durge* is confirmed by L.

1168. Compare *Mahābh.* III. ccxlix. 1 sqq. Duryodhana's attempt to carry off Virāṭa's herds is meant; see above, vii. 585.

1170. *Sahela*, the Mahattama, was in apprehensions on account of money due, which he had embezzled, and being clever in taking care of his own interests he entangled the king in a serious difficulty. HARṢA (A.D. 1089-1101).

1171. Having found out a vulnerable point of the *Darads*, he urged on the king to seize the fort called *Dugdhaghāta* along with the *Lavanyas* of *Lahara*. Siege of Dugdhaghāta.

1170. Regarding *Sahela[ka]*, see vii. 1105.

1171. For A *bandhum* read with L *randhram*.

DUGDHAGHĀTA.—The name of the hill fort here mentioned is written in A (and the Edition) as *Durgaghāta*, but can be safely restored as *Dugdhaghāta* with reference to the form found in other passages, and to the reading *Dugdhāghāta* furnished by L. In viii. 2468, we find the name both in A and L rightly spelt as *Dugdhaghāta*; in viii. 2715, the second part of the name is given as *-ghāṭṭa* by A, and quite erroneously as *-sāṭṭa* by L.

Both these passages agree with our own in placing this fort on the border of the Dard territory to the N. of Kaśmir. This border, as already indicated in note i. 312, must be assumed to have followed in K.'s time, as it does at the present day, the mountain range which forms the watershed between the Vitastā and Sind rivers on the one side and the Kiṣangaṅgā on the other.

A closer indication as to the position of *Dugdhaghāta* is furnished by the mention of the river *Madhumati* in the subsequent account of the siege, vii. 1179, 1194. This Madhumati can be no other than the stream of the *Banḍ'pōr Nāla* (marked 'Budkool,' i.e. Buḍkōl, on the map) which flows into the Volur lake from the N. near the village of Kulus, and is to this day known by that name to the Brahman population of the Valley. The several Saṃgamas of this stream are still visited as pilgrimage-places by the Brahmans of the neighbouring districts. This accounts for the mention made of this *Madhumati* as a sacred stream in the *Nīlamata*, 1261 sqq., 1398. The other stream of this name which flows into the Kiṣangaṅgā at the *Śāradā* Tīrtha, and has already been mentioned in note i. 37, cannot be thought of in connection with Dugdhaghāta on account of its position outside Kaśmir.

When visiting the *Banḍ'pōr Nāla* in August, 1894, I ascertained that a pass leading over the mountains in the N. in the direction of Gurēz (map 'Goorais') bears the name of *Dud'khut*. The close similarity of the names, in combination with the topographical details given below, makes it highly probable that the name of the old fort has survived in that of the pass. Kś. *dud* (milk) is the phonetic representative of Skr. *dugdha*. In the second part of the modern name, *-khut*, we have, perhaps, a popular etymology, Kś. *khut*, meaning a cutting, a narrow passage. Or *vice versâ*, K.'s *-ghāta* may be taken as a sanskritised rendering of an earlier Kaśmiri form of *khut*.

The pass of Dud'khut, which I subsequently ascended, lies at the head of the side valley shown as *Minimarg* on the map. Its position may be fixed approximately at 74° 49′ long. 34° 35′ lat., and its height at about 11,500′. Its immediate approach from the south or Kaśmir side is formed by an open valley which for about three miles ascends very gradually with a grassy slope. This valley bears the name of *Vijje-marg*, and may possibly correspond to the *Prājimathikā* of vii. 1182.

The route leading up to the *Dud'khut* Pass from the village of *Ataunṭh* is all along practicable for laden animals, and was, until the construction of the 'Gilgit Transport Road' over the neighbouring *Trāg'bal* Pass, often used by the Dard traders of Gurēz. It was also, according to the information supplied to me, used regularly by the Sikhs for military transports, until a disaster which befell a convoy through an avalanche lower down in the valley, led them to change the route to the Trāg'bal Pass some seven miles to the S.E. The latter pass has been adhered to ever since, though it is higher than the Dud'khut Pass, and owing to its exposed track less suitable as a route of communication.

The watershed on the *Dud'khut* Pass is formed by an almost level plain about a quarter of a mile broad. To the E. of it rises abruptly an isolated rocky hillock about 150′ high, which shows precipitous walls to the S. and W., and is also on the other sides accessible only with difficulty. The top of this hillock forms a small plateau about 100 yards long, and half as broad, which commands a complete view of the approaches of the pass both from S. and N. On this plateau I was able to trace scanty remains of walls which seemed to have belonged to polygonal towers such as are found to this day near the Pīr Pantsāl and Tos'maidān Passes. The military position afforded by this hillock is excellent,

Kalaśa (A.D. 1063-1101).

1172-1173. This [fort]—after the Ḍāmara *Lakkanacandra*, who held it, had been previously executed on King *Ananta's* order by *Janaka*, the lord of the Gate,—had been offered [to Kalaśa] by the [Ḍāmara's] wife, who was fasting before the [king's] door. King *Kalaśa* having refused it, the king of the *Darads* took possession of it.

1174. As owing to [the possession of] that [fort] the *Darads* had occupied numerous villages in this territory [of Kaśmīr], the king was induced by the minister [Sahela] to take up this expedition.

1175. The place had no tank, and the snow which was kept [there] for the use of the garrison, had at that time become exhausted by a drought.

1176. When the Mahattama [Sahela] had ascertained by spies this weak point, he repeatedly pressed the king to seize this [fort], and the latter undertook the attempt.

and it is possible that we have in these remains the last traces of the fort of *Dugdhaghāta* referred to in the Chronicle

The details furnished by the narrative of the siege of *Dugdhaghāta* seem to support this assumption. The configuration of the hillock and the hardness of its rock would make the construction of a tank very difficult. Hence we can understand the curious expedient of storing snow instead of water for the garrison's use (vii 1175) Of the high elevation at which the fort Dugdhaghāta must have been situated, we have an unmistakable indication in the heavy snowfall which put an end to the siege, vii. 1186 sq After what is stated previously about the drought and the warm weather, which had reduced the fort's snow supply, vii. 1175, 1185, it is clear that this snowfall must have occurred at the close of the summer or at least early in the autumn And in this connection it may be noted that heavy snow-storms have more than once been experienced in recent years on the neighbouring Trāgᵃbal Pass as early as September.

Notwithstanding this elevation, and the consequent severity of the climatic conditions, a fort erected at the Dudᵃkhut Pass would have remained inhabitable for a small garrison throughout the year. This is proved by the fact that the block huts built on the even more exposed Trāgᵃbal Pass have been inhabited through recent winters by employés of the Ḍāk and telegraph service of the Gilgit Road.

Finally, we may point out that the narrow gorges of the *Madhumati* and its northern tributary, through which the route to the Dudᵃkhut Pass leads above and below the village of Ātavuṭh, correspond exactly to the description given in vii. 1191 sqq. of the route followed by the Kaśmīrian force on its disastrous retreat from Dugdhaghāta.

Lavanyas.—The *Lavanyas* mentioned here for the first time, play a great part in the internal troubles related in Books vii. and viii. They must have formed at that time an important tribal section of the rural population of Kaśmīr, and their name, like that of the Tantrins, survives in a modern 'Krām' name of very frequent occurrence, viz *Lūnᵎ*. The numerous passages in which the Lavanyas as a body or individuals are referred to, tell us nothing about their origin, but show that many of them must have held a position of influence as land-owners or tribal headmen. In vii. 1227 sqq., where we read of a persecution of the Lavanyas in Maḍavarājya, they are repeatedly designated as Ḍāmaras

The designation *Lūnᵎ*, as other 'Krāms' in Kaśmīr, is nowadays a mere name, there being nothing to distinguish those who bear it from other Muhammadan agriculturists in regard to customs, occupation, etc.; comp. note v. 248. *Lūnᵎs* are found throughout the Valley. According to a villager's statement, recorded by Lawrence, *Valley*, p. 306, they are popularly supposed to have come from Cilās. But I have not been able myself to trace such a tradition. Up to Jonarāja's time the Lavanyas seem to have retained a certain importance, as their name is of frequent occurrence in his Chronicle. By S'rīvara they are mentioned only once, i. 282.

1172. L gives the name as *Thakkanacandra*.

1174. Read with L *rājā sa*.

1175. The emended text is supported by L *nirhraśe*, which is an easily explained clerical error for *nirhrade*.

1177. When *Caṇpaka*, who was in charge of the 'Gate,' was about to proceed on this expedition by the king's order, the *Vātagaṇḍa* (Ānanda) endeavoured to get the better of him. HARṢA (A.D. 1089-1101).

1178. This latter, since the king had withheld [from him] the charge of the 'Gate' and had appointed him as governor, was showing enmity to all who were [acting] as lords of the 'Gate.'

1179. Though he (Ānanda) caused confusion in the army, the lord of the Gate (Caṇpaka) crossed the *Madhumatī* river and invested the fort with his troops.

1180. The king, though despatching all feudatories from all sides to the fort, still kept himself at the distance of one march [from the latter].

1181. The *Kaśmīrians* fought with the *Darad* soldiers, who threw down big boulders and other [missiles], and who were difficult to defeat on account of the shelter which the fort gave them.

1182. *Malla*, *Guṅga's* son, kept with his sons at the place of attack, called *Prājimaṭhikā*, and caused [to the enemies] alarms which they withstood with difficulty.

1183-1184. His two brave sons, *Uccala* and *Sussala*, to whom an astrologer had foretold the acquisition of the royal power, were taking care of their honour on account of that ambition. The elder of the two, who was most difficult to control, had, though he hated the throne, started on that expedition, from the force of the coming events.

1185. Parched by the drought and the king's lustre, the *Darad* soldiers held the fort with difficulty.

1186. Then there came down heavy rain which turned the [whole] ground into one [sheet of] water, and appeared like an order of Fate effacing *Harṣa's* lustre. Retreat from *Dugdhaghāṭa*.

1187. Fate showed itself favourable and surrounded the hill [occupied] by the fort with impassable masses of snow which enveloped it entirely, like armour.

1188. Fate lets some fall as they rise, and throws up others while they fall, and thus seems to play with [men as if they were] balls.

1177. Read with L *vātagaṇḍas* and *caṃpakaṃ*. For the meaning of *abhisaṃdhātum* comp. vii. 1255, 1522.

By *Vātagaṇḍa* is meant Ānanda, who had himself aspired to the office of lord of the Gate; see vii. 993-995.

1178. The proper text is restored by L, *vairaṃ* for A *dvāraṃ*.

The expression *dvārādhikāribhiḥ* does not indicate that there were several 'lords of the Gate' at the same time, but that the disappointed Ānanda intrigued against all those who were successively holding the office.

1179. Regarding the *Madhumatī* river, see above, note vii. 1171 on Dugdhaghāta.

1182. Regarding *Prājimaṭhikā*, see note vii. 1171 on Dugdhaghāta.

HARṢA (A.D. 1089-1101).

1189. Then those bad councillors, rendered miserable by the rain, remembered their houses, and caused confusion in the king's camp just as before.

1190. Like a fish which swimming against the stream has hit his face against a rock, the king turned back from that place also, without caring for victory.

1191. The whole army abandoned its stores, threw away the treasure, left its valuables and dropped its arms, thinking of nothing but flight.

1192. The stream, which was in flood, swallowed up the king's soldiers on the route, as they were fleeing by different paths lamenting and pursued by the enemy.

1193-1194. In the river *Madhumatī* the linen cloths abandoned by the men appeared like rows of geese, their shields like multitudes of lotuses, the heaps of swords like water-plants, their horses like rocks, their golden vessels like ruddy geese and those of silver like foam.

1195. The number of those who were captured or slain by the victorious *Darads*, or carried away by the stream, could not be counted.

1196. The proud *Uccala*, *Malla's* son, was the only one who, together with his younger brother, did not flee, but endeavoured to save the army which was thus left without leaders.

1197. The whole force of the *Darads*, which was rushing forward like the ocean to flood everything, was stopped by these two, who resembled two mighty rocks on the coast.

1198. On these two when they returned after saving the army and securing priceless renown, royal Fortune seemed to bestow perceptible lustre, as [if she were] a girl choosing for herself her husband.

1199. From that time onwards all people thought that these two proud [princes] deserved the crown, but not the cowardly king.

1200. The people formed this conviction, when [they saw that] these two, despising the gifts of favour, did not go to see the king even after such deeds.

1201. Then the king, freed from fear of his enemies, proceeded to the City, while the glory of the two sons of *Mallarāja* spread in [all] directions.

1202. All people, in anticipation of coming events, compared the two to *Rāma* and *Lakṣmaṇa*, while the king was likened to *Rāvaṇa*.

1203. The senseless king, however, undismayed and unashamed, began again to oppress the land just as [if that had been] his fixed occupation.

1204. A low-minded person strikes down him who is close by for a small fault, but not the enemy afar off who has committed an enormous offence.

1200. Read with L *rājño*

[Thus too] the dog in mighty fury bites the stone which hits, but not the person who has thrown it from a distance.

HARṢA (A.D. 1089-1101).

1205. When he had returned, he heard that *Madana*, whom, being pleased with his services, he had made commander-in-chief, was openly talking of his defeat.

Execution of *Madana*.

1206. In his anger for this he wished to kill him, and accused him of another offence, namely, that he had neglected a written order sent by the queen.

1207. When he (Madana) arrived from *Maḍavarājya* and was not received by the king, he became frightened and went to the house of the councillor *Lakṣmīdhara*, who was a *Ṭakka* [by birth].

1208. The king, though another minister had pleaded for him, had him executed together with his son, while the troops looked on laughing.

1209. A king's angry smile, an unseasonable blossom on a tree, and a Vetāla's laugh do not pass away just thus [without a result].

1210. Those who, rendered self-confident by great favours, serve their master without care, find their end like those [snake-charmers] who boasting of their familiarity with a great snake [die] violently owing to their charm [failing].

1211. The curse of *Sūryamatī* asserted itself among the band of intriguers until [it brought about also] the death of *Madana*.

1212. The king, who trembled at the sight of valour, had *Kalaśarāja* placed in fetters in the house of *Lakṣmīdhara*.

1213. In order to insult him, the king sent to him his enemy *Udaya*, under the pretext of making an inquiry.

1214. The proud [Kalaśarāja] on seeing the other sparkling in his luck, flamed up in anger, and seizing a weapon from some one struck him down in a moment.

1215. Thereupon his (Udaya's) servants threw him down and killed him. Thus ended the servants of that evil-minded king.

1216. On this land which suffered wounds, as it were, of the king's infliction, there fell also another series of calamities which were like caustics thrown [on those wounds].

1217. In broad daylight people were killed by robbers, who would take a golden bowl even from the king's apartments.

1218. A plague was raging, and day and night the sound of the funeral music did not cease, accompanied by loud lamentations.

1219. In the year [of the Laukika era four thousand one hundred] seventy-five (A.D. 1099-1100), the villages were flooded by an inundation, and there arose an extreme scarcity of all wares.

Famine in Kaśmīr, A.D. 1099.

1206. Compare vii. 1125. 1211. See vii. 475.

Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101).

1220. A Khāri of rice was bought for five hundred Dinnāras, and two Palas of grape-juice cost one Dinnāra.

1221. A Pala of wool was sold at six Dinnāras. Of salt, pepper, Assafœtida (*hiṅgu*) and other [articles] it was difficult even to hear the name.

1222. The water of the streams was covered with the dead, whose corpses were swollen from being soaked with water,—as if forests of cut trees had come down from the mountains.

1223. Thinking that the palace could not be seen from afar owing to its being hidden by trees, the king had them cut down in all directions.

1224. The trees, which with their blossoms and fruits appeared like householders, were struck down everywhere, and were lamented by the bees which seemed [to form] their families.

1225. While the people were thus distressed, the king threw upon them heavy fines which took away their breath, just as if a boulder [were thrown] on an old bullock which has become worn out by [dragging] the plough.

1226. He tormented the people through the Kāyasthas, and did not even let alone the earth in towns, villages or elsewhere, owing to the heavy fines he inflicted.

Persecution of Ḍāmaras.

1227. Then furious, like another god of death, he ordered the governor (Ānanda) to slay all of the Ḍāmaras who had become over-powerful.

1228. He first attacked numerous Ḍāmaras of *Holaḍā* in *Maḍavarājya*, and killed them just like birds in their nest.

1229. While he was killing the *Lavanyas*, he left in *Maḍavarājya* not even a Brahman alive if he wore his hair dressed high and was of prominent appearance.

1230. Since he impaled even travellers, taking them for *Lavanyas*, the country became terrible to look at, [just as if it had been] Bhairava's kitchen.

1231. When he was impaling the ferocious wife of a certain *Lavanya*, the *Lavanyas* all became frightened at the governor and fled in all directions.

1232. Some of them ate cow's meat in the lands of the *Mlecchas*; others lingered on by working water-wheels, hand-mills, and the like.

1220. Regarding the *khāri* measure and the varying prices of rice, see note v. 71. For the approximate value of the prices stated here in Dinnāras, comp. Note *H*, iv. 495. Regarding the *pala*, see note iv. 202.

1221. Salt is not found in Kaśmīr, but is imported from the Panjāb and Ladāk; see LAWRENCE, *Valley*, pp. 63, 393. Nor is Assafœtida produced within the limits of Kaśmīr; see *ib.* p. 68.

1226. With *na mṛd api avaśeṣitā*, comp. the Kaśmīrī saying, *mitṭ ti thāvᵘ nas na* ('not even the earth has been left').

1228. *Holaḍā* is the modern *Vular* Pargaṇa; see note i. 306. Regarding *Maḍavarājya* or *Marāz*, the designation of the eastern portion of the Valley, comp. note ii. 15.

1232. Compare below, vii. 1292. The working of water-wheels and hand-mills still offers a means of subsistence for the poor in towns of Northern India.

1233. The governor sent to that Bhairava of a king whole strings and rows of *Lavanya* heads, [just as if they were] a great offering.

1234. At the gate of the king's [palace] there were seen everywhere rows of triumphal arches (*toraṇa*) covered with Ḍāmara skulls, which appeared like cups (*ghaṭī*).

1235. Indeed, whoever brought the head of a Ḍāmara received bracelets, dresses and other [rewards] which were hanging at the gate of the royal palace.

1236. Vultures, herons and other [birds] frequented the king's gateway and occupied the spreading arches to feast on the heads of the Ḍāmaras.

1237. Wherever the king took his abode, there the people formed wide-spreading triumphal garlands with the horrible heads of *Lavanyas*.

1238. In this land which was filled with corpses, just as [if it had been] a burning-ground, the nose was tormented by impure smells and the ear by the howls of the jackals.

1239. From the outskirts of *Balerakaprapā*, as far as *Lokapuṇya*, the governor formed one avenue with Ḍāmaras fixed on pales.

1240. When he had thus exterminated the Ḍāmaras in *Maḍavarājya*, he hurried to *Kramarājya* to follow up the same procedure.

1241. The Ḍāmaras resident in *Kramarājya*, knowing for certain that they were doomed, collected a force in *Laulāha*.

1242. They all joined in the fighting and committed great slaughter, so that the governor was checked there for a long time.

1243. What else [could it have been]? In the form of *Harṣa* some demon had descended [to the earth] to destroy this land hallowed by gods, Tīrthas and Ṛṣis.

1244-1245. Liveliness at night, sleep in the day-time, cruelty, excessive conduct, meanness, and pleasure in doings which befitted the god of death,—these and some other habits peculiar to him were like those of a goblin, and were noted as such by intelligent men in his own time.

1246. In the meantime the younger son of *Malla* (Sussala), intoxicated by youth, was comforting the heart of *Lakṣmīdhara's* wife.

1247. She was attracted by that prince who was her neighbour, and felt no love for her husband, whose look was like that of a monkey.

1239. Regarding *Lokapuṇya*, identified with *Lōk*ᵘ*bavan* by the gloss of A₂ on our passage, see note iv. 193. *Balerakaprapā* ('the drinking station of *Baleraka*') is not otherwise known.

1240. For *Kramarājya* or Kamrāz, see note ii. 15.

1241. *Laulāha* is in all probability the old name of the present *Lōlāb* Pargaṇa to the N.W. of the Volur lake. The proper Kś. pronunciation of the modern name is *Lōlāv*. Comp. for a phonetic parallel *Karṇāha* > *Karnāv*, viii. 2525.—The Lokaprakāśa, ii., has metamorphosed *Lōlāv* into *Lulavaka*, and P. Sāhibrām in his *Tīrthas*. makes up the form *Lalava* (!).

HARṢA (A.D. 1089-1101).

Designs against *Uccala* and *Sussala*.

1248-1249. "Why did you not, O king, kill *Uccala* and *Sussala*, those two who have qualities fitting them for the throne and who are ambitious, when you have slain other relatives who were insignificant?" Though *Lakṣmīdhara* spoke thus in his raging jealousy, the king yet showed no anger [against them], as he suffered the torments of regret on account of his former murder of relatives.

1250. Though he (Lakṣmīdhara) said this to him again and again in person as well as through others, he was afraid of killing [them], remembering their prowess.

1251. Then [however] forgetting love for kinsmen, [their] attachment and the rest, he took counsel with his ministers and decided to kill them.

1252. This evil design of the king was then reported to those two by a courtezan, *Thakkanā* by name, who was connected [with them].

1253. When *Darśanapāla*, their friend, had removed their doubts about this matter, they left at night accompanied by two or three attendants.

Flight of *Uccala* and *Sussala* (A.D. 1100).

1254. They left the City in the month Mārgaśīrṣa of the year [of the Laukika era four thousand one hundred] seventy-six (A.D. 1100), and reached the seat of the Ḍāmara living at *Utrāsa*.

1255. The treacherous *Lavanya Praśastarāja*, after prevailing over his own younger brother *Sillarāja*, conducted them abroad.

1256. Then the elder brother proceeded to *Rājapurī*; the younger betook himself to the court of *Kalha*, the ruler of *Kāliñjara*.

1257. When the two had left the country, no confidence was felt by any one in [Harṣa's] reign, and the king himself, who understood presages, became alarmed at evil omens.

1258. Then he asked *Saṁgrāmapāla*, [king of Rājapurī,] through *Lakṣmīdhara's* mouth, to kill *Uccala*, and offered him money [for this].

1250. The lacuna of two syllables which the text shows, may conjecturally be filled by reading *tayor ghāte*.

1254. *Utrāsa* is undoubtedly, as the gloss of A₂ has it, the modern village *Vuttrus* (map 'Watoassoo'), situated close to *Śāṅgas* in the *Kuṭʰhār* Pargaṇa, 75° 22′ long. 33° 43′ lat. P. Sāhibrām reproduces the name as *Uttarasa* in his *Tīrthas*.

Regarding the term *upaveśana*, comp. note viii. 1070.

1255. *Praśastarāja*, the Lavanya, is the Ḍāmara of the preceding verse. This shows that at that period the term Ḍāmara was *not* a tribal designation; comp. Note *G*, iv. 348, and note vii. 1171.—For the meaning of *abhisaṁdhāya* see vii. 1177, 1522.

1256. *Kāliñjara*, more correctly spelt *Kāliñjara* in viii. 204, 618, 915, cannot be the same place as the well-known *Kālañjara*, 'a city of the Kalachuri kings of Central India, now represented by the *Kālanjar* hill fort' in the Banda district of the N.W. Provinces (comp. *Ind. Ant.*, xxii. p. 180). The context of viii. 915, and of those passages where Kalha and Padmaratha, a later ruler of Kāliñjara, are mentioned (viii. 519, 581, 1923, 1934, 1974 sq.), shows that some hill territory to the S. of Kaśmīr is meant. To this territory refers clearly also the notice found in *Ferishta's* History (transl. Briggs, vol. i. pp. 89, 99) of 'a hill fort called *Kalunjur* on the frontier of Kashmeer.' The fort is mentioned by Ferishta as the place where Maḥmūd of Ghazna imprisoned one of his high officials. I am unable at present to trace any other notice of the place or to attempt its identification.

1259. He (Saṁgrāmapāla) had paid but little attention to *Malla's* son when he had come to him, but showed more respect [for him subsequently] on account of that fear [of Harṣa]. HARṢA (A.D. 1089-1101)

1260. In this world [it often happens that] by showing fear a malignant person, acting under the impulse of fate, raises his enemy whose success is approaching to [greater] importance.

1261. Those of *Rājapurī* are by nature no well-wishers of *Kaśmīr*. What need then be said about the intrigues [which arose] when a mighty opponent [of the Kaśmīrian ruler] had arrived [among them]?

1262. *Uccala* then exerted himself by carrying on negotiations with the Ḍāmaras through some persons, mostly dishonest, who had joined him. *Uccala at Rājapurī.*

1263. The *Ḍāmaras* again, whom the king had oppressed, made great efforts to bring him [to Kaśmīr] and sent many envoys with offers of presents.

1264. *Janaka*, *Sūryavarmacandra's* son, made additional efforts by despatching artful messengers.

1265. *Saṁgrāmapāla*, when he saw the messengers of the Ḍāmaras, abandoned his fear of the king, and openly paid honours to *Uccala*.

1266-1267. He (Saṁgrāmapāla), after breaking camphor over [Uccala's] head to [assure his] safety, wished to let him start, though [he himself felt] depressed by the weighty nature of the affair. But *Kalaśarāja*, the chief Ṭhakkura of that territory, who had been bribed by *Harṣadeva*, approached him when he was alone, and said to him:

1268. "By neglecting to propitiate King [Harṣa] and supporting *Uccala*, you obstinately reject the wishing-cow and take hold of the he-goat's neck"

1269. "Is this [Uccala] one of the princes of *Kaśmīr*? What can this mendicant do? Therefore, conciliate King [Harṣa] and put yourself out of fear."

1270. "Put this [Uccala] in the fortress of *Rājagiri*. He [Harṣa] will then from fear do whatever you desire, and be ever your friend."

1266-1267. The breaking of camphor is evidently referred to as a custom assuring protection to a stranger.

1270. The fortress of *Rājagiri* is mentioned under the name of *Rājāgiri* in an interesting passage of ALBĒRŪNĪ'S *India*, i. p. 208, which has been quoted in Note *E* on *Lohara*, § 12 (iv. 177). Albērūnī places this fortress to the S of the snow-peak '*Kulārjak*' which I have identified in the note quoted with Mount Taṭakūṭi, the highest peak of the Pīr Pantsāl Range, 74° 32′ long. 33° 44′ lat. He speaks of 'Rājāgiri' and the fortress *Lahūr* (recte *Lauhūr*, our Lohara) as the two strongest places he had ever seen.

The position indicated by Albērūnī for Rājagiri, and the fact that he saw the fortress on Maḥmūd's expedition against Kaśmīr, suggest that this stronghold was situated in the valley of the Prūnts Tohi (Tauṣī), which forms the approach to the Pīr Pantsāl Pass.

I have heard of the existence of several ruined forts between Bahrāmgalla and Sūran in that valley, but have never been able to visit the latter myself. A close examination of the local traditions and of the topography of that hill region will probably enable us to fix the position of *Rājagiri* with as much accuracy as that of *Lohara*.

HARṢA (A.D. 1089-1101). Intrigues against Uccala.

1271. On being thus addressed the weak *Khaśa* ruler, who was afraid of him (Harṣa) and was lusting [to increase] his wealth, agreed to do so.

1272. And he replied: "I am not able to capture that resolute [Uccala]. You should yourself detain him, when he is sent to you, by a ruse."

1273. After these words he dismissed him to his own house, and then spoke to *Uccala*: "In the morning you ought to visit *Kaluśarāja*."

1274. "He is the chief minister here; through him you will avoid risks. Afterwards I shall let you start with your followers to destroy your opponent."

1275. When *Uccala* then on the following day was going to the residence of that [minister], he received a warning of what was going to happen, first by bad omens and subsequently from his trusted friends.

1276. When *Kalaśarāja* heard that he (Uccala) had gone back into the *Khaśa* king's presence, the plan having been betrayed, he came up in a rage, with the soldiers he had ready.

1277. *Uccala* knew that he had come to attack [him], and being himself an excellent soldier, he wished to proceed outside with his own followers to give battle.

1278. When the fray had begun, the lord of the *Khaśas* tried to make peace, and staying with *Kalaśarāja* asked him (Uccala) to come to his own assembly-hall.

1279. That abode of strength (Uccala) shook off the attendants who wished to keep him back, and readily stepped into the *Khaśa* assembly, while his underlip shook with rage.

1280. Nobody, neither *Kalaśarāja* nor the king, could face that embodiment of glory, who in his fury looked like the mighty sun which is [to destroy the world] at the end of the Kalpa.

1281. When the hall had been cleared, he with great dignity spoke thus to the *Khaśa* lord who tried to conciliate him, and to his minister, while anger gave harshness to his words:

Uccala's genealogy.

1282. "Long ago there lived as king of *Dārvābhisāra Nara*, a descendant of *Bharadvāja*; his son was *Naravāhana*, who begot *Phulla*."

1283. "The latter [begot] *Sātavāhana*; from him sprung *Canda*; his son was *Candurāja*, who also had two sons called *Gopāla* and *Siṁharāja*."

1282. For the pedigree of the Lohara family detailed in this and the following verses, compare the genealogical table in Appendix.

For *Dārvābhisāra*, see note i. 180.

1283. The name *Sātavāhana* has been corrected here after vi. 367 in place of A L *Sārthavāhana*. The name is found in the alternative form *Sālavāhana* also as that of a Rājā of Campā; comp. the Campā grant, edited by Prof. Kielhorn, *Ind. Ant.*, xvii. p. 8, and above note vii. 218.

HARṢA (A.D. 1089-1101).

1284-1285. "*Siṁharāja*, who had many sons, gave his daughter *Diddā* to King *Kṣemagupta* in marriage. She being left without a husband or male children, placed *Saṁgrāmarāja*, the son of her brother *Udayarāja*, on the throne. [Another] brother of hers, *Kāntirāja*, begot *Jassarāja*."

1286. "*Saṁgrāma*[*rāja*] was the father of *Ananta*, *Jassa*[*rāja*] that of *Tanvaṅga* and *Guṅga*. From *Ananta* was born King *Kalaśa*, and from *Guṅga* [was born] *Malla*."

1287. "From *Kalaśa* were born *Harṣadeva* and the rest, and thus we from *Malla*. Then, when this is the pedigree how can foolish persons ask: 'Is this one [of the princes of Kaśmīr]'?"

1288. "What, however, is the use of a pedigree on this earth which falls to the lot of the strong, and who else should be the helper of the strong man but his arm?"

1289. "Thank heaven, that I have not [allowed] these objects of pity here to touch [my] head with their hands, and that I have [thus] not become a disgrace to the race of *Kaśmīr* kings."

1290. "Thereafter you will see my power." Thus speaking he left that place and went forth to conquer, followed by a hundred foot-soldiers

1291. Somebody met him carrying a slain hare. By this good omen he thought he had [already] won his enemy's royal fortune.

1292. *Vāṭṭadeva* and other exiled Ḍāmaras left off turning water-wheels, handmills and the like, and joined him on the march.

1293. When he came distressed into *Rājapurī*, after leaving *Saṁgrāmapāla*, who was in camp, the queens of the latter cheered him up.

Uccala's fight at Rājapurī

1294. As he was proceeding in the evening to his own residence from their apartments, after having taken a meal, he was attacked outside by *Kalaśarāja's* soldiers.

1295. While he was prevented from leaving by the queens blocking the door, *Loṣṭāvaṭṭa* and others of his armed followers were killed in the fight.

1296. When the chief persons [of Rājapurī] had interceded and stopped the fighting, he whose soldiers had been few already [before], found himself surrounded by a still smaller number.

1287. Kalaśarāja's words, vii. 1269, are alluded to.

1289. Uccala compliments himself in these words at not having been put under obligations by the Rājapurī chief. These would have placed him in the humiliating position of being the client of his inferior.

1291. The sight of a hare at the start is counted as a lucky omen in the Jyotiḥśāstra; comp. e.g. *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, lxxxvi. 22 sqq.

1293. Among *Saṁgrāmapāla's* wives there might have been relatives of Uccala. A daughter of Uccala is subsequently mentioned, viii. 1464 sq., as married to Somapāla, Saṁgrāmapāla's son.

HARṢA (A.D. 1089-1101).

1297. Though he had only on the full-moon day of Caitra been exposed to dangers, yet he started without fear on his expedition on the fifth day of the bright half of Vaiśākha.

1298. He despatched *Vāṭṭadeva* and the others by their own respective routes to [raise] revolts, and himself formed the plan of invading [Kaśmīr] through *Kramarājya.*

1299. *Kapila*, the son of *Kṣemarāja*, whom the king, after *Udayasiha's* death, had put over the *Lohara* territory, allowed him to pass.

1300. Marching at the head of all, with sword and shield, he first taught his (Kapila's) soldiers to flee at *Parṇotsa.*

Uccala invades Kaśmīr.

1301. After capturing the commandant of the 'Gate' (*dvāreśa*), *Sujjaka* by name, who was sitting at ease, he threw himself rapidly upon *Kaśmīr*, just like a falcon lusting after flesh.

1302. As soon as he had arrived, the enemies of the king, such as some Ḍāmaras and *Khāśikas* from the mountains, joined him from all sides.

1303. King *Harṣa* trembled when he heard of his having arrived suddenly, just as if he had dropped from heaven or been thrown forth from the womb of the earth.

1304. He then became perplexed at the thought that he might get a firm footing and slay the governor (Ānanda) who stood in *Kramarājya.*

1305. Since the prefect of police (Sunna) delayed in collecting troops, he despatched in haste *Paṭṭa*, giving him a large number of officers.

1306. Whether fate deprived him of courage or whether a treacherous design took hold of him, he (Paṭṭa) delayed on the march and neglected the favourable opportunity for attacking the enemy.

1307. Whomever else the king despatched, such as *Tilakarāja* and others, they all betook themselves to *Paṭṭa* and did not take the offensive.

1308. As the prefect of police and other persons whom the king despatched became also confused, *Uccala* obtained a firm footing.

1309. As he was marching to *Varāhamūla*, he captured a horse of auspicious marks which had come from the enemy's force and which seemed to represent the royal Fortune.

1299. *Udayasiha* is probably the same person who is named *Udayasiṁha*, vii. 581, 1054.

The route followed by Uccala, from *Rājapurī viâ* Lohara and the Toṣ'maidān Pass into Kramarājya, has been discussed in Note *E* on Lohara (iv. 177; § 6). The early season at which Uccala forced the pass accounts for the surprise of the king's officers as described in the following verses.

1301. Probably the watch-station of *Kārkoṭadraṅga* on the Toṣ'maidān route is meant here; see note vii. 140.

1302. *Khāśika*, or *Khāśaka*, viii. 393, 2756, 3006, is another form of the ethnic name *Khaśa*; comp. for the latter note i. 317.

1305. See regarding *Sunna*, vii. 951.

1309. Regarding *Varāhamūla* (Varahmul, Bārāmūla) and its ancient shrine of Viṣṇu *Ādivarāha*, see note vi. 186.

1310. And upon his head fell a garland from the head of [the image of] *Mahāvarāha*, just as if the earth, which rested on the shoulders of that [god], had bestowed it upon [him as the man of] her choice. HARṢA (A.D. 1089-1101).

1311. As his road was blocked by fighting men belonging to the *Kāka* and other families of physicians (?) he abandoned *Huṣkapura* and proceeded in the direction of *Kramarājya*.

1312. In the meantime the Ḍāmaras, on hearing of his approach, got emboldened and threw the governor nearly into a panic. Rising of Ḍāmaras.

1313. They had before already defeated him, killing many soldiers of note, such as *Yaśorāja* and others, and his authority had waned [in consequence].

1314. He thereupon retired slowly and occupied *Tāramūlaka*, where his opponents, joined by *Uccala*, also followed him.

1315. Collecting there a large force, he supported for a long time the vehement onslaught, which was like that of the east wind [and which proceeded] from *Uccala*, who resembled the cloud [bringing destruction over the world] at the end of the Kalpa.

1316. There the two armies maintained an equal struggle for victory, just as two jealous elephants for one female.

1317. Then *Ānanda*, too, a maternal uncle of *Uccala*, collected the Ḍāmaras and raised a rebellion in *Maḍavarājya*.

1318. In these troubles masses of Ḍāmaras issued forth from all regions, just as bees from the holes [in the ground] when the snow melts.

1319. At that time the Mahattama *Sahela*, the Kāyastha, was commander-in-chief of the unfortunate king's army, as well as lord of the Gate.

1320. It was then a great thing that he (Suhelaka) did not abandon *Maḍavarājya*, though attacked by *Ānanda* in frequent fights.

1321. *Uccala*, displaying wonderful energy, thereupon drew up a large army and surrounded the governor, together with his force, in battle.

1310. The earth which Viṣṇu in his form of *Varāha*, or 'primeval boar,' had raised up from the ocean, is compared to a girl who chooses her husband at a Svayamvara.

1311. The *Kāka* family is frequently mentioned in the vii. and viii. Books. *Tilaka*, *Śobhaka* and others, who held high posts under Uccala and his successors, belonged to it; see viii. 180, 534, 575 sqq., 1079, 1102, 1282, etc. There is no mention made elsewhere of the Kākas being physicians. For °*vaidya*°, a later hand in A has corrected °*vaiśya*°, which would turn the families here mentioned into *Vaiśyas*

1314. Though *Tāramūlaka* is repeatedly mentioned in the subsequent narrative (vii. 1339, 1359; viii. 2938, 2958, 3097, 3124), I am unable to indicate even approximately its position. The repeated inquiries I made in Kamrāz, where the place has to be looked for with reference to our passage and vii. 1339; viii. 2938, have failed to bring to light any local name which could be connected with Tāramūlaka.

1318. Compare for the simile the gloss of A_3, vii. 893.

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1322. We do not know how it then came about that the soldiers, while still in possession of swords, horses, and armour, saw themselves clearly captives.

1323. That excellent [governor], though captured in this fashion, thought [only] of what was of help to his lord. Devotion to the master does not change in self-respecting men, even at the close [of their life].

1324. He urged, thereupon, *Uccala* to proceed quickly to the City, saying, in order to encourage him, that he would not have another such opportunity.

1325. As he (Uccala) marched on, he (Ānanda) caused towns, villages, etc., to be plundered by various [troops of Uccala's], thinking that such acts would bring disrepute upon him.

Uccala at Parihāsapura.

1326. He (Ānanda) then led him to occupy *Parihāsapura*, from which [place] it is very difficult to get out, owing to the obstacles [offered] by the steep slopes and the water [around].

1327. There he urged his own people to burn *Uccala* and himself at night in the quadrangle [which they both occupied]; but, from regard for him, they did not carry this out.

1328. What cannot be accomplished by one who disregards his own person, if his body as well as his mind is capable of bold enterprise?

1329. The cowardly tortoise carries an impenetrable skin, which protects its body; the lion, which displays great courage in daring deeds of violence, is always unprotected. Shame upon fate which shows an eager partiality for the mean, and which inflicts upon the body of the brave the sting of weakness on all sides.

1330. He then sent words to the king: "I have dragged him along and thrown him before you like a jackal. Come quickly and capture him."

1331. Thereupon the king, accompanied by the whole multitude of chiefs and soldiers, marched forth [from the City], resolved: "To-day, death or victory."

1332. As his life was at stake, he had a general amnesty proclaimed under the sound of drums, and all the citizens followed him.

1326. The description here given of *Parihāsapura's* situation is quite exact. The Uḍar or alluvial plateau of *Parᵃspōr*, on which the ruins of *Parihāsapura* are situated (see Note *F*, iv. 194-204), rises on all sides with very steep slopes. The marshes which surround it on all sides except on the S., must in former times have been even more extensive (comp. Note *I*, v. 97-100). They would even at present offer serious obstacles to military operations in the spring and early summer.

1327. The quadrangles (*catuḥśālā*) which enclosed Lalitāditya's temples and Vihāra at *Parihāsapura*, are specially mentioned in iv. 200, 204. The extant ruins of these courtyards have been described in Note *F*, iv. 194-204.

1329. Correct with Durgāpr. *klībaiś channa*°.

1332. As neither A *pārair* nor the reading adopted in the text, *parair*, gives a satisfactory sense, I have translated above according to the conjectural emendation *paurair*.

1333. The king's followers, on well-bred horses, covered the distance in a moment, and routed the enemy's force which had previously reached *Bharatasetu*.

HARṢA (A.D. 1089-1101).

1334. While the king's army came on like the agitated ocean, the governor destroyed the enemy's force throwing himself into its midst.

1335. When *Uccala's* force was thus broken up, some Ḍāmaras who were swift on their feet escaped by running, and others who were tired threw themselves into the *Rājavihāra*.

Uccala's defeat.

1336. When a Ḍāmara called *Trillasena* was seen entering by his opponents, they set fire to the Vihāra, thinking that it was *Uccala*.

1337-1338. The proud *Uccala*, who had long fought with *Somapāla*, the paternal uncle of *Darśanapāla*, in the midst of the enemy's cavalry, was with difficulty induced by *Janakacandra* and others to leave the battle, and escaped from *Parihāsapura* just as [if it had been] the face of death.

1339. After crossing with his horse the *Vitastā* from the village of *Gaurikābāla*, he proceeded again with the Ḍāmaras to *Tāramūlaka*.

1340. Intoxicated by such a limited victory, like [some] small gambler [by a small winning], the king returned to his capital, bestowing praises upon [the governor] *Ānanda*.

1341. As he did not follow in pursuit, though he knew that his opponent was alive, the Ḍāmaras, notwithstanding their defeat, took fresh courage.

1342. *Uccala*, with firm resolve, endeavoured again, in the month of Jyaiṣṭha, to collect those who had dispersed in flight on all sides.

1343. As this proud [prince] was befriended only by his own arm, and was dependent on others, this great endeavour of his in the midst of a famine was attended by difficulties.

1344. The king broke up and removed the glorious [image of Viṣṇu] *Parihāsakeśava* which [Uccala], though quite destitute of means in the midst of that [famine], had preserved when he had it in his power.

Destruction of the *Parihāsakeśava* image.

1345. After this [image] had been broken up, heaven and earth became

1333. *Bharatasetu* is mentioned only here; its position is unknown.

Emend with Durgāpr *virodhinām*.

1335. The *Rājavihāra* is mentioned, iv. 200, among Lalitāditya's structures at Parihāsapura; for its probable position and remains, see Note *F*.

1339. The gloss of A₂ identifies *Gaurikābāla* with '*Gurikābala* near *Parihāsapura*.' This local name could not be traced by me in the vicinity of Parᵉspōr.

1344. K. refers here to the image of *Parihāsakeśava* placed by Lalitāditya at Parihāsapura. According to iv. 202, this image contained 84,000 Palas of silver, which, accepting the calculation given in the note on that passage, would correspond to a weight of 336,000 Tolakas, or approximately as many rupees. The currency value of this mass of silver in the Kaśmīr of Harṣa's time cannot be estimated with exactness. But it must have been far greater than that of the equivalent amount of Rupee coinage at the present time; comp. Note *H*, iv. 495.

1345-47. In this curious and somewhat involved passage, K. seems to me to refer to a natural phenomenon which lasted for some time during the last year of Harṣa's reign

HARṢA (A.D. 1089-1101).

covered with dust, which was grey like the plumage of pigeons, [and which remained] till the death of *Harṣa*.

1346-1347. It was a story among the people that before [the erection of that image] there had been in this land darkness, even at day-time. This had ceased after the erection of the image of *Parihāsakeśava*, which spread daylight by its silver; it happened again for a month and a half after the destruction of that [image].

1348. When the king was taking again a little breath, his opponent having become less bold, there appeared *Sussala* from the direction of *S'ūrapura*.

1349. As he stopped at *Avanāha*, he was roused up from apathy by the reproachful message of his father, who eulogized the elder [brother].

1350. When he had received some horses which King *Kalha* presented to him, he at last dropped his regard for the king (Harṣa); on this account he had tarried.

1351. Though engaged in a cruel struggle, yet from beginning to end this embodiment of artfulness showed a politeness which deceived the enemy.

1352. By defeating in a fight the commandant *Māṇikya*, he secured from the watch-station (*draṅga*) of *S'ūrapura* victory and ample means.

1353. On account of the wealth thus obtained, this favourite of fortune displayed wonderful affluence during the whole time of his enterprise.

1354. The king thereupon, disregarding *Uccala*, sent the governor, *Paṭṭa* and others to fight *Sussala*, whose movements were rapid.

(A.D. 1100-1101), and which was attributed by popular superstition to the destruction of the *Parihāsakeśava* image. This coincidence might have given rise to the legend that the great silver image had originally been erected for the purpose of removing a similar phenomenon.

As regards the phenomenon itself in Harṣa's time, we can gather two points from K.'s account. Firstly, dust of pigeon-grey colour is said to have filled the atmosphere from the time of the removal of the image (after Jyaiṣṭha, i.e. 27th April—26th May, and before 9 śudi S'rāvaṇa, i.e. 18th July of the year 4976, A.D. 1100; comp vii 1342, 1366), to the death of Harṣa, 5 śudi Bhādrapada 4177, i e. August 31st, A D. 1101 Secondly, after the destruction of the image there was darkness for one and a half months.

Combining these two facts, the assumption seems justified that what really took place at the time indicated was a phenomenon of atmospheric dust which manifested itself with great intensity for a month and a half at its commencement in the summer of A.D. 1100, and which lasted until the summer of the next year.

It is characteristic that the story about the alleged phenomenon which preceded the erection of the *Parihāsakeśava* statue, is not even alluded to by K. in iv. 194-206, though he gives there a lengthy account of all the images and temples erected by Lalitāditya at Parihāsapura The guarded language in which this part of the story is referred to in our own passage also deserves notice.

1349. *Avanāha* is identified by the gloss of A_2 with '*Paudupāvagrāma*,' i.e. the hamlet of *Pād'pāvan* situated about five miles below Hür'pōr at the point where the routes to the latter place and to Sidau separate, 74° 52′ 30″ long. 33° 42′ 15″ lat. The place is correctly marked as 'Pad Pawan' on the larger Survey map. The connection in which *Avanāha* is mentioned again viii. 2028, makes, however, the proposed identification very doubtful.

1352 Regarding the Draṅga of *S'ūrapura*, see note v. 39 and my *Notes on the Pīr Pantsāl Route*, *J A S.B.*, 1895, p. 381 sqq.

Sussala seems to have secured for his use the revenue of the customs station at S'ūrapura; comp. *S'riv.* i. 408; *Rājat.* viii. 2010, and Fourth Chron. 258.

1355. This valiant [prince] routed their troops at *S'ūrapura*. Many were those who were drowned, and found their end in the waters of the *Vaitaraṇī*.

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Sussala's victory at *S'ūrapura*.

1356. There the goddess of victory, dismayed as it were, did not touch the body of the brave *Darśanapāla*, since he was not true to his master.

1357. On the following day, the flying troops which had escaped with their lives joined *Sahela*, who was stopping at *Lokapuṇya*.

1358. *Sahelaka* then, fearing *Sussala's* attack just as [if it were] the end of the world, proceeded with the various routed troops to the City.

1359. When the approach of *Sussala* had thus discomfited the king, *Uccala*, who stood at *Tāramūla*, obtained again a firm position.

1360. The Ḍāmaras, who, being themselves mostly on foot were afraid of the [king's] cavalry, brought him up once more by the difficult mountain route of *Lahara*.

1361. The king too, after appointing *Udayarāja* as lord of the Gate, sent again the governor to *Lahara* to fight *Uccala*.

1362. When thereupon the maternal uncle of the sons of *Malla* (Ānanda) had reached *Padmapura*, none of the frightened ministers would accept from the king the chief command of the army.

1363. When then the king asked in despair: "Have I still got any one?" *Candrarāja* accepted from his hand the garland of office (*adhikārasraj*).

1364. He, descended from the illustrious *Jindurāja* and other [ancestors] who had not desired to die on a couch, displayed noble conduct.

1365. He, having been raised to the command of the army at a desperate time, like the son of *Droṇa*, marched out and drove back that hostile force from *Padmapura*.

1366. He gradually occupied the territory, and on the ninth day of the bright half of S'rāvaṇa killed the enemy's general (*kampaneśa*) inside *Avantipura*.

1355. *Vaitaraṇī* is the name of the river which has to be crossed to reach the world of the god of death. The name seems to have been applied to one of the streams which join the Vitastā above Vijayeśvara. But the passages of the *Nīlamata*, 1319, and the various Māhātmyas (*Vitastāmāh.*, *Gaṅgodbhedamāh.*, *Kedāramāh.*, etc.), in which this name occurs, do not permit of a certain identification. The only river near S'ūrapura is the *Rembyār* or Ramaṇyāṭavī (i. 265), and it is curious that the tradition of the Vijayeśvara Purohitas, as communicated to me by P. Vāsu Bhōyu of that place, actually takes the name Vaitaraṇī to be the appellation of the Rembyār in its course near and below S'upiyan.

1357. For *Lokapuṇya*, see note iv. 193.

1362. *Ānanda* is meant; comp. vii. 1317. Previously Suhelaka had been both Dvārapati and Kampaneśa; see vii. 1319.

1363. The expression *adhikārasraj* is fully explained by Jonarāja's comments on *S'rīkaṇṭhac.* iii. 50, which inform us that it was the custom in Kaśmīr to put a garland of flowers on persons newly appointed when receiving charge of their office. Compare below the use of the term *sraj*, viii. 1024, and *kāryasraj*, viii. 1982.

1364. Read with L *pratyapadyata*.

1365. Aśvatthāman, the son of Droṇa, is meant, who commanded the surviving Kauravas after their last great battle.

1367-1368. The latter separated from his troops which were fighting near *Govardhanadhara*, was with a few attendants listening to songs when the enemy's cavalry broke in by the road along the bank of the *Vitastā*, and put him to a sudden death. Whence should luck [come] to those who are careless?

1369. When the king saw his head, which *Candrarāja* had sent, he hoped afresh for victory, thinking that it was [a sign of] fate's favour.

1370. Fate, while moving away in aversion, produces meanwhile by attentions the illusion of its returning [in kindness], just as the lion [while moving away] turns back his glances.

1371. After *Candrarāja*, who showed energy in his efforts, had collected forces, he proceeded to *Vijayakṣetra*, moving along an army in its eighteenfold division.

1372. The Creator, resembling a person holding a balance, did not allow at that time the equilibrium between the two armies to be disturbed, just as [if they had been] the two scales.

1373. Thus [it happened that] on the third day the force of the governor ran away in *Lahara*, demoralized by an unseasonable fall of rain.

1374. The soldiers, pained by the cold wind and sinking in the slough of the fields, at once abandoned their horses, swords, armour and other [equipment], as [if they had been helpless] animals.

1375. Then *Janakacandra* and others put the governor to death, though *Uccala* from kindly feeling was protecting him.

1376. This minister was the only one to purchase glory at the expense of his body among King *Harṣa's* servants, who were characterized by treachery and timidity.

1377. Surely *Devaśarman* and others must have been the models with which he vied,—though somebody might form a reproach [against me] for having inverted [the order].

1378. Who would not, remembering that the result depends on fate, praise him for the destruction of the *Lavanyas*, for the confusion [carried] into the enemy's battle array, and his other deeds?

1367-68. The position of *Govardhanadhara* is uncertain. The shrine of that name at Parihāsapura cannot be meant here. P Sahibrām refers in his *Tīrthas*. to a Nāga called *Govardhana* situated in the vicinity of Anantanāga (Anatnag). This may possibly be meant here.

In the *Gaṅgodbhedamāh*, 99 sq., reference is made to a *Govardhanadhara* Viṣṇu, apparently worshipped in close proximity to the Tīrtha of *Bhedādevī*, i.e. Buḍ'brōr in S'ukru; comp note A, i. 35. The distance between this locality and Avantipura is, however, considerable.

1371. The numbers here given refer to the conventional division of an army, as indicated e.g. *Amarakośa*, ii. 8, 79, 81; comp. below, vii. 1513.

1377. K. wishes to say that Ānanda, the governor, might fitly be placed even before Devaśarman and other models of faithful servants; comp iv. 551 sqq.

1378. Compare vii. 1384.

1379. Why, is there not the moon to defeat the [ocean's] hell-darkness? Is there not the poison [of Kālakūṭa] to frighten that [ocean], which swallows up the waters? Is there not Dhanvantari to destroy the [submarine] fire in its interior? Though all these [properties of the ocean] together have proved without avail, yet the ocean should not be called a fool. Those who consider that success is dependent on fate, will show their perception of [the truth of] things just by praising him. HARṢA (A.D. 1089-1101).

1380. *Gajjā*, his mother, ascended the pyre and [thereby] paid homage to her own noble character [as one] of those virtuous women who have borne sons worthy of praise for devotion to their lord's service.

1381. When the king was ever sending her son into risky enterprises, she being overcome by maternal affection, had thus spoken to the ruler of the earth:

1382. "O lord, do not employ this only son of [a mother] who has no other children, on every task which imperils life"

1383. He had replied to her: "O mother, as he is the only support for you who have no other children, so [he is] also for me, who has no other servants."

1384. In this appreciation by the king of her son's faithfulness, that proud and virtuous woman had recognized the high position [which her] son had attained.

1385. When *Uccala*, at that time, arrived at *Hiraṇyapura*, the Brahmans of that place assembled and consecrated him as king. *Uccala's* Abhiṣeka.

1386-1387. While these events were happening, the ministers [thus advised] the king who was greatly dispirited: . . . . . "[Your enemies] are too many. Go, therefore, with these to the mountains of *Lohara*. The people themselves will soon recall you from there when their eagerness for a new ruler has passed away, or you will yourself return in [a few] days."

1388. He replied: "I am not able to start at once, leaving behind the ladies of my seraglio, my treasures, the throne and other precious things."

1389. They answered: "Trusted servants mounted on horses will place behind their backs the treasures and the ladies of the seraglio, and bring them on."

1390. "What loss of dignity is there if that throne on which a lover of a S'vapāka woman was [seated], is occupied by another?"

1385. *Hiraṇyapura* has been identified in note i. 287 with the present village of *Raṇyil* on the way from Lār (Lahara) to S'rinagar.

1386-87. The text shows here a lacuna which probably extends over four pādas. From verse 1391 it may be concluded that the missing words contained also a request for advice addressed to the ministers by the king.

1390. Cakravarman's conduct is alluded to; comp. v. 383 sqq.

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1391. When the king then pressed them: "Let this be, give me other advice!" they spoke to him in haste a great deal more.

[1392-1404. Proverbial sayings put into the mouth of the ministers about the value of courage, firmness, etc., in dangerous situations. Praise of those who bravely seek the end of their troubles in battle. No reference is made to Harṣa's specific situation.]

Ministers' advice to Harṣa.

1405. When he rejected also this advice and pressed for fresh counsel, they felt in despair, and spoke to him thus roughly and as the occasion required.

1406. "You may also in your difficulty give up your life like *Utkarṣa*. Otherwise you might suffer something disgraceful intended [for you] by your enemies."

1407. He replied to them: "I am unable to kill myself. Therefore you should slay me when misfortune has arrived."

1408. The ministers felt pained by these words of the king who had succumbed to cowardice just as [if he were] a man of low station, and addressed him again with tears in their eyes.

1409. "If we, deprived of strength by fate, are unable to remove [this danger], how could our arms proceed to such a deed?"

1410. Surely those [councillors] whom the king had cherished, must have been beasts in human form that they did not remove his misfortune when he had reached such a pitiable state.

1411. Fie over the weakness [displayed] by servants on an occasion when success can be achieved by the mere sacrifice of that body which is bound to decay, though it may have lived to the end of Yugas!

1412. Who is meaner than he who, though being a man, forgets that attachment to the master, the recollection of which makes women enter the pyre?

1413. Those who look upon their master's sorrow, fear, misery, and other afflictions as if they were an actor's [exhibitions], make this earth unholy, though it is [hallowed] by sacred places.

1414. If a man has seen his son dying of hunger, his wife under the necessity of being sent to another person's house, his best friend in distress, his milk-cow pained by want of food and the rest and lowing plaintively, his parents ill and on the point of death, and his lord overcome by the enemy,—then hell has for him no greater torment in store.

1415. The king who had done high acts though he had fallen into errors as if possessed by demons, addressed once more those beasts of men.

1416. "Nobody else, I know, will reign with such wide aims as I have reigned in this late period."

1410. Emend with Durgāpr. *duḥkham*.

1417. "'Death and Kubera sit upon the lips of kings,' this saying was true of me alone in this Kali Yuga."

1418. "When fate arrives whose way has to be followed by Rudra, Upendra (Viṣṇu), and the great Indra, what grief is that for a mortal?"

1419. "What torments me, is that this land, after having been like a virtuous woman, should have fallen like a prostitute into the arms of the insolent."

1420. "Henceforth whoever knows how to succeed by mere intrigue will aspire to this kingdom whose power is gone."

1421. "The cowards, whose day of success has come, will surely laugh haughtily seeing that whatever [was done by me] with superhuman effort has been in vain."

1422. "People generally do not blame an enterprise if they see its success, since they do not consider whether it was justified [by the attending circumstances]."

1423. "Since the churning [of the ocean] has succeeded, does anyone blame the churning-mountain (Mandarādri) for the unfavourable circumstances [attending the enterprise], namely that the destroyer of the wings [of the mountains, i.e. Indra], an enemy, was the helper, and that he whose juice causes death (Vāsuki), was the churning-cord."

1424. "That for the sake of maintaining the people I, though versed in a combination of sciences, affected to be [solely] a producer of riches (*śrīgarbha*), this has been the cause of my confusion."

1425. "*Uccala* too, whose intellect might be gathered on the tip of a finger, will mock my actions, showing his black teeth [in a laugh]."

1426. "On account of this disgrace then, [but] not from fear, I desire, now that I have fallen into a helpless state, such a death, wishing [thereby] also to vindicate myself."

1427. "Thereby I wish to preserve the renown which falls [to me] owing to [the people's saying]: 'Who could have taken away from him the land, if he had not been killed by his own people?'"

1428. "Once, King *Muktāpīḍa*, who had been shining at the head of kings, was caught by his enemies in a difficult situation, and reduced to great straits."

1423. When the gods churned the Ocean to recover the fourteen 'Ratnas,' the great serpent *Vāsuki* was twisted round the mountain which served as the churning stick, and Indra directed the operation.

1424. Compare for the term *śrīgarbha* and its possible significance, note vii. 1108.

1425. The reading of Durgāpr., *matkṛtye*, is an acceptable emendation for A *satkṛtye*, justified by the close resemblance of म and स in S'āradā writing.

1426. The king refers to the death at his servants' hand for which he has asked in vii. 1407.

1428. The story told as an episode in verses 1428-1449 represents one of the versions in which the legends of King *Muktāpīḍa-Lalitāditya's* death lived in popular tradition; comp. iv. 337-370. The particular version here related has already been briefly referred to by the author in iv. 368.

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Tale of King Muktāpīḍa's death.

1429. "When he was marching in the northern region with a few followers, after having hidden his troops on different routes, he was blocked by the enemy on a difficult path."

1430. "As he was rendered helpless by the scarcity of stores, the [hostile] King *S'alya* by name, who had eight lakhs of horses, vowed to capture him."

1431. "Dispirited in his mind by the thought that negotiations and the like expedients were of no avail, he asked his chief minister called *Bhavasvāmin* what to do."

1432. "The latter, too, felt convinced that the calamity could not be averted, and recognizing the necessity of taking a proper course, replied to him."

[1433-1441. General exhortations to preserve honour and renown. The latter alone can escape decay and must be protected against fate, which is bent on humiliating those of exalted position.]

1442. "'Recognizing, O king, that the pleasures which you have cherished and enjoyed, have [now] wholly vanished, the time has come to exert yourself for keeping your honour intact.'"

1443. "'Pretend to-day, O king, to be suddenly attacked by that rapidly acting disease called *dandakālasaka*'"

1444. "'To-morrow, then, I shall tell you what has to be done to avert the calamity.' With these words the chief minister left and proceeded to his own abode."

1445. "The king thereupon pretended to have the *daṇḍakālasaka* illness, and rolling about with motionless eyes shouted like one out of senses."

1446. "As his sufferings were [apparently] not reduced by sweating, massage, vomiting and other remedies, the people said that he was going to die."

1447. "The minister then declared that his master was doomed to die, and in order to show his gratitude burned himself."

1448. "The king praised him for having thus aptly indicated the hard course of action which from delicacy he had not mentioned before as the only one left."

1449. "The proud king, too, then burned himself, after declaring that he was unable to support the excessive pains."

1450. "This wise [king] by thus giving up his life, prepared the steps for the rise of his own glory, but not for that of the fame of others."

1451. "Thus strong-minded [kings] succeed, by their own resolution

1439. Emend with Durgāpr. *nyāyye*.
1440. The lacuna of A is filled by L *na*.

1443. According to a passage from the Carakasaṁhitā quoted in *N.P.W.*, the illness here named is a kind of dysentery.

or a councillor's advice, in averting the disgrace which fate wrought [for them]."

1452. When he (Harṣa) stopped after saying these words, the ministers advised him to send *Bhoja*, his son, to the castle [of Lohara] to preserve his lineage.

1453. When the prince had started after the ceremony for an auspicious departure [had been performed] he, deluded by the prefect of police, recalled him.

1454. His wisdom, bold resolution and decision vanished all at once in his misfortune, when the time of his ruin had approached.

1455. The lightning of fortune, the crane of glory, the thunder of courage and the rainbow of fame, they all follow the cloud of fate.

1456. The same king of whom in the time of his good fortune it is held on account of his wisdom, courage, and other qualities that he might attack Indra,—he, at the rise of misfortune becomes incapable, just as [if he were] lame, foolish and blind, and people ask themselves how, indeed, he could have put down his foot on the ground.

Disaffection of Harṣa' servants.

1457. The Tantrin troops, when sent to oppose the enemy, claimed marching allowances, though they remained in the town.

1458. All the servants of the king too betook themselves to his [rival] kinsmen; and those few who remained at home, [stayed there] only in body [but not in mind].

1459. There were two or three who had not even the desire to join the enemy. Yet why should they be praised when they soon gave up their lives in the fashion of women?

1460-62. A dancing girl of the family of the female dancer *Kāṇaśrāvatī*, had adopted a girl of unknown origin called *Jayamatī*. The latter after losing her virginity was as a young woman *Uccala's* mistress, and became subsequently from greed of money the concubine of the governor *Ānanda*. When the latter died she, devoid of shame, went to *Uccala*. This very person through the will of fate was destined to become the chief-queen [of Uccala].

1463. The royal servants collected in bands and talked without fear of *Uccala*, even when observed by the king.

1464-1466. Every single soldier whom the mass of the mercenaries would employ as their mouth-piece; who would take away the men's courage in battle by talking loudly about the greed and disgrace [of the leaders]; who, when he [himself] proved inefficient, would make jokes which cut to the quick; who would cause affrays at the time of taking rations, etc., by claiming a privilege, and who would

1452. The term *koṭa* or *koṭṭa* is used very frequently in the Chronicle as an abbreviation for *Loharakoṭṭa*. The latter, as the family stronghold of Harṣa and his successors, is 'the Castle,' *κατ' ἐξ.*; comp. vii. 969, 1006, 1613; viii. 1631, 1934, 1966 sqq., etc., and Note *E*.

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be an expert in discussing the greatness of their master's liberality, etc.,—each one of these caused demoralization in the ranks.

1467. The king in his hatred of the family of *Malla* had *Vyaḍḍamaṅgala*, the son of *S'rīlekhā's* nephew, attacked and killed.

1468. His wife, who was a daughter of the maternal uncle of *Malla's* sons (Ānanda), and her mother-in-law set their house on fire and burned themselves.

Attack on *Malla*.

1469-1470. At that time the *S'āhi* princesses spoke thus to the king: "*Malla* is an accomplished hypocrite who makes [your] court disaffected, while hiding his ferocious nature, like another Yama, under the observance of the vow of silence and other [austerities]. Therefore, let him, as an enemy and anxious to see his sons on the throne, be killed without fear."

1471. He (Harṣa) himself proceeded to the attack, and as he stood at the gate lusting for his life, *Malla* went before him to fulfil his desire.

1472. He led the life of a Muni, and had in keeping with his honourable character refused to leave the king, though his sons had asked him [to do so], when about to start their rebellion.

1473. He, however, had remained in his house, and had given *Salhaṇa* and [two] other half-brothers of the two future kings [Uccala and Sussala] as hostages, in order to assure the king.

1474. Against him then, who had lived the life of a Muni, and had observed from his earliest time the cult of a [sacred] fire, the doomed king turned his rage.

1475. He was at worship when he was called by the enemies, and when he went forth to the fight, he shone forth in that same dress.

1476-1478. Wearing the sacred cord, holding in his hands the rosary, with his fingers rendered brilliant by the sacrificial grass, with his forehead smiling, as it were, with its mark of ashes, he [appeared] like another Jāmadagnya (Paraśurāma). At the time of death he seemed to carry on his head the water of Prayāga under the guise of his moving locks which were wet from the bath, and partly white, partly black. His hero's band (*vīrapaṭṭa*) seemed like an [ordinary] headdress, his shield like a parasol; carrying his sword-blade (*asidhārā*) he seemed as if on the way to the *Dhārātīrtha*, and his sword appeared as if it were his staff.

1467. Regarding *S'rīlekhā*, the queen of Saṁgrāmarāja, see vii. 128.

1468. For *Ānanda*, see vii. 1317.

1469-70. Harṣa's wives from the S'āhi race are mentioned again, vii. 1550, 1571; comp. also Note *J*, v. 152-155, and vii. 956.

1473. *Salhaṇa*, *Loṭhana* and *Ralha* were born from S'vetā (see viii. 373 sq., also vii. 1487), Uccala and Sussala from Nandā, vii. 1491.

1476-78. The various comparisons and puns, which can in part only be paraphrased, account for the remark made in the preceding verse, viz. that Malla, when going out to fight, seemed yet to retain the dress of a Muni.

The waters of the Gaṅgā and Yamunā meeting at Prayāga are supposed to be white and black respectively; comp. note iii. 327. For the sacred bathing-place *Dhārā*, compare *P. W.*, s.v.

1479. Some servants of his who went before him, were first to receive the embrace of the celestial maids, as they had held also the foremost rank in his employ. HARṢA (A.D. 1089-1101).

1480. Two Brahmans, *Rayyāvaṭṭa* and *Vijaya*, also the superintendent of the kitchen *Koṣṭhaka* and the soldier *Sajjaka* distinguished themselves by falling in that fight.

1481. The doorkeeper *Udayarāja*, though wounded, and the agent *Ajjaka*, escaped with their lives, as their time had not yet come.

1482. Seeing the gate closely beset on all sides by the hostile soldiers, he (Malla) threw himself fearlessly at their head.

1483. He whose [hair] was bleached by old age, appeared, as he was rushing about among the swords and shields, like a flamingo among S'evala plants (Blyxa octandra) and lotuses.

1484. And in a short time he was seen pierced by hundreds of sharp-pointed arrows, and asleep on his couch of a hero like another Bhīṣma. Death of *Malla*.

1485. How deplorable was not such a king who, [himself] being near his end, cut off [Malla's] head and in arrogance rode his horse over his back?

1486. *Malla's* princely consort *Kumudalekhā* and his wife's sister *Vallabhā*, immolated themselves in a fire kindled in their residence.

1487. *Āsamatī* and *Sahajā*, *Malla's* daughters-in-law, who were the wives of *Salhaṇa* and *Ralha*, and the daughters of *Rāja* and *Avakalya*, [respectively], also burned themselves.

1488. Also six female attendants of the ladies of his household, who had been in the enjoyment of all comforts, died on the same pyre.

1489. This happened on the left bank of the *Vitastā*, the water of which became warm by the conflagration of the great house and by the tears hot with grief.

1490-1494. *Nandā*, the mother of future kings, who was of noble birth, was in her own seraglio on the other side [of the river] and was eagerly looking from a high terrace towards the camps of her sons, distinguishable in the north and south by the smoke of their kitchen-fires. This virtuous lady burned herself in her house together with her nurse *Cāndrī*, who felt unable to see the water which was to be offered at the funeral libations of her whom she had brought up as a child with her own milk. She (Nandā) had not yet seated herself in the flaming fire, but was [already] surrounded by the flames which were playing around, as [if they were her] female companions, when she uttered the following curse against the king: "May you, O sons, before many days do to the family of your father's enemy what the son of Jamadagni (Paraśurāma) did."

1484. *Bhīṣma*, the Kaurava, was wounded to death by numberless arrows.

1493. *Paraśurāma* revenged the murder of his father by exterminating the whole Kṣattriya race.

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1495. *Darśanapāla*, though the king was preparing to kill him, was saved from moment to moment by wonderful incidents, as he was yet destined to live.

1496. Or it may be that he was spared by malice for only one other year to suffer humiliation and to rot away by disease.

1497. When *Malla's* sons heard of their father's murder on the ninth of the dark half of Bhādrapada, their grief became absorbed in rage.

Sussala attacks Vijayeśvara.

1498. Burning then, with the fire of his fury, the villages as far as *Vahnipuraka*, *Sussala* marched hastily on the following day towards *Vijayakṣetra*.

1499. When thereupon *Candrarāja* marched out to meet his attack *Paṭṭa*, *Darśanapāla* and others deserted him together with their troops.

1500. Though abandoned by those on his own side and having only a very small force, he maintained for a long time the combat with the enemy's strong forces.

1501. In that battle the two Rājagṛhyas *Akṣoṭamalla* and *Malla*, a descendant of *Cacara*, were received in the embraces of the celestial maids.

1502. While the darkness [created] by the dust was lit up by his moon-like parasol, *Candrarāja* fell and was received in the arms of the divine maids as well as his follower *Indurāja*.

1503. By [causing] the death of this hero, too, fate tore up, as it were to their very fibres, the roots of the lotus-plantation of King *Harṣa's* hopes.

Capture of Vijayeśvara.

1504. When *Sussala* then entered that place (Vijayeśvara), *Paṭṭa* and the rest fled in fear into the courtyard of the temple of *Vijayeśa* and closed the gate.

1505. Only the councillor (*āsthānīya*) *Padma* fell outside fighting. *Lakṣmīdhara*, who sought death, was led away as a captive by the Ḍāmaras.

1506. *Sussala* then ascended to the terraced roof of the treasury (*gañja*) of the *Vijayeśvara* [temple] and saw them all below [assembled] like frightened animals.

1507. The cunning [Sussala] after giving sureties had, with a laugh, first among them the two, *Paṭṭa* and *Darśanapāla*, brought into his presence.

1508. As they could not get up to him for want of a ladder, *Sussala's* followers dragged them up by a rope, to which they clung, half dead, with their hands.

1495. *Darśanapāla*, though keeping by Harṣa's side, was a secret supporter of the pretenders; see vii. 1253, 1356.

1498. *Vahnipura* is nowhere else mentioned. Durgāpr. has proposed to emend *āvahnipuraka°* into *avantipuraka°*, referring the passage to the villages about *Avantipura*. But the expression *krodhavahninā* contains clearly an allusion to the name Vahnipura.

The place meant might be the present village of *Vampōr*, situated about two miles to S.W of Vij'brōr: Vijayeśvara.

1502. The original reading in A, subsequently corrected by A_1, makes Indurāja the son of Candrarāja.

1505. Comp. regarding the term *āsthānīya*, note vii 85.

1509. When ashamed they asked permission to go abroad, the thoughtful *Sussala* promised this and thus alleviated their disgrace.

1510. Being treated by him to fried meat and other [delicacies] and being gently talked to, that same day they forgot their anxious desire to go abroad.

1511. The recollection of that what *Sussala*, under some [strange] impulse, did on the following day, must verily thrill even the body of the creator of the universe.

1512-1514. He opened the door and stepped quite alone, carrying his sword and using harsh insulting words, into the midst of those assembled in the courtyard of the temple of *Vijayeśvara*, where there were King *Jāsaṭa*, the son of King *Harṣa's* maternal uncle, and three other chiefs, *Umādhara*, etc., and where the multitude of Rājaputras, horsemen, Tantrins and feudatories [belonging] to the eighteen [divisions of the] army could not be counted.

1515. He mercifully promised safety to them who prostrated themselves, and left after taking the [image of S'iva] *Vijayeśvara* there as witness.

1516. He then ascended again to the terrace, had them all disarmed, and led up by his servants, with their arms bound by ropes.

1517. The place where *Sussala* held his assembly, being covered with heaps of gold and silver sword-hilts and decked with arms, appeared as if decorated with strewn flowers.

1518. He handed them over to the Ḍāmaras to guard as [one hands] cattle to herdsmen, and stopped there for three days.

1519. When he had reached the village of *Suvarṇasānūra*, he then discharged *Paṭṭa* and *Darśanapāla*, who wished to go abroad.

1520. The weak *Paṭṭa* on reaching *S'ūrapura*, was joined by his wife who had come from her home, and forgot to go abroad.

1521. The little decency which the treacherous *Darśanapāla* had shown by his desire of going abroad, was counteracted by his friendship for *Paṭṭa*.

1511. Correct with C and Durgāpr. *'pyaḥ-gate*.

1512-13. Our passage shows that *Bappikā*, Harṣa's mother, was a princess of Campā. Regarding the relations between the royal houses of Kaśmir and Campā, see note vii. 218.

Jāsaṭa is mentioned again viii. 538, 547 sqq., as lord of Campā.

Regarding the eighteen divisions conventionally counted in an army, see note vii. 1371.

1519. *Suvarṇasānūra* is probably identical with the present village *Sunᵃsamil*, situated in the S'ukru Pargaṇa, 74° 56′ 15″ long. 33° 50′ 40″ lat. (marked on larger Survey map). This identification is supported by viii. 1134, 1136, where the place is mentioned in connection with Kalyāṇapura (Kalampōr, see note iv. 483) and S'ūrapura. Skr. *suvarṇa* appears in Kś. as *sun*°.

1520-21. The text of the first verse as found in A_1 gives no proper sense. *Saṁhṛṣṭa-māno* is an impossible form, and has probably to be corrected with Durgāpr. into *saṁhṛṣyamāṇo*. The following verse also shows that *'pyasmārṣīd* cannot be correct. I have translated above according to the conjectural emendation *vyasmārṣīd*.

HARṢA (A.D. 1089-1101).

Sussala attacks S'rīnagar.

1522. *Sussala*, then eager to seize the throne for himself, wished to prevent his elder brother from occupying the City.

1523. [This was] because the relation between the elder and younger brother did not imply any precedence, as they were almost of the same age and at all times [equally] arrogant.

1524. In the course of two or three days the energetic *Sussala* occupied various places, and appeared in the neighbourhood of the royal palace itself.

1525. When he was about to set fire to . . . . . *Bhojadeva*, the king's son, whose other name was *Buppa*, went forth to fight him.

1526-1527. His father fearing from his own example the wickedness of princes, had, by the will of fate, always kept him powerless. But now he was set free [to act] as there remained no other resource, and in how many combats was he not the foremost of the fighters!

1528. If he had before been brought up to be the equal of his great-grandfather (Ananta), would not this resolute [prince] have cleared all regions of rivals?

1529. There is, indeed, nobody who has not a good plan, but its execution is neglected. Everybody knows how to use a dart, but he is a rare person who knows the aim [for it].

1530. This prince was born to surpass his adversary whose valour was excessive, just as the Timiṁgala ('swallower of the Timi') [surpasses] the large sea-fish (*timi*).

1531. Because the father displays ingratitude, his progeny does not deserve to be reproached. Because the sesamum-seed is turned into a pasty refuse, does the oil [pressed from it] lose the perfume of blossoms which it has imparted?

1532. *Pittha*, the wicked son of *Deveśvara*, though raised by the king to a high position, had yet joined the enemy's party.

1533-1534. When the fight with *Sussala* had commenced, the king asked his (Pittha's) son *Milla* for his horse. Pained by the [king's] contemptuous look, he exclaimed. "To-day you will recognize, O king, my true character." Then going out, he proudly in battle washed off the insult with the streams [of blood] that flowed from the sword-blades.

1535. The ruin of everything did not cause such great pain to the king's heart, as his failure to recognise the true character of that grateful man.

1525. The text has here a lacuna which, though only of one syllable, renders it impossible to ascertain the meaning of the preceding word *kalaśā*. . . . . It might have been the name of a building (temple of *Kalaśeśa*?) or the designation of a portion of the palace.

1536. Kings, however, being continually deceived by their exalted position, realize the true character [of their servants] only at the time when they can honour it solely by words.

1537. *Sussala*, whose force was defeated by *Bhoja*, left the battle precipitately and fled to *Lavaṇotsa*, having twice come and gone.

1538. When *Bhoja* returned exhausted by the fierce heat, he stretched himself out repeatedly on a couch by his father's side in the garden.

Uccala enters S'rīnagar.

1539. Then there arose a shout in the north from the bank opposite to the royal palace: "The elder son of *Malla* has arrived. Break off the bridge!"

1540. The wicked prefect of police (Sunna) had sent him (Uccala) word: "The throne is in *Sussala's* power, if you do not reach to-day."

1541. Thereupon he marched on in haste, and first slew in battle *Devanāyaka*, who stood before the [temple of the] god *Narendreśvara*.

1542. Then *Nāga*, the town-prefect, who was encamped (*sthāmastha*) and who disposed of numerous troops, marched forth with a force of horsemen to meet him.

1543. As he (Nāga) was accompanied by chosen troops, the king relied upon him, and having [successfully] emerged from the fight with *Sussala*, felt no fear of *Uccala*.

1544. While *Malla's* son (Uccala) whose force was small, feared [an attack] from him, he (Nāga) took off his helmet and offered him greeting.

1545. He (Uccala) suspected that he (Nāga) might like the governor (Ānanda) be attached to the opponent, and therefore he told him to go to his own house. This the wretch did.

1537. Regarding *Lavaṇotsa*, see note i. 329.

1539. This passage proves conclusively that the palace, as explained in note vii. 186-187, stood on the left or southern bank of the river.

1541. The shrine of *Narendreśvara* is nowhere else mentioned. It might have been erected by, or named in honour of, King *Narendrāditya-Lakkhaṇa*; see iii. 383.

It is doubtful whether the word *devanāyaka* is really a proper name, or only an ironical designation of *Udayarāja* whom Harṣa in vii. 1091 is said to have appointed as 'prefect for the overthrow of divine images' (*devotpāṭananāyaka*). No mention is made subsequently of Udayarāja.

1542. Here the rendering of *sthāmastha* is conjectural. The word, which clearly has a military significance, recurs viii. 663 sq., 752. Some indication as to its meaning is furnished by certain passages of S'rīvara's Chronicle, where the simple *sthāman* seems to designate the 'camp' or 'cantonment,' and *sthāmastha* or *sthāmasthita* the troops occupying it. In iv 225 sqq. we read of a dislocation of troops according to which one division is to form the centre by occupying the city and two other divisions to form the wings by going into '*sthāman*.' iv. 249 mentions a distribution of the forces by three routes 'according to their separate *sthāmans*.' In iv. 298 a leader is spoken of as '*sthāmasthita*,' i.e., encamped at the outskirts of the city, and in iv 445 it is said of another that he used part of his troops for guarding the routes and dismissed another '*sthāmārtham*,' i.e., as I understand it, to their standing quarters.

The meaning here conjecturally proposed for the word *sthāman*, agrees with its etymology and the interpretation given for it in Vedic passages, viz. 'station,' 'place'; comp. *P.W.*, s.v.

1545. The stratagem of Ānanda, related vii. 1323 sqq., is alluded to.

Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101).

Fight at the city bridge.

1546. The reward which this man got for his treachery was seen in his present life; he died after having had to beg in this very land.

1547. When the king then came to the river-bank he saw at the bridge-head the Ḍāmaras, whose [appearance] was changed and dark like that of trees burned by a forest fire.

1548. In their midst only the body of *Janakacandra*, who wore white armour, shone forth like that of the planet Venus in the darkness.

1549. The king had constructed the 'Great Bridge' (*mahāsetu*) with boats for his own benefit, but by the will of fate it served in the end the enemy's advantage.

1550. Then the *S'āhi* princesses and the other queens eager to die, ascended with fire-brands to the four-pillared pavilion (*catuṣkikā*) of the 'Palace of hundred gates' (*śatadvāra*).

1551. The people looked on with indifference as their lord fought with his rivals at the bridge-head, without feeling affected, just as [if it were mere] horse-play on the Āsvayujī day.

1552. The king took up the fight at the bridge-head, and again and again held back his wives from setting fire [to the palace, in the hope] that victory was yet in store.

1553. Then *Janakacandra* and others shot arrows at the king's fighting elephant, which stood in front of the bridge and had thrown off its armour.

1554. Hit in the joints by arrows, the elephant raised a trumpeting roar, and turning back trampled down with his feet his own force.

1555. Attacked by the elephant which had turned hostile, as fate [had done], the foot and horse of the army were routed.

1556. The king retiring before the enemy's soldiers then crossed the bridge, and together with the horsemen entered in a panic the courtyard of the 'Palace of hundred gates.'

1557-1564. He who was never seen even in private without magnificent apparel, and the hollow of whose mouth could not be seen even while eating,—his body

1549. Comp regarding the use of boat-bridges in Kaśmīr, note iii. 354.

1550. Judging from vii. 1556, *S'atadvāra* seems to have been the designation of a separate building in the palace. Possibly a large quadrangle is meant from which a hundred doors opened. By *catuṣkikā* is meant probably an open pavilion attached to the palace, and having four pillars; comp. vii. 1570 sq; viii. 23, 28, 1375, 2327, also *catuṣka*, vii. 1024.

1551. The text of this passage is restored by reading with L °*āśvayujīgālim* for °*yujīlāgim* of A, which gives no sense. The old custom mentioned in the *Nīlamata* of indulging in mutual jokes and playful abuse on the last day of the Āśvayuja month, has been fully explained in note iv. 710. With the expression *āśvayujīgāli* in our passage are to be compared the words of the *Nīlamata*, 391 sqq.: *kardamenānuliptāṅgaiḥ krīḍitavyaṁ tathā naraiḥ | suhṛdaḥ kardamenāpi lepayadbhir itas tataḥ ‖ . . . aślīlaṁ vadamānaiś ca hyākrośadbhis tathā dvija.*

was [now seen] perspiring in the sweat caused by the sunrays whose [force] was doubled by the fright; his attendants had to replace again and again the armour which slipped from his shoulders; repeatedly he drew back the arm which had lost its hold on the reins, in order to keep back the horse which was urged on by the touch of his unsteady heels; with his hand from which the sword had glided, he was arranging behind his ears the locks of hair, which were hanging from the side of his bald head; on his withered neck hung down his long dangling earlap which had no ornament, and which appeared like the very snake of death; he threw up again and again his lips, dry from the want of betel and yellow like lac, and with difficulty moistened them in his exhaustion; raising his emaciated wan face, in which the pupils of the eyes were covered with dust, he looked with despair in his heart at his wives, who stood on the roof; by signs of his hand he was holding them back, anxious as they were to set fire [to the building]. Thus the people saw him in his fear moving about within the courtyard.

Capture of palace. *Bhoja's* flight.

1565. *Mallarāja's* residence which was close to the royal palace, was set on fire by *Janakacandra* after crossing the river.

1566. When *Bhoja* saw the flaming fire approaching towards the palace, he took to flight, knowing that the kingdom was lost.

1567 Breaking open the gate which was covered with the enemies' darts just as if with reeds, he rushed out on horseback from the courtyard into the open.

1568. Accompanied by five or six horsemen he set out with the intention of reaching *Lohara*, after crossing the bridge in front of the *Siṁharājamaṭha*.

1569. The king rode about with some horsemen outside the buildings and with tears [in his eyes] looked in the direction where his son had disappeared from sight.

1570. In the meantime the servants of some of the king's wives were battering the four-pillared pavilion (*catuṣkikā*) in order to save [their mistresses] who were seeking death.

1571. The *S'āhi* princesses did not know this, and thinking that the enemy had broken in, set fire thereupon to the roof of the four-pillared pavilion.

1572. Then citizens and Ḍāmaras striking at each other with upraised weapons plundered the treasures and other [valuables] in the burning palace.

1573. Some found their death there; others got rid of their poverty; some

1568. It is not probable that Bhoja in order to proceed to Lohara in the S.W. should have crossed from the palace, which was on the left bank (see note vii. 186-187), to the other side of the Vitastā. In vii. 1593, however, we are told that Caṇpaka, when starting after the prince, did the same thing. It is possible that a bridge over the *Kṣiptikā* (*Kut*ᵃ*kul*) or *Dugdhagaṅgā* (*C'hets*ᵃ*kul*) is meant here.

1570. The queens on entering the 'Catuṣkikā' had blocked its door, and the servants who wish to prevent them from burning themselves, have first to force an entrance.

HARṢA (A.D. 1089-1101). became ridiculous by obtaining things which they had never set their eyes upon before.

Sacking of the palace. 1574. One put camphor into his mouth thinking it was white sugar. Then as it burned his mouth, he threw the pot into the river.

1575. Some low-caste people eager to get gold burned clothes which were painted with gold, and then anxiously searched the ashes.

1576. In one place low-caste women were grinding in hand-mills a mass of unpierced pearls, taking them for white rice-corns.

1577. The goddess of wealth (Lakṣmī) which resided in this . . . . land, after having been mocked by such ill-treatment, did not show herself anywhere again.

1578. Wild Ḍāmaras could be seen at every step carrying ladies of the king's seraglio who wore magnificent dresses, and resembled fairies.

1579. Seventeen queens with *Vasantalekhā* at their head, including daughters-in-law [of the king], burned themselves there while the rest left.

1580. Such was the crackling heard from the burning buildings that it made one believe that it was the bubbling of the aerial stream boiling under intense heat.

1581. The king, as he viewed this [spectacle] standing close to the drinking-fountain (*prapā*) of the illustrious *Padmaśrī*, recited again and again this ancient verse which he remembered in his anguish:

1582. "The fire which has risen from the burning pains of the subjects, does not go out, until it has consumed the king's race, fortune and life."

1583. *Uccala*, when he saw that his opponent had yet an armed force, crossed back to the other bank [of the Vitastā] together with the Ḍāmaras, after burning the palace.

1584. The king, who wished to find his death fighting, was thrown into fresh confusion at every moment by the numerous conflicting opinions [prevailing] among his foot-troops.

1585. Every time he was going into combat by the advice of *Anantapāla* and other Rājaputras, he was turned back by the words of the prefect of police.

1586. *Caṇpaka* advised him either to fight or to go to *Lohara*. *Prayāga* was for the second course, but not the first.

1577. I am unable to make any proper sense with A °*tyadṛśye* or L °*tyadṛśe*. A possible conjecture would be °*tyadhṛṣye*.

1580. The Gaṅgā in its flow through the air (*Ākāśagaṅgā*) is alluded to

1581. The *Padmaśriprapā*, only here mentioned, might have been a drinking-fountain or well constructed by *Padmaśri*, the queen of Kalaśa; comp. vii. 731.

1582. This verse is found, according to BÖHTLINGK, *Ind. Sprüche*, 4206, with slight textual variations in the Yājñavalkyasmṛti, the Pañcatantra, and in numerous didactic texts and anthologies.

1586 The mention which K. makes here of his father Caṇpaka, and of a servant of the latter, vii. 1623, is of interest, as it indicates the probable source from which K. gathered his detailed account of the last days of Harṣa

For *Prayāga*, Harṣa's trusted servant, see vii. 682.

1587. The king had received no news of his son, and in his anxiety told *Cappaka* to follow up his track. HARṢA (A.D. 1089-1101).

Cappaka sent after Bhoja.

1588. With a sigh the latter spoke to him: "O king, in a short time you will have no one else to follow you but *Prayāga*. Hence you ought not to send me away also."

1589. With tears the king replied to him: "People say that you are honest. Then why do you also disregard my order at this moment?"

1590 "Without my son I cannot recognize the quarters, though it may be day-time and the sun [visible]. You ought not to feel anger against him who has grown up on your arms."

1591. For the minister had had in those very days a quarrel with the proud prince on account of a mare.

1592. Touched by these words of his master which contained a reproach, he bent his head downwards in embarrassment and started to follow up the prince.

1593. Though he [had started] with fifty horsemen, including his brothers, servants, and others, he found himself only with four [to follow him] when he reached the other side of the river.

1594. When his two brothers and *S'eṣārāja's* son, the horseman, had fallen on the road after having their horses killed, he roamed about followed only by *Dhanaka*.

1595. After he had wandered by the river-way though without obtaining news of the prince, he came at the close of the day to the confluence of the *Vitastā* and *Sindhu*.

1596. In the same fashion the king despatched other trusted persons to search for his son, and others again used this pretext to leave his side.

1597-1599. The prefect of police, who had taken bribes and shown himself disaffected in the war against *Rājapurī* and elsewhere; who, unable to tolerate efficient officers [by his side], had rendered the army worthless, who had made the king object to his son's departure to *Lohara*; who had brought the enemy into the City while the king was taken up by another fight,—he who had brought about the ruin of everything, also prevented the king at that time from taking the proper course of action.

1600. The weak-minded king listened in complete dejection to the manifold advice, and could not decide himself upon any single action.

1594. The text is here corrupt. I translate after the emendation proposed in the Ed. One of Cappaka's brothers, *Kanaka*, is mentioned, vii. 1117.

1595. I have adopted in translating Durgāpr.'s emendation *vārvartmanā* for the meaningless *vā vartmanā* of the text.

1597-99. Compare for Sunna's various treasonable acts, vii. 1155 sqq., 1161, 1453, 1540.

Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101).

1601. As indeed a flute does not give a sound, if all blow at its different holes, thus too, counsel, if swayed in many different directions by the [opinions of] various people, does not arrive at a resolution.

1602. It is verily a sign of the [impending] catastrophe, when even a mean person, without having been asked, can boldly give the advice which suits his mental character.

1603. When the king was proceeding to fight, an equery (*sūta*), *Trailokya* by name, laid hold of his reins and extolling the prefect of police, again addressed him thus:

1604. "Your grandfather once won a victory with the Ekāṅgas and the mounted men. Therefore, let us go to the Akṣapaṭala [office], in order to collect them."

1605. "Joined by them we fall from behind upon the enemies, whose force consists chiefly of foot soldiers, and destroy them as falcons [destroy] the birds."

Desertion of Harṣa's troops.

1606. Thereupon when the king was about to move [in that direction], his force dispersed in all directions, just like people caught by a down-pour while watching a theatrical performance.

1607. To the sons of *S'eyārāja*, who had come from (?) *Pārevitasta*, he gave his jewelled necklace and other [ornaments] to provide for his son on the journey.

1608. As soon as this regal ornament was in the hands of these market gardeners, the king who had been distinguished by high lustre, appeared to the people deprived of his royal dignity.

1609. While his soldiers deserted at every step, he moved about between the Akṣapaṭala and other offices, but no one joined him.

1610. Then in the evening he wandered about looking for a refuge among the houses of his ministers, but not one let him in when he stood at the door.

1611. Those [Brahmans] who are clever in solemn fasts (*prāyopaveśa*), are thoroughly useless in the end. Vain is the reliance which kings put on wretched Brahmans.

1612. As he was anxiously wandering about among the houses of all those who were [of note] in this land, hoping to be received, he came to the house of the minister *Kapila*.

1604. Regarding the *Ekāṅgas* and their share in the victory of Ananta, see vii. 155 sqq.; for the *akṣapaṭala* and its connection with the Ekāṅgas, comp. note v. 301.

1607. The form *Pārevitastām* of A L cannot be correct. Local names, formed by prefixing *pāre* to a river name, are treated as masc. or neuter (comp. *Pāreviśoka*, iv. 5; vi. 130). It appears further from *Jonar.* 551, 869, that the locality called *Pārevitasta* must have been situated a considerable distance above S'rinagar. As neither Bhoja nor the king proceed up the river, the accusative ending of *Pārevitastām* would be inexplicable. I accordingly propose to emend *Pārevitastāt*.

The person referred to here as *S'eyārāja* is possibly identical with the *S'eyārāja* of vii. 1594.

1613. The latter was away at the castle of *Lohara*; his wife asked the king to stop and [then] to proceed in boats towards the castle, but deceived by fate he did not enter. HARṢA (A.D. 1089-1101).

1614. The [minister's] sons, whose perfidy was like that of their father, hid themselves from the unfortunate [king], just like poor debtors from their creditors.

1615. While evil councillors had before kept from his view all the [wrong] he had done, he now heard reproaches and recognized that he was guilty.

1616. Wholly overcome by despair and distrusting even those at his side, he was completely deserted by his followers when he had passed the [hill of] *Pradyumna*. Harṣa's flight from *S'rinagar*.

1617-1618. Even those Rājaputras, *Anantapāla* and the rest, who claim descent from the thirty-six families and who in their pride would not concede a higher position to the sun himself, they too left him step by step, and their horses disappeared in the dense darkness.

1619. When he had descended from his horse after approaching the *Johilamaṭha*, the prefect of police with his younger brother also deserted him.

1620. "Here is my father-in-law's house," he said; "after looking for a place there for you to pass the night, I shall return." Under this pretext he departed.

1621. As he was going, *Prayāgaka* asked his younger brother for his bracelet in order to procure provisions; instead of this he gave him barley.

1622. Then the king was left with his property consisting of a single garment, with his bare life and with the single *Prayāga* as follower.

1623. At that hour *Mukta*, the cook of *Canpaka's* attendant *Jelaka*, joined the king and became his trusted companion.

1624. As they were wandering about, a woman from a den called out to them that the ground in front was difficult to get over on account of breaches made by the flood.

1614. Compare regarding *Kapila's* conduct, vii. 1299.

1616. *Pradyumna* is probably an abbreviation of the name *Pradyumnapīṭha* or *Pradyumnaśikhara* given to the 'hill of *S'ārikā*' or *Hār*ⁱ*parvat* in S'rinagar; comp. note iii. 460. As the greatest part of old S'rinagar lay on the right bank of the river and around that hill, Harṣa's visits to the houses of the various ministers, etc., may have taken him beyond the S'ārikā hill.

1617-18. I am unable to explain what select group of noble families is alluded to here. The designation of certain exclusive family groups by a term indicating the original number of houses counted within the group, is still customary among the Dōgrā Rājpūts. Thus a section of the Miāns is known as the *Yārān Ghar*, 'eleven houses.'

1619. The *Johilamaṭha* is nowhere else mentioned.

1624. The river banks for some miles below the city now also show numerous breaches through which the water in flood-time passes into the low-lying marshy tracks on both sides.

HARṢA A.D. 1089-1101).

1625. The king then sat down on the bank of the *Vitastā*, and *Prayāgaka* called some boatmen to proceed to the castle of *Jayapura*.

1626. He had previously arranged with the soldiers stationed there to conduct the king to the residence of *Bhīmādeva* . . . . .

1627. *Bhīmādeva*, though an adherent of *Uccala*, had told him that he would attach himself to the king if he were to come to his seat.

1628. When the boatmen brought a boat, the king did not get into it, doomed as he was and confused by the dangers which had come close under his eyes.

1629. When the end [comes] for embodied beings, the lamp of their intellect draws quickly to the point of extinction, as if it noticed the snake in the hand of approaching death.

1630-1631. The king, even at the time when he was seeking for shelter, did not remember *Bimba*, the Ḍāmara of *Nīlāśva*, who had not joined his enemies. While treason was ripe, this honourable man had alone kept faithful, like a true wife never turning his eyes towards anyone else [but his lord].

1632. Then the clouds began to let flow their waters, as if to cleanse the earth defiled by the touch of treachery.

1633. A lonely place, pouring rain, darkness, bad company, fear of enemies,—what evil did not befall him?

1634. O shame! The name of the evil-doers, though unworthy of remembrance, has yet now openly to be mentioned in the sequence of the narrative.

Harṣa's last refuge.

1635. At a burning-ground there is [a sanctuary of] certain divinities known by the name of *Someśvara*, which had been worshipped [there] by a magician called *Somānanda*.

1636. These were in the courtyard of a hut which was [the abode] of a low-class mendicant called *Guṇa*, and was [surrounded] by a garden shaded by high trees.

1625 *Jayapura koṭṭa*, founded by Jayāpīḍa, occupied the place of the present *Andᵃrkōṭh*; see note iv. 506-511.

1626. I am not able to explain satisfactorily *preyāśrayam*, apparently an attribute to *mandiram*. Neither a person nor a locality of the name *preya* is known. As a conjectural emendation might be suggested *preryāśrayam* for *preyāśrayam*.

See regarding *Bhīmādeva*, viii. 21, 28, 45, etc.

1631. *Nīlāśva* must be the name of a territorial division in Kaśmīr proper, which, however, cannot be identified now. The Lokaprakāśa shows the name as *Nīlāśa* in the list of Kaśmīr Parganas given at the commencement of the iv. Prakāśa. The passages viii. 424, 2778, 3114 sq., 3131, mention Ḍāmaras of Nīlāśva, without giving any clue as to the position of the tract. S'rīvara, iv. 110, speaks of an assembly of people from Nīlāśva at *Dugdhāśrama*, i.e. *Dudᵃrhōm*, at the lower mouth of the Sind Valley. Verse 267 of the Fourth Chronicle seems to place Nīlāśva in a westerly direction, as a force is collected there to oppose an enemy encamped about *Pratāpapura*, i.e. *Tāpar* (comp. note iv. 10). Abu-l-Faẓl's list of Parganas contains no name bearing the slightest resemblance to *Nīlāśva*.

1636. L gives the name of this mendicant as *Chinna*.

1637. This man lived as a procurer in the company of a prostitute whose [real] name was *Bhiścā*, but who was generally known as *Virahabhujaṅgī*.

1638. To the hut of this [mendicant] who lived in the neighbourhood of the shrine of *Pratāpagaurīśa*, *Mukta* took the king to pass the night.

1639. The king held on to *Mukta* and *Prayāgaka* to him. Thus they proceeded, seeing the ground [only] from time to time by the flashes of lightning.

1640. To this hut *Prayāgaka* and *Mukta* brought with difficulty the stumbling king, who had no headdress, and to whose body the soaked clothes were clinging.

1641. Then he remembered with grief *Kandarpa* whom wicked councillors had ousted, and who would have been able to ward off his ruin, just as *Utpala* [had remembered] the demon *Rudra*.

1642. After *Mukta* had got over the wall and had withdrawn the bolt [of the gate], the king entered the courtyard of the hut, from which the mendicant was absent.

1643. As he entered his right foot struck against a stone and bled; by this evil omen he knew that his death was nigh.

1644. As the hut was locked, he sat down in the courtyard and in fear passed the night, which the terrible masses of clouds made fearful.

1645. Smeared over with mud he stood on the muddy bare ground and passed that night of terrible rain, his body being covered with the woollen cloak of a slave.

1646. By sitting down and getting up again at intervals he forgot his misfortune, but [though] awake he felt frightened like one [who dreams that he is] falling down a precipice.

1647. "What am I? Who has overcome me? Where am I to-day? Who attends me? What have I now to do?" Such thoughts made him shudder again and again.

1648-1649. "My kingdom is lost; my wives are burned; my son has disappeared; I am alone, without friends and provisions, rolling about in the courtyard of a beggar." When he thought of each one of these misfortunes he

1637. *Virahabhujaṅgī* is a nickname—'a snake, when without a lover.'

1638. The position of this temple cannot be traced, and hence the locality where Harṣa found his death, is also uncertain. From the preceding account of Harṣa's flight, it must be concluded that it was some distance below S'rinagar near the right bank of the river.

1641. I have not been able to trace the legend to which allusion is made in the simile.

1646. Read with L °*rāntarā duḥkham*; comp. i. 369.

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could not even in stories find any one else who had sunk [so] low and was afflicted with grief equal to his own.

Murder of Bhoja.

1650. *Bhoja*, again, after leaving the City was roaming about with the two or three horsemen left, and reached *Hastikarṇa.*

1651. He thought as he went: "Surely, in five or six days I must win back the throne, even if Indra were my enemy."

1652. A man of valour, restless, like the embryo [moving] in the womb, what great deeds does he not wish to accomplish? But fate obstinately deludes him, as [if it were] the breath of [former] actions touching [the child as it leaves the womb].

1653. Expecting his servant *Nāgeśvara* with what his mothers had sent for his journey, he stopped inside the *Raṅgavāṭa* [grove].

1654. He was staying there inside an empty temple-building when he heard that that [servant] had arrived. As he went out the latter struck at him without more ado.

1655. Who could not admire what that prince, true to a Kṣattriya's duties, did, when this treachery had revealed itself?

1656. Like a lion he destroyed his assailants in combat, and [when he fell] covered with blood instead of unguents, he adorned the couch of a hero.

1657. There fell also his maternal cousin *Padmaka* and his favourite *Khela*, who showed unmeasured strength in fighting.

1658. *Uccala* proceeded for the night to the Maṭha of Queen *Sūryamatī*, and his brother too returned from *Lavaṇotsa*, worn out by fighting.

1659. When the two [brothers] heard that *Bhoja* was killed, and that only *Harṣa* remained, the thorn, as it were, was removed from their mind, and only one edge of it remained.

1660. Yet even thus when their exile was forgotten and the royal fortune so far won, the gained throne appeared to them as if not gained.

1650. Regarding the *Hastikarṇa* here mentioned, see note v. 23.

1652. The unborn child is supposed to remember the actions done in its former existences, and to form plans accordingly for the new life. As it leaves the womb these reminiscences and plans are forgotten, and the newly-born individual becomes subject to the consequences of its preceding existence (*karman*).

1653. I take *Raiṅgavāṭa* for the name of a sacred enclosure (*vāṭa*) or grove at Hastikarṇa. The same name (Kś. *Rangᵘvōr*) is given to this day to an old grove of walnut-trees at *Guṣ* (*Uttaraghoṣa*, see note vi. 281), which contains some Liṅgas and images, and is visited as a Tirtha; it is mentioned in the *Śāradāmāh.* 35 sqq.

1657. I emend *lālitakaś caiva*, with reference to L *lālitaścaiva*, in place of A *lālitavac caiva*: क and व can scarcely be distinguished in S'āradā characters. For the term *lālitaka*, see v. 229; vi. 152, 166, etc.

1658. Comp. regarding the Maṭha of *Sūryamatī*, note vii. 180.

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1661. In the morning the mendicant whom *Mukta* had searched out somewhere and brought up, unlocked the [door of his] hut after prostrating himself before the king.

1662. Into this hut, which was full of mosquitos, and where the seat was a place strewn with grass, the king stepped, after *Mukta* had sprinkled water in it.

1663. The king, to hear whose word was a great honour even for kings, went in his fright so far as even to flatter a beggar.

1664. He suffered on noticing in his speech and way of eating the boorish, shocking coarseness which befitted a beggar.

1665. *Prayāga* gave to the beggar his own under-garment to sell, and sent him away to a shop to obtain food.

1666. The wretched mendicant, who openly used coarse language and sharp words, and who inwardly caused fear of betrayal, troubled the king as much as an enemy.

1667. Then, in the afternoon, the vile mendicant brought also his female companion, who carried on her head a basket with pots [full] of victuals.

1668. When the king saw himself recognised first by the servant (Mukta) and the beggar, and now also by the woman, he abandoned the hope of life

1669. With his mind full of his terrible misfortune, he merely touched the food which *Prayāga* brought, from regard for the latter, but did not eat it.

1670. Then *Prayāga*, standing in the courtyard, asked the female mendicant, what the news were, and she in her coarseness told him openly of *Bhoja*'s death. Harṣa hears of *Bhoja's* death.

1671. The king, though told by *Prayāga* that this was a false [report], yet recognized the truth of the rumour from an ominous sign he noticed in his body.

1672. Submerged in ill-luck as he then was, a misfortune fell upon him such as would not come upon the tongue even of an enemy wishing evil.

1673. In his grief over his son he felt that by the restraint he had from policy put upon him in his youth, he had himself brought misfortune over him from his very birth.

1674. From excessive tenderness he felt as if that [son] who had fallen in combat in a manner worthy of great heroes' envy, had been murdered as a babe on the arm.

1675. In his misery he fancied that he saw his son [as a child], with his limbs [adorned] by strings of pearls [and resting] on his own breast swelled by youth, and [in this delusion] he uttered benedictions.

1676. He felt humiliated by the thought: "The youth who ought to have

1667. Emend with Durgāpr. *tapasviny apy*°. 1673. Compare vii. 1526.

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been spared, is killed. I, however, who am old, prolong my life by such unseemly means."

1677. Lamenting thus his son, and rolling about in unspeakable pain, he passed a second night in the mendicant's dwelling.

1678. *Prayāga* asked him to proceed to the *Bhagavanmaṭha*, but deprived of thought by his grief he showed at night not even a wish [to do this].

1679. The night which then came, seemed to express its grief by the heavy dew-drops which rained like tears from the down-turned face of the moon, and by the wailing cries of the ruddy geese.

1680. *Prayāga* on seeing his lord exhausted by hunger and thirst, in the morning asked the mendicant to obtain food.

1681. The mendicant left and after he had entered on his return . . . . put before them two pots which contained food cooked in a sauce.

1682. When the mendicant said that he brought them from the sacrificial feast of a householder, *Prayāga* sighed and spoke:

1683. "Look, O king, how happy the people are when they have lost their lord." He replied with a smile: "Why do you talk as if you were simple-minded?"

1684. "He who is gone is just gone; by his affliction no one else is afflicted; everybody looks only after his own welfare; nobody grieves for any [misfortune but his own]."

1685. "When the sun, the sole eye of the world, has gone to the transcendental world, the whole world sleeps comfortably in its dwellings. Who else then would think: 'How could all this exist when deprived of me?'"

1686. "So solely was before my loving reliance on my son that no other such love could arise [in me] for a living being, now that I have heard of his end."

1687. "If I myself after hearing that my son, the life of my life, is dead, yet remain here as if all were right, how can any one else be blamed [for showing indifference]?"

1688. When after this the king ceased speaking, *Prayāga* gave back those two pots and again secretly urged the mendicant to obtain [proper] food.

1689. The latter said: "The amount left me after yesterday's expenses is not sufficient. Yet I will try," and then left as if he felt sorrow.

Betrayal of Harṣa.

1690. Is not secret information which has to be guarded, [as hard to keep] for small-minded people, as the imperishable quick-silver is hard to digest for persons of small strength?

1678. The *Bhagavanmaṭha* is only here referred to.

1681. The text has a lacuna of two syllables.

1691. *Manoratha*, the relative of a Brahman ascetic, heard the tale from that mendicant who was his friend.

1692. He spoke to the wretched mendicant: "We shall obtain wealth from King [Uccala] by delivering his kinsman," and thus led him to become a traitor.

1693. He must be believed to have been born from some despicable vile servant, since good and bad actions are indicated by a corresponding birth.

1694. From these two *Illārāja* learned the fact and reported it to *Uccala*, who ordered him to act himself in this matter.

1695. Others, however, say that it was the Kāyastha *Bhūtabhiśca* who got the mendicant and the Brahman to approach *Illārāja*.

1696. If this account be a calumny [made] at a time which was filled to excess with rumours, [it was started because that] rogue of a servant (Bhūtabhiśca) was distinguished for his treachery.

1697. It was [a punishment] fit for such an action that he died in prison after having been carried on the back of a S'vapāka and having suffered various humiliations.

1698. *Harṣadeva* under the pangs of hunger, and at the repeated instances of *Prayāga* made up his mind to take food, though his grief over his son was fresh.

1699. Thinking each time that the mendicant had arrived bringing food, he looked out through a window, as a young bird [looks out] from its nest.

1700. He saw the hut entirely surrounded by soldiers who had come up, and he heard the noise of the bolt being withdrawn from the gate of the courtyard.

1701. He then knew that he had been betrayed, and noticed that villain of a mendicant in the company of the soldiers, as he was calling from the courtyard to *Mukta* to come out.

1702. He made *Mukta* leave him, opened the folds of the door, and without fear grasped the small knife he had by his side.

1703. One ferocious soldier, spurred on by bold assurance, then stepped up to him with drawn sword and wearing armour.

1704. The king, who was skilled in athletic exercises, threw this man down

1696. The meaning of this verse is doubtful, and the text, perhaps, corrupt.

1697. Compare regarding *Bhūtabhiśca's* end, viii. 93 sqq.

1702. The mention here made of *Mukta's* escape is of interest. It permits us to assume that K. had his account of Harṣa's flight and death directly or indirectly from this surviving witness, who was connected with his own family (vii. 1623). Perhaps this explains also the favourable colour put upon Mukta's departure at the catastrophe.

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to the ground, though hindered in his movements by the narrow space of the hut, but from mercy did not kill him.

1705. Filled with false pride even at that moment, he said: "To kill this wretch who is on the ground does not help me."

1706. One soldier who was getting down after removing the roof, and another who was getting up, fell to the ground from fear when they saw him with upraised weapon.

1707. For a moment he was seen standing in a defying posture and [straight] like a staff, on the back of the soldier who had first entered, just as *Cāmuṇḍā* [stood] over *Ruru*.

1708. The fight at the king's last hour was not rendered glorious by lion-like roars [of brave men], nor by the sound of kettle-drums, nor the furious noise of [clashing] arms.

1709. On the contrary, the armed Ḍāmaras got without noise into his hut, as cats [get round] a mouse which is inside a pot.

1710. Then another who had entered through the roof, attacked the king after striking *Prayāgaka* on the shoulder and head.

1711. This soldier, after parrying the king's weapon, struck him rapidly twice with a dagger in the breast.

Harsa killed, A.D. 1101.

1712. After uttering twice the word: "O *Maheśvara*," he fell dead to the ground, struck down like a tree which has been cut at the root.

1713. Sovereign as he was, he found a death which was fit for a thief who in his flight had entered a house.

1714. No other king has been seen in this epoch as powerful as he was, nor of any other [king] so shameful a funeral.

1715. It was his aversion to battle alone which destroyed the grandeur of this high-minded [king] with all its attending happiness

1716. Or, his fault may have been only his want of independent judgment, and all errors which brought about his complete ruin [may have been] those of his ministers.

1717. His age was forty-two years and eight months, when he was slain on the fifth day of the bright half of Bhādrapada in the year [of the Laukika era four thousand one hundred] seventy-seven (A.D. 1101).

1718. The force of the king's nativity which intended the extinction of his race, made him destroy his own family like [another] *Duryodhana*.

1707. The story of the fight in which *Cāmuṇḍā*, a form of Durgā, with her attendants, the S'aktis, defeated and killed the Daitya *Ruru*, is told e.g. in the *Padma Pur.*, v. xxvi. 59-95.

1717. Compare for the date note viii. 85.

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1719. He was born under the zodiacal sign of Cancer [and at his birth the planets stood in the following astrological houses]: Mars and Saturn in the fifth, Jupiter and Mercury in the sixth, Venus and the sun in the seventh, and the Moon in the tenth.

1720. [The result was as above] because the great author of the *Saṁhitā* has declared that *Kuru* descendants and others [who were born] when the Moon, Venus and the malignant planets stood in the tenth, seventh and fifth astrological houses [respectively], would be destroyers of their own families.

1721. Impious were all the people in this land who cut off their lord's head and carried it, just as [if it were] that of a robber, before his opponent.

1722. When the head of the king was cut off, the earth together with the oceans shook, and the sky, though cloudless, sent down heavy rain.

1723. For the iniquities which the people perpetrated against his head, when it was raised on a staff, they were to suffer thereafter lasting calamities as from a curse.

1724. Then commenced in this land the new [fashion of] cutting-off the king's head, just as the destruction of the divine images [had begun in Harṣa's reign].

1725. King *Uccala*, from a proper feeling did not look at the head when it was brought [to him], but after remaining for a long time in tears, had it burned.

1726. O the misery! The body of so great a sovereign would not have received a funeral without *Uccala's* orders, as [if it had been] that of a robber.

1727. Deserted by his servants and without a family, he was then burned naked like a pauper by a certain wood-dealer called *Gauraka*.

1728. This story of *Harṣa* is, indeed, long and somewhat astonishing like a kind of *Rāmāyaṇa* or *Bhārata*.

1719-20. The astrological houses in Harṣa's horoscope are to be counted from Cancer, and thus correspond to the Zodiacal signs, Scorpion, Sagittarius, Capricorn and Aries. The positions of the planets are correctly indicated in the diagram of the horoscope drawn by A, and reproduced in the Ed. Regarding the terms by which the astrological houses are referred to in the text, comp. e.g. Varāhamihira's *Laghujātaka*, i. 15 sqq.

The quotation from the 'Saṁhitā' refers probably to Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* (comp. above, i. 55), but I have not been able to trace it.

The 'malignant planets' (*pāpāḥ*) are the Sun, Moon, Saturn, and Mars; comp. e.g. *Laghujātaka*, ii. 4.

Professor Jacobi has at my request been kind enough to calculate the actual position of the planets for the date of Harṣa's birth as indicated above in vii. 1717, and to communicate the result in the following note:—

"The horoscope of Harṣa, as given in the text and correctly explained by the drawing in the gloss, does not suit the king's (presumable) birth date Lokakāla 4134 (Kali 4159, A.D. 1058) 9 months. For at that time Saturn was in Taurus, not in Scorpion, and Venus in Scorpion, not in Capricorn. The places of the three remaining planets (Mercury, Mars, and Jupiter) square with our text. The error in Saturn's position is such as to exclude the possibility of any conjectural correction."

Regarding the question thus raised as to the character of the information here recorded by K. compare the Introduction.

1724. Comp. vii. 1091 sqq.

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1729. Fortunes are the passing flashes of lightning from the cloud of fate, and exceptional greatness finds a disgusting end. Notwithstanding this, the pride of imaginary greatness does not cease in those whose souls are struck by delusion.

1730. Though he had such a multitude of women in his seraglio, not one of them bewailed him. Among so many followers not one followed him into death or settled at a sacred place [as an ascetic]. After seeing such want of affection on the part of the people whose mind is absorbed by their own comfort, the heart [of men], O shame, still does not renounce the world and seek its [sole] pleasure in [a residence in] the forest.

1731. An individual who assuredly is nothing in the beginning and nothing in the end, suddenly goes for a moment, in the interval, through the condition of happiness and again of misfortune, resembling an actor without head or feet. Where he goes, when hidden behind the curtain of mundane existence (Saṁsāra), we do not know.

1732. The royal fortune abandoned its seat in the family of *Udayarāja*, and proceeded to that of *Kāntirāja*, [while keeping] within the race of *Sātavāhana*, as the daylight, after leaving the *Himālaya* summit when it is deserted by the gods, [proceeds] to the celestial slopes of the Mount *Meru*.

Thus ends the Seventh Taraṅga in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, composed by *Kalhaṇa*, the son of the great Kaśmīrian minister, the illustrious Lord *Caṇpaka*.

1731. Read with L *yaś ca* for A *yac ca*.

1732. Compare vii. 1283 sqq., and the genealogical table in Appendix.

Colophon. A L have after this the following verse:

"There have been here narrated [the reigns of] six kings from the family of *Udayarāja* [who ruled] for ninety-eight years less three days."

The total length of the reigns for these six kings is correctly given, the dates for the deaths of Diddā and Harṣa being Lokakāla 4079 *Bhādrapada śudi* 8 and 4177 *Bhādrapada śudi* 5, respectively.

END OF VOLUME I.